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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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**Didymus the Blind
on 1 Corinthians 15**

by Alice Thompson Croft
B. A. (University of Western Ontario, 1976)

Thesis

Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the Master of Arts degree

Wilfrid Laurier University

1987

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Abstract

This thesis presents fourth century Alexandrian theologian and biblical commentator, Didymus the Blind (ca. 313-398), to English-language readers through a translation and study of his writing on 1 Corinthians 15. (This writing constitutes the bulk of what survives of Didymus' 1 Corinthians commentary; some remarks on chapter 16 are also extant.) The translation represents the first appearance in English of any of Didymus' works.

After a brief introduction to Didymus, the translation of his 1 Corinthians 15 commentary is given in full. Then this text is studied by sections each following the format of (1) Greek text (copied from Karl Staab's 1934 edition), (2) translation, and (3) analysis. The analysis attempts to make intelligible Didymus' statements most often by showing how they are responses to beliefs, opinions, or concerns arising for Didymus from the Pauline text. An annotated bibliography of Didymus' works and of works on Didymus follows. An index of all the words of the Greek text, giving the page and line numbers of their occurrence in the Staab edition is appended.

Abstract

This thesis presents fourth century Alexandrian theologian and biblical commentator, Didymus the Blind (ca. 313-398), to English-language readers through a translation and study of his writing on 1 Corinthians 15. (This writing constitutes the bulk of what survives of Didymus' 1 Corinthians commentary; some remarks on chapter 16 are also extant.) The translation represents the first appearance in English of any of Didymus' works.

After a brief introduction to Didymus, the translation of his 1 Corinthians 15 commentary is given in full. Then this text is studied by sections each following the format of (1) Greek text (copied from Karl Staab's 1934 edition), (2) translation, and (3) analysis. The analysis attempts to make intelligible Didymus' statements most often by showing how they are responses to beliefs, opinions, or concerns arising for Didymus from the Pauline text. An annotated bibliography of Didymus' works and of works on Didymus follows. An index of all the words of the Greek text, giving the page and line numbers of their occurrence in the Staab edition is appended.

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Introduction

Didymus the Blind of Alexandria, approximately 313-398 C.E., was a renowned and revered biblical commentator, Christian theologian, teacher, and ascetic. He was a prolific writer, despite blindness from the age of four; however, relatively few of his works have come down to us. Of these, none have been translated into English until now.

It is the purpose of this paper to introduce Didymus the Blind through an annotated English translation of his commentary on 1 Corinthians 15. I will accompany the translation with a brief introduction to his life and works and an analysis of the translated piece.

Introduction to Didymus' life and works

As far as we know, Didymus led a very quiet life. He was born in Alexandria and did not travel from that city, though he was in his lifetime known throughout the Mediterranean world. He was not a figure of controversy as were Athanasius and others. As a boy he acquired the full education of his time. This achievement was greatly admired by his contemporaries; however, it should be remembered that in those days—and for many centuries—all reading was done aloud and much of learning was memorization, so that, with the help of a scribe, Didymus was probably at less of a disadvantage than a blind scholar would be today.

Little else is known about his life. It has been thought that he was a teacher in, and principal of, the famed catechetical school of Alexandria.

The evidence for this is slender, and it is debatable whether the school was still operating during Didymus' time. It seems more likely that, as a monk, Didymus taught individuals who sought him out in his cell.

As a thinker, Didymus was not original. He was, however, a capable exponent of the allegorical method of exegesis and a defender of ecclesiastical doctrine on the Trinity, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and other matters. In much of his teaching he followed the opinions of Athanasius, his elder contemporary. Concerning the doctrines of the human soul and the apokatastasis (the universal restoration of all things in their original state) he followed Origen: this and his defence of one of Origen's works as orthodox caused him to be anathematized at the Fifth General Council in Constantinople some 55 years after his death, and likely accounts for the fact that the bulk of his considerable literary output has been lost.

Notable among Didymus' pupils were Rufinus and St. Jerome. Jerome mentions Didymus often in his writings, listing some of his works, quoting from some, and, in the introductions to certain of his biblical commentaries, emphasizing his dependence on the corresponding works of the older man. Modern scholarship has not yet studied the surviving works of Didymus in a way that does credit to the attention given them by this important theological figure.

In the sixteenth century, *On the Holy Spirit* and the *Commentary on the Catholic Epistles* were the only works of Didymus known to be extant. Gradually a number of writings found among the works of other Fathers, and a considerable number of catenae (excerpts) were recognized as being more or less certainly his as well. Editions of some of these writings were published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but most importantly J. P. Migne published in 1863 what attempted to be Didymus' complete works. This was partly a reprinting of earlier editions and partly original. Some previously published writings were missed as were some catenae. The textual criticism was not thorough by modern standards. Then, in 1942, Migne's work was further outdated by the discovery at Tura, Egypt, of a large number of papyrus writings among which were many fragments of Didymus' works. A new complete edition of Didymus' works has not been made, but scholarly

editions of the Tura papyri are gradually appearing in the *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* series. The *Sources Chretiennes* series has also produced critical editions of some of Didymus' works.

Didymus' corpus originally included commentaries on almost all the books of the Old and New Testaments. Of the Old Testament commentaries there survive fragments of the works on Genesis, Exodus, 1 and 2 Kings, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Hosea, Zechariah. Fragments of, and excerpts from, the commentary on the Psalms show it to have been a monumental work using an allegorico-mystical method of exegesis and combining an interest in textual criticism with a "freely figurative interpretation," in which the "Old Testament contains everywhere an important Christian message" (Quasten vol. 3, 91). The commentary on Isaiah is mentioned by Jerome as having had eighteen volumes, "although it dealt only with Isaias 40-66, a section that Didymus regarded as a book of its own" (Quasten vol. 3, 91). Concerning the New Testament, Didymus is known to have written commentaries on all the books except Mark and some of the shorter Pauline letters. Fragments survive of the commentaries on John, Acts (evidently a long one), 1 and 2 Corinthians, and the Catholic Epistles. The commentary on the Catholic Epistles has come down to us complete in an early Latin version. The surviving portion of the commentary on 1 Corinthians deals with chapters fifteen and sixteen of the epistle; it is the part of this which deals with chapter fifteen that is translated and discussed below.

The remainder of Didymus' writings consists of dogmatical works. A number of these works have survived, but of the survivors most have encountered serious debate as to whether they were indeed by Didymus. Relatively sure is *On the Holy Spirit*, which has come down to us in a Latin version by Jerome. "The first part (chapters 4-29) adduces proof that the Holy Spirit is not a creature but consubstantial with the Father and the Son; the second (chapter 30-59) deals with Scriptural texts which confirm the Catholic doctrine and refute the objections of the Pneumatomachi" (Quasten vol. 3, 87). *On the Trinity*, which follows Athanasius' rather than Origen's approach in defending the consubstantiality and equality of the three divine persons (Quasten vol. 3, 87), is less sure. *Against the Manichaeans* is debatable;

it appears to be part of a larger work. Didymus' *Defense of Origen* and a number of other works have not survived, but are known to us through mention by Jerome and other early writers.

Introduction to the Translation

As mentioned above, the surviving portion of Didymus' commentary on 1 Corinthians is that which deals with chapters fifteen and sixteen of the epistle. It is the purpose of the present study to translate and discuss the material on chapter fifteen. I have used for this the edition of the Greek text prepared by Karl Staab (*Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Munster, 1933), which is considered sufficiently dependable that a detailed review of the manuscripts and other editions did not need to be made. In brief, the manuscript used by Staab was Pantocrat 28, from the Pantocratorus Monastery of Mount Athos in Northern Greece, and dating from the ninth or early tenth century. Of its 270 folios, folios 38 to 89 verso contain the text of 1 Corinthians given in short sections (one or more verses) each of which is set to one side of the page, along with portions of commentary excerpted from various writers also arranged in sections above, beside, and below the appropriate sections of the Pauline text. Folios 81 to 89 verso cover 1 Corinthians 15 and 16 in this way and include the 38 extant portions (catenae) of Didymus' commentary on the letter. Staab has reassembled these Didymus passages into a more-or-less continuous Didymus commentary, omitting the Pauline text and the writings of other authors, but retaining within the Didymus material the manuscript's divisions into sections and titling them according to the Pauline chapter and verse to which they refer. (I have kept these same divisions and titles in my translation and in my presentation of Greek text, English translation, and analysis e.g., Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 1-2. Where I have made reference to specific passages in the Didymus text, I have used, along with the page and line numbers in the Staab edition, the verse number or numbers in bold type of the section within which the passage occurs e.g., Staab 6.7-8, in 1-2.) It is difficult to judge whether the resulting Didymus text represents Didymus' complete commentary on chapters fifteen and sixteen, the bulk of it, or merely selections.

For the data presented in this Introduction see the reference works listed in the first section of the bibliography (i.e., Altaner, Bardenhewer, Quasten, Young).

Translation

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 1-2

Because some people in Corinth were saying that the soul was mortal and the resurrection of the body was superfluous, Paul had discussed their error, and he says: "The gospel, through which you were called from the error of polytheism to the knowledge of the true God, and through which you are sustained and have salvation, this gospel which is well-known to you, I brought and established.

"I remind you of the gospel of God, in order that you might know that the recollection of the resurrection of the dead is not mine nor anyone else's."

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 3-4

He Paul handed on to me the gospel that the saviour, sojourning and, according to the truth, possessing a body, rose, having died and having been buried in order to raise up the dead. Then, in order that the simpler people not be disturbed by the death of Christ, he adds "according to the scriptures," for Christ has suffered such things, as many as the prophets foretold about him. Since, then, he died and was buried and rose, the result is the raising up of human beings through the one who rose on their behalf, because he became the cause of the awakening. And if it is said "Christ has died and has been buried," one must understand this concerning his body, not the soul. Since, therefore, they believed in the resurrection of the saviour,

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they were contemptible, because they did not simultaneously accept also the resurrection of all in the resurrection of the saviour.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 5-9

Eyewitnesses of this his resurrection—worthy witnesses—were those who were first together with him; then the five hundred witnesses.

Paul says, "I am handing on these things which those who are deceiving you are not able to contradict." Likewise, if his body having died was raised, but incorruptible and spiritual, then Christ would not have appeared to all but [only] to those to whom he wished to appear. After the ascension he appeared thus to Paul, who calmly calls himself an aborted fetus, understanding that through repentance he has come to be an apostle, since, as a persecutor, he was not worthy of the name. But if that is what he was formerly, now he is a teacher, having this as a gift.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 10-11

And if he was formerly a persecuter, now he is a teacher by a gift of God which did not inhere in him in vain, seeing that, having acquired strength by it, he all the more bore the struggles on behalf of the holy faith. And the whole success which he had through his deliberate choice he attributes to the grace which had been given to him from God.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 12-17

If anyone says the dead are not raised, when already it is a necessity, since Christ has risen, that all people are raised, does he not then necessarily say that Christ has not been raised? And if he is not risen, see how many absurdities emerge! We, if we say this, will be found to be false witnesses against God; and even if you triflingly agreed to the resurrection of the Lord, and seemed to have been delivered of your sins by faith in the risen one, you did not put off your sins.

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Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 18-20

A person who does not admit that the human soul is immortal, and therefore does not believe in the resurrection, such a pitiable person is depriving himself of the eternal life because of which the saints are wealthy since they obtain due rewards.

Accordingly, even if some disbelieve, nevertheless we expect a resurrection, knowing that Christ has become the first fruits, a resurrection of those who have fallen asleep, through whom all will experience the undying life.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 21-22

Since it is clear that because Adam transgressed the law, all who are descended from him have died; so also in Christ, who did not know sin, they will be made alive. Now some of the heretics say that only the soul of the righteous is made alive in Christ, because there is no resurrection of bodies, for the making alive of all will be of those who died in Adam.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 23-24a

As Christ's resurrection is before all, it will be first in honour; then, at the coming of Christ, the faithful will be arranged in order according to the proportion in which they have faith. After which Christ's coming, the consummation is being directed in this way towards a beginning. Because of which the consummation, all the other things are straining towards salvation, but it the consummation is the desired goal, not because of anything else, but because of its own self, and through its own self it attains what is chosen.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 24b-26

Here he calls a kingdom those who are being ruled, indeed his own flesh which, to improve it, the Son handed over to the Father, no longer a form ruled as a slave but as a form that is flesh of the Word, which is the Son himself, showing forth the form of God in itself. For then when the Son has received the glory which he had before the world was, they will be ruled as

by one King, Father and Son. It is necessary then that Christ rule over the progress of all things until the time when all who are enemies through sinning place themselves under his feet, he himself destroying every tyrannical power, after which also death itself, the supreme evil, is destroyed, since every soul united with him overcomes death which is united with evil.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 27-28

the scriptures having said these things about subjection to speak against both the myth-telling and fraud of the Greeks who say that gods are parricides; and, . . . because—since the church is being subjected—he himself (Christ) is said to be subjected, since he claims for himself the church's persecutions, sufferings, and subjection.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 29

The followers of Marcion baptize living persons in place of unenlightened dead persons, not knowing that baptism saves only the one who receives it. But the apostle calls dead the bodies on behalf of which we are baptized. For in his own word these bodies do not live apart from a soul, but they have life from their cohabiting souls. Likewise, Abraham too called the soulless body dead.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 30

if the soul is not immortal, if the body is not raised, and if it is rash to run a risk on behalf of piety.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 32

To the extent that, on a literal level, he Paul burst out with the idea, "I fought with wild beasts in Ephesus," I Didymus would not want to endure this even for the sake of the truth—if the dead are not raised.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 33

Do not be misled, O Corinthians, that the rational soul does not survive, for those who are deceiving you are at the same time being destroyed since

they think it [i.e., the soul] [is destroyed]. As to what advantage bodies are, they say that one must live riotously for tomorrow we die since there is not a second life in addition to the one that appears. This is the same as with the non-rational living things in which the soul disappears with the body since it was also born with it. Therefore the opinions expressed in the worthless, corrupting, silly arguments need not be tolerated.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 34

It is necessary to be watchful using your intelligence so that you do not sin by agreeing to the rotten fraud concerning the resurrection. And also observe well the command "come to your right mind," since not everyone does this. For the "wise," since they stay awake in order to do evil concerning hurtful things, senselessly become sober having henceforth put off the sleep of ignorance.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 35-40

The person speaking in Christ to the one who very senselessly doubts the [resurrection] of the dead says: fool, if you doubt that a person's dead body is raised, know that what you sow—seeds that have died—you cast into the earth convinced that they would not change into plants unless they were sown dead.

Of another kind than what you sowed is the body which is raised. For you threw a kernel into the ground, but God raised up an ear of grain. And to one of the queries, the one which says "how are the dead raised?" the response is in regard to those that are sown. And to the other question, "in what kind of body do they come?" he offers the proof by making a distinction, and, dividing the bodies into earthly and heavenly, he says the glory of the human bodies that are raised is like that of the heavenly sun and moon and stars.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 41

It is not the bodies of all those who rise that are like the glory of the luminaries and stars, but only the bodies of those who have lived well and

been sober. For even the bodies of worthless people rise incorruptible, but they are deprived of the glory of the heavenly bodies. And it is to be noted that the glory of the bodies that are raised is real as is also that of the luminaries.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 42-43

Even as the rational soul, being neither excellence nor baseness, is capable of both of these things, so also our body, being neither corruption nor incorruption, receives at different times the real qualities implanted in [it]. Of course, therefore, it [i.e., our body] is not sown corruption and raised incorruption but [it is raised] in incorruption. It follows that by being sown in corruption the psychic body is also sown in weakness and in dishonour. And, in the same way, by being raised in incorruption, the pneumatic body is also raised in power and glory.

Now when we speak of an incorruptible body, we do not speak of a celestial being—as some suppose the stars [are]—which we say is always incorruptible, but [by] incorruptible [body] we mean that [body] which from [being] corruptible has become incorruptible by the grace of God. Thus [it] is unchanged and unchanging with respect to transformation, for such a thing does [it] subsist except by enduring to a long life whether it is punished or honoured.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 44-46

Since the body is sown from the intermingling of the male with the female, it is reasonable that both dishonour and weakness will attend it; thus it happens [that], because [the] soul in it [i.e., in the body] has corrupted [the] body with respect to its previously received quality, it [i.e., the body] is raised by God's power, having [i.e., the body having] incorruption, might, and honour, because it has been made a pneumatic body, since it is an organ of soul, and not simply of soul, but rather of soul's, having been raised through possession of the Holy Spirit and having undergone a transformation as though into spirit [πνεύμα]. Now when the soul cleaves to the passions, it is fitting that the body of such a soul is also called psychic. But if the soul

transcends the passionate state it becomes pneumatic and the body of such a soul which is entwined with it is itself said to be pneumatic.

Since the soul, progressing, rises to the pneumatic, he [Paul] names the psychic body first, then the pneumatic. Now it is to be understood that the body of those rising from the dead becomes like the pneumatic body of Christ which appeared after the resurrection. Therefore we pay no attention to those who say that what rises is a body such as Adam had—psychic. Therefore the life of the first Adam prepared the human being to live as a living soul, but the life according to Christ prepared the human being to live not as a living soul [ψυχὴ] but as a life-giving spirit [πνεῦμα]. And the pneumatic vivification is natural for those who are raised from the dead. He says, appropriately, “first” and “last”—not “first” and “second”—human being in order that we might learn that some have appeared midway between the first and last human being in citizenship.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 51

Since a contemplation of resurrection entails a depth of perception, he fittingly says: “lo! I tell you a mystery.” We all, when we shall have died, shall be sleeping, but only we who are righteous shall be changed, shining as the sun. For only these will be changed, transforming for the better with respect to soul and body. For it is not consistent to speak of change according to some other scripture cited thus: “Not all of us shall sleep, but we all shall be changed,” because of the immediately following phrase, “We too shall be changed.” For if all are being changed it is redundant to say we too shall be changed.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 52-53

The dead will be raised, their body, which was formerly corruptible, becoming incorruptible. Now some say here “we shall be changed,” in contrast to the statement some others make, whosoever they are, on the topic of the dead, namely, “we are raised incorruptible in our bodies, whereas our souls are changed when they are altered to conform to a better and more divine quality.” But another person says the dead who are sinners are raised

incorruptible in order to endure eternal punishments but [those] who have lived virtuously [i.e., towards excellence] are changed from glory to glory. The mortal is therefore also corruptible, not indeed the reverse. Therefore the corruptible puts on incorruption, and the mortal puts on immortality in the crucial moment of the resurrection of the dead.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 54-56

Just as when virtue is present evil cannot exist, so when immortality is present death vanishes. Therefore when the mortal has put on immortality, death, being defeated, is swallowed up, as it is said to death: "Where is your victory in which you, being victorious, make people dead? Where is your sting by which you, wounding, were strong?" For death stings through the thoughts by imputing sins to those who are stricken by it [i.e., by death], but it is victorious over those who are actively sinning. Now, the saying in Hosea occurs [i.e., in Paul] not word for word: for instead of the words "your right" the apostle says "victory."

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 58

Since the enemy, death, has been destroyed, you are persevering faithfully, standing steadfast, carrying out continuously and uninterruptedly the work assigned to you by the Lord, being unfailingly of good courage as, in the Lord, your toil is not in vain since an eternal reward is being laid up in store for those who are always doing his work. •

Text, Translation, and Analysis

Abbreviations
in Staab's edition of Didymus' text

II = codex Althous Pantocrat 28

{ = addition by Staab to the text

| = deletion by Staab from the text

.. = The manuscript shows there to be a word or words missing from the text.

** = Staab judges there to be a word or words missing from the text.

1 Κορ 15, 1-2

Π ρ. 81^r

- 5 *Ἐπειδή τινες ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἔλεγον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ περιττὴν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀνάστασιν, διελέγχει αὐτῶν ὁ Παῦλος τὴν πλάνην, καὶ φησιν· τὰ εὐαγγέλιον, δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε ἐκ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης ἐπὶ τὸ γινώσκειν τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεόν, δι' οὗ βεβαιούσθε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἔχετε, γνῶριμον ὑμῖν καθίστημι.*
- 10 *Τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον γνωρίζω ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐκ ἔμῃ, ἀλλ' οὗ τινος ἢ περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν μνήμη.*

Staab 6.5-11

11 ἐμὴν Π

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 1-2

Translation 1-2

Because some people in Corinth were saying that the soul¹ was mortal and the resurrection of the body was superfluous, Paul had discussed their error, and he says: "The gospel, through which you were called from the error of polytheism to the knowledge of the true God, and through which you are sustained and have salvation, [this gospel which is] well-known to you, I brought and established.

"I remind you of the gospel of God, in order that you might know that the recollection of the resurrection of the dead is not mine nor anyone else's."

Notes

¹ ψυχή-soul. For Didymus "soul" denotes (1) that which animates a person's earthly, physical body (Staab 8.21-22, in 29, "they have life from their cohabiting souls"), (2) the part of a person which contains the emotions (Staab 10.20-21, in 44-46, "the soul cleaves to the passions"), and (3) the part of a person which can transcend the earthly (Staab 8.12-13, in 24b-26, "every soul united with him [Christ] overcomes death"; Staab 10.21-22, in 44-46, "if the soul transcends the passionate state"; Staab 10.16-20, in 44-46, the body raised by God's power is an organ of soul's "having been raised through possession of the Holy Spirit"). These uses are usual in early Christian writings (Bauer 1979, s.v. ψυχή, 1a, b, c). Didymus refers to a number of characteristics and functions of the soul (Lampe, s.v. ψυχή, IB5, IB9, IC1g, ID4, IF6, IF9, IIA1, IIA2, IID5, for similar references in other Patristic writings). It is incorruptible (Staab 6.5-7, in 1-2), immortal (Staab 7.14-16, in 18-20, Staab 9.1-2, in 33), pre-existent (Staab 9.4-6, in 33, implied), not inherently excellent or base but capable of either (Staab 10.1-2, in 42-43), and it has been corrupted before joining its body for earthly life by involvement with sexual passion at the time of conception (Staab 10.14-16, in 44-46). It animates a person's body (Staab 8.21-22, in 29), and cleaves to the passions (Staab 10.20, in 44-46): when it cleaves to the passions its body is "psychic" (Staab 10.20-21 in 44-46): when it transcends them, it and its

body are "pneumatic" (Staab 10.21-23, in 44-46; on "psychic" and "pneumatic" see Note 1 following Translation 42-43, below, and Note 1 following Analysis 44-46, below). When the soul is united with Christ it overcomes death and evil (Staab 8.12-13, 24-26a). Union with Christ makes the soul (and the body) of the righteous person "alive" (Staab 7.21-22, in 21-22). Didymus' statements concerning the soul's being raised and/or changed are unclear and perhaps contradictory: When the soul possesses the Holy Spirit it is raised (Staab 10.16-20, in 44-46), i.e., it is changed from soul "ψυχή" to spirit "πνεῦμα" (Staab 10.19-20, in 44-46). In righteous people the soul will be changed along with the body for the better (Staab 11.3-5, in 51). The soul is not "raised incorruptible" (as the body is), but is changed when it is "altered to conform to a better and more divine quality" (Staab 11.12-14, in 52-53). Finally, Didymus indicates that he is in agreement with Origen who (he says) is of the opinion that, if spirit and soul are two distinct things—the former possessed by saints and the latter by ordinary people—then "the spirit is greater than the soul in virtue" (Staab 13.21-22; Didymus on 1 Corinthians 16: 17-18; this portion of the Didymus text is, strictly speaking, beyond the range of the present study).

σθνήσκων-mortal. This word is translated "perishable" by the Revised Standard Version where Paul uses it in 1 Corinthians 15: 53-54. Although here I have translated it "mortal," generally I have used the English pair, "corruptible" and "incorruptible," for it and its opposite, *ἀσθνήσκων*, reserving "mortal" and "immortal" for the Greek *θνητός* and *ἀθάνατος*. This allows for a differentiation in translation between *σθνήσκων* and *θνητός* where they occur together in the text in section 52-53 (Staab 11.17-18). This passage, in fact, points up the closeness in meaning—and a distinction, between *σθνήσκων* and *θνητός*. Didymus, playing on the word *σθνήσκων*, states that "the mortal is therefore also corruptible, not indeed the reverse." To spell this out: The mortal *θνητός* is therefore always bound to die, *θνήσκει*, but the worthless person *σθνήσκων* is not always mortal *θνητός*. The idea that worthless persons might not always be mortal has been explained in the text one sentence earlier (Staab 11.14-16, in 52-53): "the dead who are sinners are raised incorruptible in order to endure eternal punishments." The

same thing is mentioned in section 41 (Staab 9.28): "For even the bodies of worthless people are not corruptible."

Analysis 1-2

According to Didymus, Paul is reminding the Corinthians about the gospel in order to show that the resurrection of the dead is part of it—and is thus a firmly founded truth. In Didymus' representation, Paul's reminder has something of a challenge to it: the Corinthian Christians cannot deny that the gospel was brought to them since Paul himself "brought and established" it; they cannot deny that they have accepted it and benefited from it since because of it they have actually given up polytheism for the true God and received sustenance and salvation. Their own acceptance of the gospel in these basic ways gives the gospel as a whole—and the portion of the gospel concerning the resurrection of the dead—an authority they must recognize as being greater than Paul's or anyone else's word or "recollection."

Didymus' representation of Paul's reminder brings in not only the resurrection of the dead but also the immortality of the soul. This is because of the way in which Didymus understands certain Greek ideas to dovetail with Christian beliefs. He holds to the common Greek conception of a human being as consisting of two parts, a body and a soul (assumed, Staab 6.18-20, in 3-4 re the incarnate Christ; Staab 8.20-22, in 29 re people in general; Staab 9.1-6, in 33; Staab 10.1-3, in 42-43; Staab 10.14-23, in 44-46; Staab 11.13-14, in 52-53) or possibly three parts, body, soul and spirit (Staab 13.18-23, in Didymus on 1 Corinthians 16: 17-18) and he believes in the Christian doctrine that through Christ's death and resurrection provision has been made for all people to experience resurrection after death (Staab 6.10-11, in 1-2; Staab 6.12-14, in 3-4; Staab 6.16-18, in 3-4; Staab 6.20-22, in 3-4 disbelievers contemptible; Staab 7.7-9, in 12-17; Staab 7.14-16, in 18-20; Staab 7.17-19, in 18-20; and elsewhere). His interpretation of *ψαυα*—the "self" or "body" with respect to which resurrection is to take place—follows the Greek idea of the body as flesh-rather-than-soul rather than the more Pauline notion (Bultmann, 192-203) of the whole self. To the further Greek commonplace that the body cannot live apart from the soul (which he accepts: Staab 8.20-22, in 29) he answers with yet another, that the soul is immortal—always alive, always available to enliven the body (assumed, Staab 6.5-7, in 1-2; Staab 7.14-16, in 18-20; Staab 9.1-7, in 33 all

of which refute the opposite opinion). This allows the resurrection of the body to be seen as the means by which people's bodies are able to rejoin their immortal souls and live again. On the other side of the coin, disbelief in the immortality ("incorruptibility") of the soul would leave the resurrection of the body impotent—since the raised body would have no soul to give it life. In Didymus' opinion this is the predicament that is at the root of the failure of some of the Corinthians to believe in the Christian resurrection of the dead: "A person who does not admit that the human soul is immortal...*therefore* does not believe in the resurrection" (Staab 7.14-15, in 18-20; emphasis added).

1 Κορ 15, 3-4

Π 1. 81^v

Παρέδωκέ μοι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι ἐπιδημήσας ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ σῶμα
 κατ' ἀλήθειαν φορέσας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναστῆναι τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἀποθανῶν
 καὶ ταφείς ἀνέστη. εἶτα ἵνα μὴ θορυβηθῶσιν οἱ ἀπλούστεροι θάνατον
 15 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπάγει κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ πέποιθε ὅσα
 περὶ αὐτοῦ προανεφώνησαν οἱ προφῆται. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη
 καὶ ἀνέστη, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν ἀναστῆναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν ἀναστάντα, αὐτοῦ αἰτίου γενομένου τῆς ἐγέρσεως. εἰ δὲ λέγεται
 Χριστὸς τεθνήσκει καὶ τεθάφθαι, περὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐκ-
 20 ληπτέον, οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐπίστευσαν τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναστάσει,
 μεμπταῖοί εἰσι μὴ συμπαραδεξάμενοι τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναστάσει καὶ τὴν
 πάντων ἀνάστασιν.

Staab 6.12-22

19 τεθάπται Π

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 3-4

Translation 3-4

He [Paul] handed on to me the gospel that the saviour, sojourning and, according to the truth, possessing a body, rose, having died and having been buried in order to raise up the dead. Then, in order that the simpler people not be disturbed by the death of Christ, he adds "according to the scriptures," for Christ has suffered such things, as many as the prophets foretold about him. Since, then, he died and was buried and rose, the result is the raising up of human beings through the one who rose on their behalf, because he became the cause of the awakening. And if it is said "Christ has died and has been buried," one must understand this concerning his body, not the soul. Since, therefore, they believed in the resurrection of the saviour, they were contemptible, because they did not simultaneously accept also the resurrection of all in the resurrection of the saviour.

Analysis 3-4

Didymus represents Paul as handing on the gospel not to his first century Corinthian readers but to himself, Didymus, in fourth century Alexandria: Didymus sees himself as participating in the tradition of gospel transmission. He outlines the main points of the gospel. Christ, the saviour, lived on earth in a human body and died and was buried with the intended and actual results that he, being dead, rose from the dead and that human beings who have died are (now?) also being raised up or "awakened" from the dead. (According to this presentation of the gospel it is an account of the measures taken by Christ to enable the dead to be raised, and of the success of those measures for all people including Christ.) Didymus emphasizes that Christ's death and burial had to do with his earthly body, not his soul. He explains Paul's words "according to the scriptures" as Paul's attempt to reassure "simpler people" (*απλοτεροι*: people who are, perhaps, less sophisticated thinkers and for this reason less protected from horror at Christ's death) that what Christ suffered—death and burial—was neither more nor less than

what the prophets foretold about him and therefore exactly appropriate for him.

As he has explained in section 1-2, Didymus believes Paul is reviewing the gospel in order to combat disbelief in the resurrection of the dead. Now he shows that Paul's readers are wrong not only because they disbelieve part of the gospel, but also because their partial disbelief makes nonsense out of what they do believe. Didymus is convinced that resurrection is strictly an across-the-board phenomenon that, if it truly occurs, must take place in all cases of dead people without exception—otherwise never. It is in light of this presupposition that he judges Paul's readers' logic contemptible: they would have resurrection occur in the case of Christ alone and then stop short. Note that, while Didymus speaks here of the resurrection of *all*, it is clear from what he says in section 18-20 that he believes "eternal life" is for all who "admit that the human soul is immortal" and "believe in the resurrection [of the body]." It is among qualified candidates that resurrection must apply to all or to none. For more on this see the analysis of section 33.

1 Κορ 15, 5-9

Π ρ. 81^v—82^r

Ταύτης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτόπται ἀξιωματοῦρές εἰσιν οἱ
 πρῶτοι αὐτῶ συνόντες, ἔπειτα πεντακόσιοι.

25 Ταῦτα, φησί, παραδίδωμι οἷς ἀντειπεῖν οὐ δύνανται οἱ ἀπατῶντες
 ὑμᾶς. ὁμοῦς, εἰ καὶ τὸ τεθνεὸς σῶμα ἀνίσταται, ἀλλ' ἀφθαρτον καὶ
 πνευματικόν· διὸ οὐδὲ πᾶσιν ἐφαίνεται ἀλλ' οἷς ἤθελεν. οὕτως μετὰ
 τὴν ἀνάληψιν ὤφθη τῷ Παύλῳ, ὃς μετριάζων καλεῖ ἑαυτὸν ἔκ τρωμα,
 συναισθόμενος ὅτι ἐκ μετανοίας ἐλήλυθε εἰς τὸ ἀπόστολον εἶναι, καὶ ὡς
 μηδὲ τῆς ὀνομασίας ἄξιος ὢν ὡς διώκτης. πλὴν εἰ καὶ πάλαι τοιοῦτο,
 ἀλλὰ νῦν διδάσκαλος ἔχων τοῦτο ἐκ δωρεᾶς.

Staab 6.23-7.2

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 5-9

Translation 5-9

Eyewitnesses of this his resurrection—worthy witnesses—were those who were first together with him; then the five hundred witnesses.

Paul says, "I am handing on these things which those who are deceiving you are not able to contradict." Likewise, if his body having died was raised, but incorruptible and spiritual, then Christ would not have appeared to all but [only] to those to whom he wished [to appear]. After the ascension he appeared thus to Paul, who calmly calls himself an aborted fetus, understanding that through repentance he has come to be an apostle, since, as a persecutor, he was not worthy of the name. But if that is what he was formerly, now he is a teacher, having this as a gift.

Analysis 5-9

Didymus repeats Paul's verses 5 and 6a, emphasizing that the two earliest groups of witnesses to Christ's resurrection—first, one presumes, Cephas and the twelve; then, explicitly, the five hundred witnesses—were actually eyewitnesses, the most reliable kind of witnesses. Then he hearkens back to the "first importance" of the gospel, mentioned by Paul in verse 3. He puts into Paul's mouth the claim that the things he, Paul, is handing on—the gospel "facts" and the facts of their transmission—are proof against contradiction by "those who are deceiving" his—Paul's—readers. "Those who are deceiving" the Corinthians are, one would guess, heretofore unmentioned people who are leading the Corinthians into the errors referred to in section 1-2.

Didymus goes on to say that just as the gospel and its transmission are irrefutable, so too—"likewise"—is it irrefutable that Christ's body was not raised "incorruptible and spiritual." Didymus believes that Christ was surely raised in an ordinary—i.e., earthly—human body, for he appeared indiscriminately to the entire group of five hundred witnesses: Didymus assumes that if Christ's risen body had been "incorruptible and spiritual" he could, and certainly would, have appeared only to those individuals in the crowd to

whom he wished to appear. However, Didymus says, Christ later did appear "thus," i.e., selectively and/or in an incorruptible, spiritual body: this was after the ascension, when he appeared to Paul. It seems Didymus distinguishes between the kind of body Christ rose in and the kind in which he ascended into heaven.

Didymus repeats Paul's description of himself as an aborted fetus (Revised Standard Version, "one untimely born") and an apostle who, however, "as a persecutor [of the church]...was not worthy of the name." He adds that Paul understood himself to have become an apostle "through repentance" and, altering and elaborating on Paul's verse 10 ("by the grace of God I am what I am"), he says that Paul is "now" (at the time of Didymus' writing? Paul's?) no longer a persecutor but a teacher by a gift (presumably of God). Obviously, material relating to verse 10 should not appear here but rather in section 10-11 (Staab 7.3-6). In fact it is repeated there: apparently the anthologist responsible for the arrangement of the material as it is found in the manuscript used by Staab extracted overlapping sections of an earlier Didymus manuscript with the result that this one portion of a sentence was used twice.

1 Kor 15,10-11

Π 1. 82

Εἰ καὶ πάλαι διώκτης, ἀλλὰ νῦν διδάσκαλος δωρεᾶ θεοῦ ἦτις οὐ
ματαίως ἐνυπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ περ ἐνδυναμωθείς ὑπ' αὐτῆς περισσύτερος
ἀνέτηλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως. ὅλον δὲ τὸ κατόρθωμα
δ' ἔσχεν ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀνατίθησι τῇ δοθείσῃ χάριτι θεοῦ αὐτῷ.

Staab 7.3-6

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 10-11

Translation 10-11

And if he was formerly a persecutor, now he is a teacher by a gift of God which did not inhere in him in vain, seeing that, having acquired strength by it, he all the more bore the struggles on behalf of the holy faith. And the whole success which he had through his deliberate choice he attributes to the grace which had been given to him from God.

Analysis 10-11

The opening words of this section have already been mentioned in the discussion of section 5-9, the section in which they first appeared. Slight differences of wording between their first and second occurrence can probably be accounted for by the anthologist's desire to close the first extract smoothly—rounding out “by a gift” to “having this as a gift”—and to open the second one unambiguously—replacing the pronoun “that” with its antecedent “a persecutor.”

In this section Didymus follows the general course of Paul's verse 10 (he does not say anything about verse 11). For Paul's “I am what I am” Didymus states unambiguously “he is a teacher”; for “the grace of God” Didymus at first substitutes “a gift of God,” then changes back to Paul's word, “grace.” Didymus repeats Paul's thought that God's grace (or gift) to him (Paul) was not in vain, adding that it gave Paul strength. Altering Paul's “I worked harder than any of them,” Didymus writes “he all the more bore the struggles on behalf of the holy faith” (i.e., he endured the difficulties he undertook for the sake of Christianity): in other words Didymus has omitted the comparison with others and spelled out what he believes was the nature of Paul's hard work. Finally, Paul's correction that “it was not I, but the grace of God which is in me” that did the hard work Didymus explains as a complete transfer from himself to the grace of God of credit for success achieved personally and meritoriously. This attitude is evidently a borrowing from Stoic thought in which the faculty of “deliberate choice”

"*προσηλυτικῶς*" was highly esteemed. Didymus is drawing attention to Paul's piety in dedicating to God credit he could legitimately have claimed for himself.

1 Κορ 15, 12-17

Π 1. 82^v

Εἰ τις λέγει μὴ ἐγείρεσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάγκη Χριστοῦ ἀναστάντος πάντας ἀνίστασθαι, οὐκ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως λέγει μὴδὲ Χριστὸν ἐγγέσθαι; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέστη, ὅρα πόσα ἀνακύπτει ἄτοπα· ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐλπόντες τοῦτο ψευδομάρτυρες εὐρεθήσομεθα κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ 10 καὶ ὡς ὑμεῖς ἡλιθίως συνέθεσθε τῇ ἐγέρσει τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστει τοῦ ἀναστάντος δόξαντες ἠλευθερωσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, οὐκ ἀπεβάλετε τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν.

Staab 7.7-13

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 12-17

Translation 12-17

If anyone says the dead are not raised, when already it is a necessity, since Christ has risen, that all people are raised, does he not then necessarily say that Christ has not been raised? And if he is not risen, see how many absurdities emerge! We, if we say this, will be found to be false witnesses against God; and even if you triflingly agreed to the resurrection of the Lord, and seemed to have been delivered of your sins by faith in the risen one, you did not put off your sins.

Analysis 12-17

In section 3-4 Didymus has been seen to regard resurrection either as something that happens, in which case it affects every dead person, or as something that does not happen ever. He sees no possibility of its affecting some people and not others. Now, with Paul, he looks more closely at the possibility that resurrection does not occur, that dead people are not raised, i.e., that they are never raised. If the dead are not raised, then Christ, a dead person whose deadness was no different from that of other dead people, could not have been raised. At any rate this is the thrust of his speculations. In fact Didymus does not follow Paul in considering the *real* possibility of the dead not being raised; he focusses instead on the person who *believes* that the dead are not raised. The reasoning is the same. Because of the "everyone-or-no-one" nature of resurrection, the person who believes the dead are not raised must believe that Christ has not been raised. It should be noted, though, that for Didymus, as for Paul, the power of this statement is in the patent falsity of its latter part. It is known and accepted even by those readers who do not believe in general resurrection that Christ has been raised from the dead; what *contradicts that cannot be right belief*. Didymus quickly reasserts the truth: the fact is that Christ is risen and therefore all people are raised.

"And if he is not risen, see how many absurdities emerge!" Ostensibly following Paul's argument of verses 14-17, Didymus actually maintains a much more conservative line of thought. Paul has imagined as vain and misrepresentational the normally unassailable Christian acts of preaching, keeping faith, and testifying to God's raising of Christ—in light of there being, hypothetically, no resurrection of the dead. Didymus calls false and ineffectual only what he and Paul and the church have always believed to be so: denial of the resurrection of Christ and denial of the resurrection of the dead. To paraphrase: "we, if we say this," that Christ has not been raised, "will be found to be false witnesses against God," i.e., against the truth of God's raising of Christ. "And if you triflingly agreed to the resurrection of the Lord," but did not fully believe in it since you denied the truth it depends on (that resurrection happens to all the dead), you may thereby appear to have been delivered of your sins but in fact you have not put them off.

1 Κορ 15, 18-20

Π |. 83r

Ὁ μὴ παραδεξάμενος τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιστῶν τῇ ἀναστάσει, οἰκτρὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος στερῶν ἑαυτὸν τῆς 15 αἰωνίου ζωῆς δι' ἣν πλούσιοι οἱ ἅγιοι ἀξίων ἀμοιβῶν τυγχάνοντες.

Εἰ καὶ ἀπιστῶσί τινες, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν, εἰδότες ὡς ἀπαρχὴ Χριστὸς γέγονεν, ἀνάστασις τῶν κεκοιμημένων· δι' ὧν πάντες πειραθήσονται τῆς ἀθανάτου ζωῆς, ἀκολουθῶν γάρ.

Staab 7.14-19

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 18-20

Translation 18-20

A person who does not admit that the human soul is immortal, and therefore does not believe in the resurrection, such a pitiable person is depriving himself of the eternal life because of which the saints are wealthy since they obtain due rewards.

Accordingly, even if some disbelieve, nevertheless we expect a resurrection, knowing that Christ has become the first fruits,¹ a resurrection of those who have fallen asleep, through whom² all will experience the undying life.

Notes

¹ ἀπαρχή—first fruits. This is a technical word carried over from Jewish law. In that context it referred to those first-born of livestock and first-harvested of crops which, through being offered as a sacrifice to God, were to bring about abundant further agricultural production.

² δι' ὧν—through whom. It would seem that the antecedent is "Christ"; however "ὧν" ("whom"), being plural, seems to refer to "those who slept."

Analysis 18-20

Paul describes as pitiable "we" who—if it is true that there is no resurrection of the dead—have "hoped in Christ" only to perish. Didymus does not consider people's pitifulness in Paul's hypothetical terms. Convinced that there is a resurrection of the dead, Didymus describes as pitiable those people ("they," not "we") who do *not* hope in Christ, i.e., those who do not believe in the immortality of the soul, who therefore do not believe it is worth their while to believe in the resurrection of the body (since a raised body would be useless without a soul, see Analysis 1-2), and who, because personal belief in resurrection is held to be necessary for personal attainment of it, deprive themselves of the resurrection of the body (since they do not bother to believe in it) and therefore deprive themselves of any sort of eternal life. This complicated sequence of disbelief assumes (1) that body and

soul—a raised body and an immortal soul—are necessary for eternal life, (2) that the soul is always immortal, and (3) that an individual's body is raised only if that person believes it will be. Eternal life Didymus regards as the "due reward" abundantly given to worthy Christians whom he calls "saints."

Because Didymus has never truly acknowledged Paul's hypothesis of verse 13, "if there is no resurrection of the dead..." he cannot reflect Paul's shift at verse 20 from hypothesis to actuality, "but in fact Christ has been raised..." Instead he contrasts with those who disbelieve, "we" who believe in resurrection and "expect" to experience it. According to Didymus, this expectation is based on the knowledge that Christ is the "first fruits" of resurrection, i.e., the first one to be raised and the one who ushers in the abundance of further resurrections by which the dead in general will be raised.

1 Κορ 15, 21-22

Π f. 83r

Ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ παραβῆναι τὸν Ἀδάμ τὸν νόμον οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ 20
 πάντες τεθνήκασιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ μὴ
 γνόντι ἁμαρτίαν ζωοποιηθῆσονται. τινὲς δὲ τῶν αἰρετικῶν
 μόνην λέγουσι τὴν ψυχὴν ζωοποιεῖσθαι ἐν Χριστῷ τῶν δικαίων, ὅτι
 οὐκ ἔστιν * * ἡ γὰρ ζωοποίησις πάντων ἔσται τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν
 τῷ Ἀδάμ.

25

Staab 7.20-25

24 < ἀνάστασις σωμάτων > . . .

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 21-22

Translation 21-22

Since [it is clear that] because Adam transgressed the law, all who are descended from him have died; so also in Christ, who did not know sin, they will be made alive. Now some of the heretics say that only the soul of the righteous is made alive in Christ, because there is no [resurrection of bodies] ...for the making alive of all will be of those who died in Adam.

Analysis 21-22

Didymus does not comment on Paul's verse 21. He expands on the remark in verse 22 that it is through Adam all die and through Christ all will be made alive by stating that it was Adam's transgression of the law that caused his descendents to die and Christ's sinlessness that will cause them to be brought back to life. Next he reports that certain "heretics" say the soul is the only part of the righteous person that Christ will bring back to life, "because there is no...." As Staab notes, the text is clearly missing some words between "there is no" (*οὐκ ἔστιν*) and "for the making alive" (*ἡ γὰρ ἀναστάσις*). Staab suggests that "resurrection of bodies" (*ἀναστάσις σωμάτων*) be supplied: i.e., the heretics believe that it is only the soul that is raised "because there is no *resurrection of bodies*." Probably more words are missing also, words which, in rejecting the heretics' belief (for example, "But the heretics' opinion is wrong"), would lead into Didymus' conclusion, "...for the making alive of all will be of those who died in Adam." Didymus interprets dying in Adam as dying with respect to the earthly body—the body of the kind Adam had; for him this means that the resurrection must be likewise a resurrection of bodies, not of souls. Note that Didymus uses Paul's text to argue against a specific opinion without concern about whether or not Paul met with the same opinion or intended to counter it.

1 Κορ 15, 23-24^οΠ 1. 83^ν

Ὡς πρὸ πάντων οὐσα ἡ Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασις, πρώτη ἔσται ἐν τιμῇ·
 εἶτα ἐξῆς οἱ πιστοὶ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἧς ἔχουσι πίστεως τάσσονται ἐν τῇ
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίᾳ, μεθ' ἣν ἔστιν τὸ τέλος οὕτω πρὸς ἀρχὴν
 διαστελλόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ οὐ εἴνεκα τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς
 σωτηρίαν, αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλο(ν) χάριν ὑπάρχον ἔσχατον ὄρεκτόν καθ'
 ἑαυτὸ καὶ δι' ἑαυτὸ αἰρετόν τυγχάνον.

Staab 7.26-8.2

1 ὑπάρχων Π

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 23-24a

Translation 23-24a

As Christ's resurrection is before all, it will be first in honour; then, at the coming of Christ, the faithful will be arranged in order according to the proportion in which they have faith. After which [Christ's coming], the consummation is being directed in this way towards a beginning. Because of which [the consummation] all the other things are straining towards salvation, but it [the consummation] is the desired goal, not because of anything else, [but] because of its own self, and through its own self it attains what is chosen.

Analysis 23-24a

Didymus points out that, with regard to Paul's ordered list of those who have been or will be raised from the dead, Christ's resurrection was first not only because it was the earliest to occur ("before all") but also because it is the most highly honoured ("first in honour"). He expands Paul's list to include the arrangement, when Christ returns, of all Christians according to their faithfulness ("according to the *proportion* in which they have faith": cf. Rom. 12: 6). Then he elaborates on the opening words of Paul's verse 24, "εἰς τὸ τέλος" ("then comes the end"), indicating that after Christ's coming the events of the consummation will be set into motion: the end will be commanded to begin. He goes on. Concerning salvation, he says that everything ardently desires it "because of . . . the consummation". Everything wants salvation because it is through salvation that participation in the consummation is attained. But concerning the consummation itself, it is desired for its own sake and not as a means to an end. And it is through its own self that the consummation attains what is chosen, for the consummation is, by definition, the attainment of all chosen, longed-for things.

Note that the Greek word for consummation, τέλος, also means end. Didymus places it in riddling conjunction with its counterpart, beginning (ἀρχή): "the end is being directed towards a beginning."

1 Κορ 15, 24^b-26Π ς. 83^v

Βασιλείαν ὧδε λέγει τοὺς βασιλευμένους, ἦτοι τὴν ἰδίαν
 σάρκα ἦν βελτιῶσαι ὁ υἱὸς παρέδωκε τῷ πατρὶ, οὐκέτι βασιλευμένην
 5 ὡς δούλου μορφὴν ἀλλ' ὡς οὖσαν, σάρκα τοῦ λόγου ὃ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀναδείξας τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μορφὴν ἐν αὐτῇ. τότε γὰρ
 ἀπειληφότος τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἦν εἶχε πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον
 εἶναι, ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς βασιλέως πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ βασιλευθήσονται. δεῖ
 οὖν τὸν Χριστὸν βασιλεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄλων προκοπῆς. ἕως οὗ πάντες οἱ
 10 διὰ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ πόδας αὐτοῦ τιθῶσιν, καταλύοντος
 αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τυραννικὴν ἐξουσίαν, μεθ' ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρχίκακος κατα-
 λύεται θάνατος, ἐπεὶ περ πᾶσα ἐνουμένη αὐτῷ ψυχὴ ὑφισταμένη θάνατον
 τὸν ἐνούμενον τῇ κακίᾳ.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 24b-26

Translation 24b-26

Here he calls a kingdom those who are being ruled, indeed his own flesh which, to improve it, the Son handed over to the Father, no longer a form ruled as a slave but as a form that is flesh of the Word, which is the Son himself, showing forth the form of God in itself. For then when the Son has received the glory which he had before the world was, they will be ruled as by one King, Father and Son. It is necessary then that Christ rule over the progress of all things until the time when all who are enemies through sinning place themselves under his feet, he himself destroying every tyrannical power, after which also death itself, the supreme evil, is destroyed, since every soul united with him overcomes death which is united with evil.

Analysis 24b-26

Didymus interprets Paul as using the word "kingdom," in the sense of "those who are ruled," to refer to Christ, i.e., to Christ's "own flesh," his person or self, since, he says, in his human form Christ was "ruled" as a slave. The image of Christ as a slave probably comes to Didymus from Philippians 2:6-8 where "the form of a servant" (Phil. 2:7) refers to Christ's incarnational form, after being "born in the likeness of humans" (Phil. 2:7). Presumably, Didymus regards Christ as ruled by obedience to the Father. It follows that Didymus interprets Christ's delivery of the kingdom to God as Christ the Son's handing over of himself to the Father to be changed, i.e., transformed and "upgraded," from his "ruled" or human form to the form of the divine Word. He adds that the divine Word is, of course, the Son himself—one supposes Didymus means that the Word is the Son himself in his true, heavenly form—and that the Word "shows forth the form of God." This too is language familiar from Philippians (2:6) where, however, "though he was in the form of God" refers to Christ before the incarnation rather than after it.

Having interpreted Christ's delivery of the kingdom to God as his handing over of himself to be transformed, Didymus goes on to discuss events he says will be concomitant with that transformation. He says that when the transformation occurs-involving, of course, Christ's coming into the glory which he had before the creation of the world-a certain group of people or things ("they") will be ruled by the Father and Son united as a single king. In other words, he believes that at this time the supreme authority will no longer be divided into Father and Son but will have become a single sovereignty ruling over-he does not make clear exactly whom or what.

Finally Didymus states that Christ must "rule over the progress of all things" until a number of conditions have been met: (1) All Christ's enemies shall have submitted to him. (2) Christ shall have destroyed "every tyrannical power." (3) "Death ..., the supreme evil" and "united with evil," shall have been destroyed by being overcome by the souls which are "united with" Christ. In the last condition, Didymus artistically pairs the opponents, souls and Christ versus Death and evil, repeating the brief formula, "united with," followed (in Greek) by the dative.

1 Κορ 15, 27-28

Π / 85v

Πρός τε τὴν Ἑλλήνων μυθολογίαν τε καὶ ἀπάτην εἰρησθαι ταῦτα
15 εἰπόντες τῶν φασκόντων παρρησίας εἶναι θεούς, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ὑποτασσομένης αὐτὸς λέγεται ὑποτάττεσθαι, οἰκειούμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας
τοὺς διωγμοὺς καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὴν ὑποταγήν.

Staab 8.14-17

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 27-28

Translation 27-28

[the scriptures] having said these things [about subjection] to speak against both the myth-telling and fraud of the Greeks who say that gods are parricides; and, . . . because—since the church is being subjected—he himself [Christ] is said to be subjected, since he claims for himself the church's persecutions, sufferings, and subjection.

Analysis 27-28

Didymus' two comments on verses 27-28 are probably each intended to run on from and complete a part of Paul's verse 28, the first of them following from, "The Son will be subjected to him [the Father]." and the second from the very brief, "The Son will be subjected." Therefore, to give these remarks in full, they must read: "[NT:] The Son will be subjected to him [the Father]. [Didymus:] [the scriptures] having said these things [about subjection] to speak against both the myth-telling and fraud of the Greeks who say that gods are parricides; and, [NT:] the Son will be subjected. [Didymus:] because—since the church is being subjected—he himself [Christ] is said to be subjected, since he claims for himself the church's persecutions, sufferings, and subjection." Clearly, Didymus is aware that Paul has based Christ's subjection to God on the scriptural passage quoted by Paul in verse 27: Psalm 8: 6. He suggests that Paul makes the statement (that the Son will be subjected to the Father) and supports it scripturally in order to refute what he (Didymus) calls the "myth-telling" and "fraud" the Greeks practice when they say that gods are parricides. This is to say, Didymus presents Paul as arguing that Christ is not a parricide (as were many other gods in the Greco-Roman world) but is, quite to the contrary, in subjection to his Father. That this should be so Didymus presumably understands as being to Christ's (and Christianity's) credit. Didymus' second comment is that "NT: the son will be subjected." inasmuch as the church is being subjected, and the Son, Christ, "claims for himself the church's persecutions, sufferings, and subjection."

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 27-28

Translation 27-28

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1 Κορ 15, 29

Π 1. 84*

Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος ἀντὶ ἀφωτιστῶν τεθνεώτων βαπτίζουσι ζῶντας,
 οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι τὸ βάπτισμα σώζει μόνον τὸν εὐληφῶτα αὐτό. ὁ δὲ
 20 ἀπόστολος νεκροὺς λέγει τὰ σώματα ὑπὲρ ὧν βαπτίζομεθα· τῷ γὰρ
 ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἄνευ ψυχῆς οὐ ζῆ ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν συνοουσῶν ψυχῶν ἔχει
 τὸ ζῆν. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Ἀβραάμ τὸ ἄψυχον σῶμα νεκρὸν ὠνόμασεν.

Staab 8.18-22

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 29

Translation 29

The followers of Marcion baptize living persons in place of unenlightened dead persons, not knowing that baptism saves only the one who receives it. But the apostle calls dead the bodies on behalf of which we are baptized. For in his own word these bodies do not live apart from a soul, but they have life from their cohabiting souls. Likewise, Abraham too called the soulless body dead.

Analysis 29

Didymus tells that the Marcionites baptize living persons on behalf of unbaptized dead persons. Fortunately, Chrysostom has given us a description of the rite (John Chrysostom, 244); he is also the one who has specifically informed us that the Marcionites based their practice on the present Pauline verse (John Chrysostom, 244).

when any Catechumen departs among them, having concealed the living man under the couch of the dead, they approach the corpse and talk with him, and ask him if he wishes to receive baptism, then when he makes no answer, he that is concealed underneath saith in his stead that of course he should wish to be baptized, and so they baptize him instead of the departed like men jesting upon the stage (John Chrysostom, 244)

Didymus pronounces the Marcionite baptism ineffectual: the Marcionites do not realize that baptism has its salvific effect only on the person who directly receives it, not on the person who is *meant* to receive it by proxy.

Going on, Didymus explains something he believes Paul means to say about baptism (correctly practised and understood) when he says "what do people mean *by being baptized on behalf of the dead*?" What this something is is less than clear. "εἰ" ("but") shows Didymus probably intends there to be a contrast between what the Marcionites practice and what Paul says. This could be that—as Didymus sees it the Marcionites baptize on behalf of "τετελευτησάντων" ("having died": Staab 8.18, in 29) persons who also happen to be different individuals from those they actually baptize—whereas Paul

indicates that baptism is meant to be on behalf of "νεκρῶν" ("the dead" or "corpses"; Staab 8.20, in 29-quoted from Paul's verse 29), who are dead only in as much as their own bodies can never truly be said to be alive (they are merely animated by the soul). In other words, Didymus presents Paul as indicating that baptism is meant to be done on behalf of the baptisand's own basically inanimate ("dead") body, not someone else's deceased one. Didymus' statement that Paul has shown "in his own word" that the bodies on behalf of which "we are baptized" "do not live apart from a soul..." refers, I believe, to Paul's word for the dead, "νεκροί." It is almost certain that, to Didymus, Paul's use of the word "νεκροί," with its connotation of corpse, indicates the body or husk of a person that is buried after death. Of course this is not consistent with what we now understand about Paul's use of the words "σῶμα" and "ψυχή" (Bultmann, 192ff.). However, Didymus takes it as sufficient evidence that Paul is distinguishing between the living soul and the "dead" or inanimate body.

Before closing, Didymus recalls that when Abraham speaks of burying his "dead," Sarah (Genesis 23: 3-4, in the Septuagint), he, too, uses the word "νεκροί" for the inanimate and no-longer-animated but rather, now, "soulless"-body.

1 Κορ 15, 30

Π f. 84v

Εἰ μὴ ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ, εἰ μὴ ἐγείρεται τὸ σῶμα, εἰ καὶ μάταιον
τὸ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας.

Staab 8.23-24

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 30

Translation 30

... if the soul is not immortal, if the body is not raised, and if it is rash to run a risk on behalf of piety.

Analysis 30

Didymus' comment on verse 30 is probably intended to run on from and complete Paul's question. "[Paul:] Why am I in peril every hour, [Didymus:] if the soul is not immortal, if the body is not raised, and if it is rash to run a risk on behalf of piety?" Didymus believes that it would be senseless for Paul to risk death if the soul were not immortal or the body not raised: as we have seen in the discussions of sections 1-2 and 18-20, for Didymus either of these conditions would make death the final end, something to be avoided with extreme care and not something to be risked. Thus he interprets Paul as asking rhetorically, "If the soul is not immortal, if the body is not raised, and if, *therefore*, it is rash to run the risk of death on behalf of piety—why do I *allow myself* to be in peril every hour?" He assumes that for Paul these "ifs" cannot be true since Paul would never so endanger himself.

1 Κορ 15, 32

Π f. 84^v

25 Ὅσον κατ' ἀνθρώπινον ἦκε λογισμόν, ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
ἐγὼ οὐκ (ἂν) ὑποστῆναι τοῦτο βουληθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, εἰ νεκροὶ
οὐκ ἐγείρονται.

Staab 8.25-27

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 32

Translation 32

To the extent that, on a literal level, he [Paul] burst out with the idea, "I fought with wild beasts in Ephesus," I [Didymus] [would]¹ not want to endure this [even] for the sake of the truth—if the dead are not raised.

Notes

¹ Staab has added to the text "αἰ" ("would") judging it necessary to the sense of the passage.

Analysis 32

Didymus could, apparently, interpret verse 32 in a metaphorical or perhaps allegorical fashion, but he does not do so here. Echoing Paul's "κατὰ ἀνθρώπου" ("humanly speaking") with the slightly altered "κατ' ἀνθρώπου," he considers whether or not he himself would be prepared literally to fight with wild beasts. Unless the dead are raised "I [Didymus] [would] not want to endure this [even] for the sake of the truth." "Εἰ," "I," indicates the change of speaker from Paul to Didymus and, in effect, closes the quotation of Paul's words in this very difficult section of the text.

1 Kor 15, 33

Π ς. 84^v

Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ὡς Κόρινθοι, ὡς μὴ ἐπιδιαμενούσης τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς· οἱ γὰρ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς συμφθείρονται αὐτὴν (φθείρεσθαι) οἰόμενοι. ὃ περικείται σώματα, φασὶν δι' σπαταλητέον· αὐθιόν γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν, οὐκ οὐσης ἑτέρας ζωῆς παρὰ τὴν φαινομένην, ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα ὧν συναφανίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ 5 συνεσπάρη αὐτῶν. οὐκ ἀνεκτέον σὺν τῶν φανύλων διαλέξεων φθειρουσῶν εὐήθων τὰς γνώμας.

Staab 9.1-7

2 συμφθείρονθ Π

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 33

Translation 33

Do not be misled, O Corinthians, that the rational soul does not survive, for those who are deceiving you are at the same time being destroyed since they think it [i.e., the soul] is destroyed.¹ As to what advantage bodies are, they say that one must live riotously for tomorrow we die since there is not a second life in addition to the one that appears. This is the same as with the non-rational living things in which the soul disappears with the body since it was also born with it. Therefore the opinions [expressed in] the worthless, corrupting, silly arguments need not be tolerated.

Note

¹ Staab has added to the text "*peribebetai*" ("is destroyed") judging it necessary to the sense of the passage.

Analysis 33

Karl Staab's verse numbering for this section neglects Didymus' reference to, and quotation from, 1 Corinthians 15:32b.

According to Didymus, certain people are "misleading" or "deceiving" the Corinthians by convincing them that the human ("rational") soul is not immortal ("does not survive" the body's death). Addressing the Corinthians, Didymus exhorts them not to be misled into this belief, or, rather, disbelief, for, he says, it destroys the person who holds it and is already destroying those who are leading the Corinthians toward it. Probably by this he means that disbelief in the immortality of the soul destroys and is destroying in the way he indicates in sections 1-2 and 18-20. The premises there are that both body and soul are required for eternal life and that although the soul is immortal no matter what, the body will not be raised unless the person believes it will be raised. The result is that disbelief in the immortality of the soul, while it does not destroy the soul, does destroy the person's opportunity for eternal life by leading to indifference about and disbelief in

the resurrection of the body. This disbelief renders the body unraisable and therefore unavailable for participation with the soul in the formation of that individual's eternal life.

Examining the attitude toward bodies of "those who are deceiving" the Corinthians, Didymus explains that, since they believe death is the final end ("there is not a second life in addition to the one that appears")-and this is clearly because of their belief that the soul "does not survive" death-and since, whether or not it is because of this view of death, death seems to them to be approaching fast ("for tomorrow we die"), they believe the best use of one's body meanwhile is "riotous living," or, in other words, living to the full in this present, earthly life. This obviously draws on Paul's verse 32b: "let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die." One wonders if, in Didymus' scheme of things, "riotous living" explains why a person who does not believe in the resurrection of the body will not be allowed to receive it. Might not Didymus argue that the disbeliever cannot be raised because disbelief leads "inevitably" to behaviour unsuitable for a body which is to be raised? Failure to be baptized might be another prohibitive feature of the disbeliever's life.

For Didymus, believing there is no "second life in addition to the one that appears" is equivalent to saying human beings are the same as animals ("non-rational living things"). Animals' souls, Didymus believes, come into existence with their bodies' birth and cease to exist from the time of their bodies' death. If human beings have no "second life" their souls will, like animals' souls, perish at their bodies' death. Because he considers absurd any comparison between people and animals Didymus concludes that the "opinions expressed" in the argument that "there is not a second life..." may be rejected out of hand.

1 Κορ 15, 34

Π ς. 84ν

Γρηγορητέον κατὰ τὴν νόησιν ἵνα μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν συμβῆ ἔν τῳ
συγκατατίθεσθαι τῇ σαθρᾷ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπάτη. καλῶς δὲ καὶ
τὸ ἐκνήψατε δικαίως ὡς μὴ πάντων τοῦτο ποιούντων· οἱ γὰρ 10
σοφοὶ τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι ἀγρυπνοῦντες περὶ τὰ βλαβερὰ ἀδίκως ἐκνή-
φουσιν ἀποβαλόντες δῆθεν τὸν τῆς ἀμαθίας ὕπνον.

Staab 9.8-12

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 34

Translation 34

It is necessary to be watchful using your intelligence so that you do not sin by agreeing to the rotten fraud concerning the resurrection. And also observe well the command "come to your right mind," since not everyone does this. For the "wise," since they stay awake in order to do evil concerning hurtful things, senselessly become sober having henceforth put off the sleep of ignorance.

Analysis 34

Didymus rewords Paul's urging of the Corinthians that they "come to your right mind and sin no more" as a warning—either to the Corinthians or to his own readers—to be intelligently vigilant against accepting "the rotten fraud concerning the resurrection." By "rotten fraud" he means the belief discussed in section 33 that there is no resurrection and therefore people may sin as they please to no ill effect: "one must live riotously for tomorrow we die." He further emphasizes the importance of what he calls Paul's "command" to "come to your right mind," quoting it and pointing out that some people have not been obeying it. Finally he illustrates how the command has been disobeyed, saying, in effect: "some people do not come to their right mind, for they, thinking they act wisely, keep vigilance, not in order to avoid wrong belief, but to do evil, hurtful things. These people suppose they have come to their right mind, but their sobriety is senseless, consisting as it does of having permanently given up ignorance and innocence of evil." Whereas real wisdom, i.e., coming to one's right mind, would consist (for Didymus) in being "watchful" "that you do not sin," i.e., remaining "ignorant" (i.e., "innocent") of evil, the false wisdom of the so-called wise consists in putting off that ignorance and becoming knowledgeable of and experienced in evil deeds. Interestingly, Didymus echoes Paul's concerns about sin and lack of knowledge in his use of the words "evil" and "ignorance": and one perceives

that it might be much the same thing to "put off the sleep of ignorance" of evil deeds (Didymus) as to "have no knowledge of God" (Paul).

By the "wise" Didymus probably means the gnostics who claim to possess true knowledge or wisdom.

1 Κορ 15, 35-40

Π 1. 85

Ὁ ἐν Χριστῷ λαλῶν τῷ ἀμφιβάλλοντι περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν (ἀναστάσεως) ὡς ἀσυνέτως φησὶν· ἀφρων, εἰ ἀμφιβάλλεις διὰ τὸ νεκρωθέν ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐγείρεται, ἴσθι διὰ ἃ σπείρεις σπέρματα ἀπο- 15 θανόντα εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβάλλεις πεπεισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἂν μεταβάλλοι εἰς φυτά, εἰ μὴ νεκρωθέντα σπαρείη.

Ἔτερόν ἐστι τὸ ἐγειρόμενον σῶμα παρ' ἧς ἑσπειρας· οὐ μὲν γὰρ κόκκον ἔβαλες εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὃ δὲ θεὸς σπάχην ἤγειρεν. πρὸς μίαν δὲ τῶν ἐρωτήσεων τὴν λέγουσαν πῶς ἐγείρονται νεκροί, ὃ περὶ τῶν σπειρο- 20 μένων λόγος· πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἕτερον ἐρώτημα, τὸ ποῖω δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται, ἐκ διαιρέσεως ἀποδίδωσι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, καὶ διελὼν τὰ σώματα εἰς ἐπίγεια καὶ ἐπουράνια εἶπε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρῶν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἐγειρομένων ἀνθρωπίνων σωμάτων δόξαν.

25

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 35-40

Translation 35-40

The person speaking in Christ to the one who very senselessly doubts the resurrection¹ of the dead says: fool, if you doubt that a person's dead body is raised, know that what you sow—seeds that have died—you cast into the earth convinced that they would not change into plants unless they were sown dead.

Of another kind than what you sowed is the body which is raised. For you threw a kernel into the ground, but God raised up an ear of grain. And to one of the queries, the one which says "how are the dead raised?" the response is in regard to those that are sown. And to the other question, "in what kind of body do they come?" he offers the proof by making a distinction, and, dividing the bodies into earthly and heavenly, he says the glory of the human bodies that are raised is like that of the heavenly sun and moon and stars.

Note

¹ Staab has added to the text "ἀναστάσεως" ("resurrection") judging it necessary to the sense of the passage. The word was evidently left out of the manuscript by scribal error.

Analysis 35-40

Didymus calls Paul "the person speaking in Christ" and identifies Paul's addressee (evidently the questioner mentioned in verse 35) as "the one who very senselessly doubts the resurrection of the dead." He puts into Paul's mouth the argument that "if you doubt that a person's dead body is raised" you should realize that, since you know seeds must be "dead" (dormant) in order to sprout into plants, there is nothing implausible about a person, dead (like a seed), being raised (like a plant). Going on, Didymus explains, regarding plants, that "of another kind than what you sowed is the body which is raised": the body of a plant differs from that of a seed. Like Paul,

he leaves the reader to draw from this statement the double meaning by which it becomes a second comparison of plants with human beings. Just as, with plants, "of another kind than what you sowed seed is the body which is raised plant," so with people, "of another kind than what you sowed earthly is the body which is raised heavenly." As a plant differs from a seed, so the "resurrection" body in which God raises a person from the dead differs from the dead body in which that person was buried in the ground. This is the comparison one infers.

But with one twist. Didymus, following Paul, refers to human bodies by the metaphor of being "sown" (like seeds) not only here, but also in sections **42-43** (Staab 10.1-13 especially 10.14; Paul, verses 42, 43) and **44-46** (Staab 10.14-35 especially 10.14; Paul, verse 44). From the present text one might assume that, for human bodies, being "sown" stands for being buried (put in the grave) since the next stage, sprouting (changing into plants) is clearly meant to represent being raised from the grave. However in section **44-46** Didymus talks about being sown as being conceived "the body is sown from the intermingling of the male with the female" and it is possible he intends this meaning to be understood in the other sections as well. It is a possible interpretation in the present section, **35-40**, and more comprehensible in section **42-43** than burial would be. The resulting images are of people being "sown" at conception, of them spending their entire period of gestation, birth, life, death, and burial under the ground, and finally of them being raised from the dead (in new bodies) like seeds sprouting into plants. This interpretation of "sown" alters the supposed second meaning of the passage we have just been considering: with regard to people, "of another kind than what you sowed" can now mean "of another kind than what you conceived." As plant differs from seed so the resurrection body differs from the conceived, born, living, dying, being buried body of a person's earthly life.

At this point Didymus turns his attention to Paul's responses to the two questions posed him in verse 35. Didymus interprets these questions as distinct and believes Paul answers them separately. Quoting them, Didymus states that Paul answers the first in terms of "those that are sown"

(Question: How are the dead raised? Answer: They are raised in the same way seeds "those that are sown" are changed into plants.) This is to say, Didymus views the statements about seeds and plants, which he has already discussed, as Paul's answer to question number one. Regarding question two, Didymus explains that Paul's response is in the form of "proof by distinction." Dividing bodies into two categories, earthly and heavenly, and grouping risen human bodies, by virtue of their "glory," together with the sun, moon, and stars under heavenly, Paul illustrates (or gives "proof"), says Didymus, that the dead are raised in heavenly bodies. This, according to Didymus, is how Paul answers the question, "In what kind of body do they come?" One must add that Paul himself (in the New Testament verses) does not say anything about risen bodies that would account for the way Didymus links them with the heavenly ones.

The section numbering is mistaken again, or at least debatable. The present section, 35-40, borrows from verse 41 reference to the specific names, "sun," "moon," "stars," of the celestial bodies. There is, though, also a separate section on verse 41.

1 Κορ 15, 41

Π ς. 35^v

Ὅμοιοι τῇ τῶν φωστήρων καὶ ἀστέρων δόξῃ, οὐ πάντων τῶν ἀνισταμένων τὰ σώματα, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον τῶν εὖ βεβιωκότων καὶ σωφρονοσάντων· κἄν γὰρ τὰ τῶν φαύλων σώματα ἄφθαρτα ἐγείρονται, ἀλλ' οὖν στεροῦνται τῆς τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξης. σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐγειρομένων σωμάτων οὐσιώδης ἐστὶν ὡς καὶ ἡ τῶν φωστήρων. 30

Staab 9.26-30

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 41**Translation 41**

It is not the bodies of all those who rise that are like the glory of the luminaries and stars, but only the bodies of those who have lived well and been sober. For even the bodies of worthless people rise incorruptible, but they are deprived of the glory of the heavenly bodies. And it is to be noted that the glory of the bodies that are raised is real as is also that of the luminaries.

Analysis 41

Didymus elaborates on the comparison he believes Paul is making between the glory of risen human bodies and the glory of the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, and stars). Not all risen bodies, but only those of people "who have lived well and been sober" receive glory as great as that of the "luminaries" (sun and moon) and stars, he says. He adds that what this implies is indeed true: the bodies of worthless people do rise "incorruptible" but they do not receive great glory. It is unclear whether he believes they receive any glory at all. He emphasizes that glory, whether of risen or of heavenly bodies, is real.

1 Κορ 15, 42-43

Π ς. 85^v

Ὡσπερ ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ οὐκ οὔσα ἀρετὴ ἢ κακία δεκτικὴ ἀμφοτέρων
 ἐστὶ τούτων, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα οὐ φθορὰ ἢ ἀφθαρσία τυγχάνον
 δέχεται κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους τὰς ἐγκειμένας οὐσιώδεις ποιότητας.
 ἀμέλει γοῦν οὐ φθορὰ σπείρεται καὶ ἐγείρεται οὐκ ἀφθαρσία, ἀλλ' ἐν
 5 ἀφθαρσία. ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ τῷ ἐν φθορᾷ σπειρομένῳ τὸ ἐν
 ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ σῶμα ψυχικὸν σπείρεσθαι,
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ ἐγειρομένῳ τὸ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ
 δόξῃ καὶ σῶμα πνευματικὸν ἐγείρεσθαι. ὅταν δὲ λέγωμεν σῶμα
 ἀφθαρτον, οὐ πέμπτην οὐσίαν λέγομεν, ὡς τινες περὶ τῶν ἄστροων
 10 ὑπενόησαν ἦν αἰεὶ φαμεν ἀφθαρτον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀφθαρτον λέγομεν τὸ ἐκ
 φθαρτοῦ γεγονὸς ἀφθαρτον χάριτι θεοῦ. οὕτως ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίω-
 τον εἶναι κατὰ μεταβολὴν * * γὰρ ὑπέστη τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ τῷ διαρκεῖν
 εἰς μακροαίωνα ζωὴν ἦτοι κολαζόμενον ἢ τιμώμενον.

Staab 10.1-13

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 42-43

Translation 42-43

Even as the rational soul, being neither excellence nor baseness, is capable of both of these things, so also our body, being neither corruption nor incorruption, receives at different times the real qualities implanted in [it]. Of course, therefore, it [i.e., our body] is not sown corruption and raised incorruption but [it is raised] in incorruption. It follows that by being sown in corruption the psychic¹ body is also sown in weakness and in dishonour. And, in the same way, by being raised in incorruption, the pneumatic body is also raised in power and glory.

²Now when we speak of an incorruptible³ body, we do not speak of a celestial being—as some suppose the stars are⁴—which we say is always incorruptible, but [by] incorruptible [body] we mean that body which from [being] corruptible has become incorruptible by the grace of God. Thus is unchanged and unchanging with respect to transformation,⁴ for such a thing does subsist except by enduring to a long life whether it is punished or honoured.

Notes

¹ Didymus' words "psychic" (of the soul? of earthly life?) and "pneumatic" (of the spirit?) have been left in their Greek form (transliterated rather than translated) because (1) their meanings in other fourth century (and earlier) texts are uncertain, (2) they are not in any way clarified by the present text, and (3) they will require research beyond the bounds of the present study if they are to be better understood. On Didymus' use of "σῶμα ψυχικόν" and "σῶμα πνευματικόν" see Note: Didymus on the human being's body, following Analysis 44-46, below.

² I have made a paragraph division here in the translation although it does not appear in Staab's edition of the text.

³ In what I have designated as the second paragraph, Didymus has returned to the use of the adjectives "corruptible" and "incorruptible" in place of the

nouns ("corruption" and "incorruption") which he used in the first half of this section. Note that these adjectives are the same as the ones Paul uses in verse 42; the Revised Standard Version translates them "perishable" and "imperishable." For more on these words see Note 2 following Translation 1-2, above.

⁴ In the first seven words of this incomplete and obscure sentence, Didymus has used three words having to do with change: the adjectives "αἰετός" and "ἀναλλοίωτος" and the noun "μεταβολή." The context does nothing to illuminate any of them. The adjectives, which are commonly associated with one another (Lampe, s.v. ἀναλλοίωτος), are both used in ancient literature in a large number of contexts to mean unchangeable, immutable, or unchanged, unchanging. I have translated them "unchanged" and "unchanging." The noun, "μεταβολή," means change or transformation and I have used for it "transformation."

More "change" words appear in sections 44-46, 51, and 52-53. The participle of "μεταβάλλω" I have translated consistently with my choice for "μεταβολή," "transformation," with the resulting formulations: (1) soul has "undergone a transformation" (Staab 10.18-20, in 44-46) and (2) the righteous "will be changed, transforming for the better with respect to soul and body" (Staab 11.4-5, in 51). The participle of "ἀλλοίω" I have translated "altered" which I think admits of "our souls" being gradually or partially changed "to conform with a better and more divine quality" (Staab 11.13-14, in 52-53). The remaining change words, the verb "ἀλλάσσω" and its participle, and the noun "ἀλλάξις," I have rendered simply "change."

Analysis 42-43

Paul contrasts "what is sown" (something perishable; it is "sown" in dishonour and weakness) with "what is raised" (something imperishable; it is raised in glory and power). Before following him in this, Didymus draws a comparison between the soul and the body: "Even as the rational soul, being neither excellence nor baseness, is capable of both of these things, so also our body, being neither corruption nor incorruption, receives at different times the real qualities implanted in it." Like the soul, the body is not

identical with its qualities but "receives" them and fluctuates between them, says Didymus. (The word "implanted" seems to imply that the potential for, or germs of, corruption and incorruption is are latent in the body which at times will flesh out one, at other times the other.) The body, he continues, cannot be said to be "sown corruption" and "raised incorruption," for since the body is never identical with its qualities it cannot be identical with a specific quality at any one time or occasion. However, regarding resurrection, "incorruption" describes a condition "in" which the body is raised. Didymus elaborates, using the words of Paul. "By being sown in corruption the 'psychic' ψυχικῶν body is also sown in weakness and in dishonour. And in the same way, by being raised in incorruption, the 'pneumatic' πνευματικῶν body is also raised in power and glory."

Going on, Didymus explicitly limits his application of "incorruptible body" to things which are now incorruptible but were formerly corruptible, having been changed by God's grace. He points out that this excludes anything which is considered to have been incorruptible always, i.e., celestial beings—among which, he reports, some people consider the stars to be included. His last sentence, which appears to be missing one or more words, possibly only at the spot indicated by Staab,⁵ can be translated only roughly with many questions unanswered. "Thus an incorruptible body(?) a celestial being(?) is unchanged and unchanging with respect to transformation, for such a thing does not(?) subsist except by enduring to a long life whether it is punished or honoured." Grammatically, "celestial being" cannot be the antecedent of "such a thing," although "incorruptible body" can. My guesses concerning the missing words attempt to provide a subject for the first part of the sentence and a suitable opening word for the second part (the Greek word "οὕτως" does not usually begin a clause); they also aim to increase intelligibility without being overly inventive. What they achieve, however, is very little. Something is "unchanged and unchanging..." and continues to exist only by virtue of its long endurance of either punishment or honour.

Notes

⁵ See Note 3 following Translation 42-43, above, especially the second sentence.

- ^a See Analysis 35-40 on Didymus' use of "sown" to mean conceived.
- ^b See Note 1 following Translation 42-43, above, on my use of the Greek terms "psychic" and "pneumatic."
- ^c The place Staab identifies as missing one or more words occurs immediately after (literally), "Thus unchanged and unchanging to be with respect to transformation." and before, "for such a thing does subsist."

1 Κορ 15, 44-46

Πλ. 86r

Ἐπειδὴ σπείρεται τὸ σῶμα ἐκ τῆς περιπλοκῆς τοῦ ἄρρενος πρὸς τὸ
 15 θῆλυ, εὐλόγως καὶ ἀτιμία καὶ ἀσθένεια περὶ αὐτὸ ἔσται, τυγχάνον ψυχῆς
 σῶμα φθαρείσης ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς προλαβούσης ποιότητος, ἀνίσταται θεοῦ
 δυνάμει, ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν ἔχον πνευματικὸν σῶμα
 ἀποδειχθέν, ὄργανον ψυχῆς ὑπάρχον, λοιπὸν οὐ ψυχῆς ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ
 πνεύματος ἁγίου μετουσίᾳ ἀνασταθείσης καὶ οἴονεἰ εἰς πνεῦμα μετα-
 20 βαλοῦσης. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ τοῖς πάθεισιν ἐμμένουσα ψυχὴ, εἰκότως καὶ τὸ τῆς
 τοιαύτης ψυχῆς σῶμα ψυχικὸν καλεῖται. ἔὰν δὲ ὑπερναβῆ τὴν
 παιθητικὴν ἔξιν ἢ ψυχὴ, γίνεται πνευματικὴ, καὶ λέγεται τὸ σῶμα τῆς
 τοιαύτης ψυχῆς τῆς συμπλεκομένης αὐτὸ πνευματικόν.

Ἐπειδὴ προκόπτουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀναβαίνει,
 25 πρῶτον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸ ψυχικὸν σῶμα, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευμα-
 τικόν. νοσητέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ τῶν ἐγειρομένων ἐκ νεκρῶν σῶμα ὁμοιοῦται
 τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σώματι πνευματικῶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν γεγονότι. διὸ
 οὐ προσέχομεν τοῖς λέγουσιν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀνίσταται τὸ σῶμα οἷον εἶχεν
 ὁ Ἄδὰμ ψυχικόν· ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρώτου Ἄδὰμ ζωὴ εἰς ψυχὴν
 30 ζῶσαν παρεσκεύαζε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ζῆν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ Χριστὸν ζωὴ οὐκ
 εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ἀλλ' εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. ἡ δὲ πνευματικὴ
 ζωοποίησις συμφυῆς ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγειρομένοις. πρῶτον δὲ
 καὶ ἔσχατον ἄρμοδίως εἶπεν, οὐ μὴν πρῶτον καὶ δεῦτερον ἄνθρωπον,
 ἵνα μάθωμεν ὅτι γεγονασί τινες μέσοι, τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἔσχατου ἀνθρώ-
 35 που ἐν πολιτείᾳ.

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 44-46

Translation 44-46

Since the body is sown from the intermingling of the male with the female, it is reasonable that both dishonour and weakness will attend it; thus it happens that, because the soul in it i.e., in the body has corrupted the body with respect to its previously received quality, it i.e., the body is raised by God's power, having i.e., the body having incorruption, might, and honour, because it has been made a pneumatic body, since it is an organ of soul, and not simply of soul, but rather of soul's having been raised through possession of the Holy Spirit and having undergone a transformation as though into spirit *πνεῦμα*. Now when the soul cleaves to the passions, it is fitting that the body of such a soul is also called psychic. But if the soul transcends the passionate state it becomes pneumatic and the body of such a soul which is entwined with it is itself said to be pneumatic.

Since the soul, progressing, rises to the pneumatic, he Paul names the psychic body first, then the pneumatic. Now it is to be understood that the body¹ of those rising from the dead becomes like the pneumatic body of Christ which appeared after the resurrection. Therefore we pay no attention to those who say that what rises is a body such as Adam had – psychic. Therefore the life of the first Adam prepared the human being to live as a living soul, but the life according to Christ prepared the human being to live not as a living soul *ψυχὴν* but as a life-giving spirit *πνεῦμα*. And the pneumatic vivification is natural for those who are raised from the dead. He says, appropriately, “first” and “last” – not “first” and “second” human being in order that we might learn that some have appeared midway between the first and last human being in citizenship.

Note

¹ The singular, “body” (*σῶμα*), is probably meant to refer to bodies in general: i.e., the *bodies* of those rising from the dead.

² *πολιτεία* – citizenship. Here it refers to membership in the human race.

Analysis 44-46

Didymus suggests that, since conception occurs through sexual intercourse, the resulting body will probably be dishonourable and weak. Although he does not explain this, he does remark in passing that the soul, being in the body, degrades the body "with respect to its previously received quality" (cf. Staab 10.2-3, in 42-43, "our body, being neither corruption nor incorruption, receives at different times the real qualities implanted in it"); it seems he regards copulation as having an ill effect on the soul which therefore in turn corrupts the body which contains it. "Thus it happens." Didymus goes on, that, because the body has been corrupted, its resurrection is achieved, and must be achieved, through God's power; by this, one assumes Didymus means that the body's own virtue is not sufficient to the task. Didymus states that by God's power the (corrupted) body is changed into a pneumatic body which as such has incorruption, might, and honour, and is now, in its role as organ of the soul, a fit instrument of a soul which has also been raised "through possession of the Holy Spirit" and has "undergone an alteration as though into spirit." Didymus probably visualizes (1) God's power, and (2) possession of (or by) the Holy Spirit as working simultaneously to effect the resurrection of (1) a person's body and (2) the same person's soul.

While he is still discussing the means by which the body and soul can be transformed, Didymus adds that the soul, by transcending (letting go of) the passions, causes or enables itself to become pneumatic. It carries the body along with it in its transformation. As long as the soul "cleaves" to the passions its body is psychic; when it transcends them, both itself (the soul) and its body are pneumatic. Didymus does not discuss whether this is an alternate means of transformation to the pneumatic or merely an enabling "predisposition" on the part of the soul by which God's power and the Holy Spirit's involvement are allowed to do their work.

In the second paragraph, Didymus suggests that Paul, in verse 46, emphasizes the sequence, "psychic," then "pneumatic" (body), because the soul's progress involves rising from the psychic to the pneumatic. He says that the bodies of those who rise from the dead become—he seems to mean

that in the act of rising they become-like the pneumatic body of Christ, i.e., the body in which Christ came after his resurrection; he contradicts the idea that the risen come in Adam-type, i.e., psychic, bodies. Elaborating on Paul's words in verse 45, some of which Paul had quoted from Genesis 2:7, Didymus states that the life of the "first Adam," i.e., the first created person, paved the way for human beings to live as "living souls". Life "according to Christ" prepares the human being to live as a "life-giving spirit." It is natural, he continues, for those who are raised from the dead to experience "pneumatic vivification," i.e., the change into a life-giving spirit. He explains Paul's mention of the "first Adam" and the "last Adam" (verse 45) as serving to remind the reader that there were people whose earthly lives were lived in the interval between the Genesis Adam and the later Adam, Christ.

Note: Didymus on the human being's body

Didymus speaks of a person's earthly body and his/her post-resurrection body using, respectively, the terms "σῶμα σαρκικόν" and "σῶμα πνευματικόν" which Paul used in verse 44. The Revised Standard Version translates these "physical body" and "spiritual body." As mentioned above (Note 1 following Translation 42-43), I have not attempted to translate "σῶμα" or "σωματικόν" because of their difficulty of interpretation throughout the centuries between Paul and Didymus and because of their lack of clarity in the present (Didymus) text. I have, however, attempted to summarize Didymus' comments on the human being's earthly body and his/her post-resurrection body noting how, in the context of these remarks, he uses the two ambiguous terms

(1) Life as a "living soul" (ψυχή ζώσα) has been prepared by Adam for each person born on the earth (Staab 10.29-30, in 44-46). Each newborn person or soul starts off with a psychic body and may later rise to a pneumatic one (Staab 10.24-26, in 44-46). Each person is born with corruption, weakness, and dishonour because he/she was conceived by sex (Staab 10.14-15, in 44-46). Sex (i.e., passion) affects the soul, which in turn corrupts the body (Staab 10.15-16, in 44-46). A person's soul will cling to

the passions and as long as it continues to do so its (the soul's) body will be a psychic body (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*) (Staab 10.20-21, in 44-46).

(2) If and when the soul transcends the passions it will progress to the pneumatic state (*αἴμα πνευματικόν*) and it and its body will be called pneumatic (*"σῶμα πνευματικόν"*) (Staab 10.21-23, in 44-46).

(3) It may happen that a corrupted body will be raised by God's power (Staab 10.15-17, in 44-46). This body, upon being raised, will be transformed from a psychic body (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*) into a pneumatic body (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*) (Staab 10.17-18, in 44-46), which type of body is like Christ's risen body (also called "pneumatic") (Staab 10.26-27, in 44-46). It will be raised in incorruption, power, and glory (Staab 10.7-8, in 42-43); it will be given incorruption, might, and honour (Staab 10.17-18, in 44-46). This is life as a life-giving spirit (*πνεῦμα*), for which Christ prepared the human being (Staab 10.30-31, in 44-46). Transformation into this life occurs naturally upon resurrection (Staab 10.21-32, in 44-46).

Note that Didymus seems to say that the soul and body will become "pneumatic" by different means: the soul will "progress" to the "pneumatic" state by transcending the passions (item (2), above), the body will "be raised" from being a "psychic body" into being a "pneumatic body" by the power of God (item (3), above).

1 Kor 15, 51

Π 1. 36^v

Ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἀναστάσεως θεωρία βάθος ἔχει(ν) νοήσεως, εἰκότως φησὶν· ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω· πάντες μὲν τεθνηξόμενοι κοιμηθήσομεθα, μόνοι δὲ οἱ δίκαιοι ἀλλαγησόμεθα, ἐκλάμπαντες ὡς ὁ ἥλιος· μόνοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον κατα ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα μεταβάλλοντες ἀλλαγῆσονται. οὐ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον λέγειν ἐν ἀλλάξει κατὰ τινα 5 ἑτέραν φερομένην οὕτω γραφήν· οὐ πάντες μὲν κοιμηθήσομεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα διὰ τὸ εὐθύς ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. εἰ γὰρ πάντες ἀλλάττονται, περιττὸν λέγεσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα.

Staab 11.1-9

9 In der Textspalte des cod. Π steht die gewöhnliche Lesart: Πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθήσομεθα. πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 51

Translation 51

Since a contemplation of resurrection entails a depth of perception,¹ he fittingly says: "lo! I tell you a mystery." We all, when we shall have died, shall be sleeping, but only we who are righteous shall be changed, shining as the sun. For only these will be changed, transforming for the better with respect to soul and body. For it is not consistent to speak of change according to some other scripture cited thus: "Not all of us shall sleep, but we all shall be changed," because of the immediately following phrase, "We too shall be changed." For if all are being changed it is redundant to say we too shall be changed.

Notes

¹ Didymus' choice of words here (the opening sentence of this section) casts his statement in a gnostic light: *θεωρησις* (contemplation), *βαθυσ* (depth), *επιγνωσις* (perception).

Analysis 51

According to Didymus, Paul's words "lo! I tell you a mystery" are fitting since the topic of resurrection requires penetrating thought. Having mentioned this, Didymus goes on to examine what Paul says will become of "us" (human beings) "when we shall have died." "We *all*...shall be sleeping," he says, "but only we who are righteous shall be changed" (emphasis mine); the righteous will "shine as the sun" and the change in them will consist of an alteration of soul and body "for the better." Then he criticizes those New Testament manuscripts (the ones which modern editors prefer) which state that "*not* all of us shall sleep, but we all shall be changed" (emphasis mine), pointing out that they make redundant the end of verse 52 which he quotes as, "we *too* shall be changed" (emphasis mine). The text Didymus prefers for verse 51 is given by a number of important early witnesses, particularly B (London: Sinaiticus), 4th C: A (London: Alexandrinus), 5th C: C (Paris: Ephraemi Rescriptus), 5th C.

1 Κορ 15, 52-53

Πλ. 87

Ἐγερθήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν, ὃ πάλαι φθαρτὸν ἦν, 10
 ἀφθάρτου γενησομένου. τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ὡδε τὸ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησό-
 μεθα ἀντὶ τοῦ οἶα ἄλλοι τινὲς ὄντες παρὰ τοὺς νεκρούς, οἵτινες, φησὶν,
 ἀφθαρτοὶ ἐγειρόμεθα τὰ σώματα, ἀλλασσομενῶν τῶν ψυχῶν κατὰ
 κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν ποιότητα ἀλλοιουμενῶν. ἄλλος δὲ φησι τοὺς
 ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς νεκρούς, τοὺς ἀφθάρτους ἐγειρομένους ἐπὶ τῷ 15
 διαρκέσαι πρὸς τὰς αἰωνίους κολάσεις, ἀλλασσομένους δὲ ἀπὸ δόξης
 εἰς δόξαν τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν βεβιωκότας· ἔστι μὲν οὖν θνητὸν καὶ
 φθαρτὸν οὐ μὴν ἔμπαλιν. διὸ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἀφθαρσίαν, τὸ δὲ
 θνητὸν ἀθανασίαν ἐνδύεται ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν
 νεκρῶν καιρῷ. 20

Staab 11.10-20

14 ἄλλος] ἄλλως II

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 52-53

Translation 52-53

The dead will be raised, their body, which was formerly corruptible, becoming incorruptible. Now some say here "we shall be changed," in contrast to the statement some others make, whosoever they are, on the topic of the dead, namely, "we are raised incorruptible [in] [our] bodies, whereas [our] souls are changed when they are altered to conform to a better and more divine quality." But another person says the dead who are sinners are raised incorruptible in order to endure eternal punishments but [those] who have lived virtuously [i.e., towards excellence] are changed from glory to glory. The mortal is therefore also corruptible, not indeed the reverse. Therefore the corruptible puts on incorruption, and the mortal puts on immortality in the crucial moment of the resurrection of the dead.

Analysis 52-53

Following Paul's verse 52, Didymus states that the dead will be raised and that in being raised their corruptible bodies will become incorruptible: from what follows in this section it seems he is talking about all the dead. He then begins to list interpretive, or, possibly, textual, variants on (a) "the dead will be raised incorruptible" and (b) "we shall be changed." The first interpretation (which concerns b only) runs as follows: "Some say here," says Didymus, (b) "we shall be changed." The second interpretation is: "Others say" (a) "we are raised incorruptible in [our] bodies whereas" (b) "[our] souls are changed when they are altered to conform to a better and more divine quality" (cf. Note: Didymus on the human being's body, following Analysis 44-46, above, especially "(2) If and when the soul transcends..."). The third interpretation is: "Another person says" (a) "the dead who are sinners are raised incorruptible in order to endure eternal punishments but" (b) "[those] who have lived virtuously are changed from glory to glory." Didymus indicates that these interpretations contrast with or at least differ from one another but he makes no effort to arbitrate among them. Instead,

drawing on the first part of the third interpretation, he concludes that, while the mortal is invariably "corruptible" (i.e., perishable, mortal), the "reverse" is not always true: the "corruptible" or corrupt (sinners) are not in all cases mortal. Since "the dead who are sinners"-corrupt characters "are raised incorruptible"-and immortal-"to endure eternal punishments," one can say that the corruptible are at times immortal. This is, in fact, a play on the word "corruptible" (*σθαρτός*), as I have indicated in Note 2 following Translation 1-2, above. The mortal is always "corruptible" but the "corruptible" is not always mortal.

Didymus concludes this section with a slightly elaborating repetition of verse 53.

1 Kor 15, 54-56

II J. 87

Ὡςπερ ἀρετῆς παρούσης οὐχ ὑπάρχει κακία, οὕτως ἀθανασίας παρούσης ὁ θάνατος ἀφανίζεται. διὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ τὴν ἀθανασίαν ἐνδυσάμενον ὁ θάνατος ἡττηθεὶς καταπίνεται, ὡς λέγεσθαι αὐτῷ· ποῦ σου τὸ νῖκος ἐν ᾧ νικῶν νεκροὺς ἐποίεις; ποῦ σου τὸ κέντρον ᾧ πτωσῶν ισχυρὸς ἦς; κεντεῖ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐμβάλλων 25 ἁμαρτίας τοῖς πληττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, νικᾷ δὲ τοὺς πρακτικῶς ἁμαρτάνοντας. κεῖται δὲ ἡ χρῆσις ἐν Ὡσῆ οὐκ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἡ δίκη σου ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶπε νῖκος.

Staab 11.21-28

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 54-56

Translation 54-56

Just as when virtue is present evil cannot exist, so when immortality is present death vanishes. Therefore when the mortal has put on immortality, death, being defeated, is swallowed up, as it is said to death: "Where is your victory in which you, being victorious, make people dead? Where is your sting by which you, wounding, were strong?" For death stings through the thoughts by imputing sins to those who are stricken by it i.e., by death, but it is victorious over those who are actively sinning. Now, the saying in Hosea occurs i.e., in Paul not word for word: for instead of the words "your right" the apostle says "victory."

Analysis 54-56

Didymus, reflecting on Paul's verse 54, notes that by definition death cannot exist "when immortality is present": he uses the parallel, and presumably well-accepted, case of the incompatibility of evil and virtue to strengthen his point. Because of this, he argues, when mortal persons acquire immortality, death is defeated or "swallowed up." Continuing a fairly close paraphrase of Paul, Didymus repeats the taunts derived from Hosea (13: 14) with which Paul addresses death: "Where is your victory?" "Where is your sting?" He explains that for death victory consists of killing people, and that by "sting" is meant death's ability to wound, a measure of strength. Death stings or wounds people, he says, by unjustly attributing sins to those whom it strikes: Didymus seems to be saying that when a person dies others wrongly think that he or she was sinful and died because of sin. He adds that death's real victory is in taking (killing) "those who are actively sinning." Before moving on he points out that Paul has not quoted the "saying in Hosea...word for word," but instead has substituted the word "victory" for the original word "right." The Septuagint bears out that in contrast to Paul's "τὴν ἰσχυρὰν, τὴν θανάτου;" ("Death, where is your victory?") Hosea reads "ποῦ ἡ ἰσχυρὰ σου τῆς θανάτου;" ("Death, where is your right?").

1 Κορ 15, 58

Πλ. 87^υ

Ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐχθρὸς θάνατος κατελύθη, πιστῶς ἐστηκότες ἐδραῖοι
διατελεῖτε, ἐργαζόμενοι συνεχῶς καὶ ἀδιασπᾶστος τὸ προσταχθὲν ὑμῖν 30
ἔργον ὑπὸ κυρίου, ἀδιστακτικῶς θαρροῦντες, ὡς ὁ ἐν κυρίῳ κᾶματος
ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστι μάταιος, αἰωνίου μισθοῦ ἀποκειμένου τοῖς πάντοτε τὸ
ἔργον ποιούσιν.

Staab 11.29-12.3

Didymus on 1 Corinthians 15: 58

Translation 58

Since the enemy, death, has been destroyed, you are persevering faithfully, standing steadfast, carrying out continuously and uninterruptedly the work assigned to you by the Lord, being unfailingly of good courage as, in the Lord, your toil is not in vain since an eternal reward is being laid up in store for those who are always doing his work.

Analysis 58

Paul urges his Corinthian readers to be "steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord"; Didymus tells *his* readers what they are already doing: "persevering faithfully, standing steadfast, carrying out continuously and uninterruptedly the work assigned to them by the Lord." Didymus provides as context for his readers' faithfulness and hard work the thought that "the enemy, death has been destroyed." He borrows from 2 Corinthians 5: 6 the idea of, and word for, being of good courage (*ἀσφάλεια*) and he concludes by rewording Paul's "in the Lord your labour is not in vain" and by adding the explanation that "those who are always doing the Lord's work" have an eternal reward ready and waiting for them.

Bibliography

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Abbreviations

PG: Migne, Jacques Paul, ed.

Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca.

Paris, 1875-1887.

See (44) below.

PL: Migne, Jacques Paul, ed.

Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina.

Paris, 1844-1882.

Bibliography

1 Reference Works on Didymus

(1) Altaner, Berthold.

Patrology.

Trans. Hilda C. Graet.

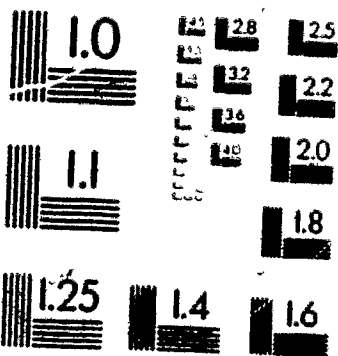
Freiburg-Edinburgh-London: Herder, 1960.

Based on the completely revised fifth German edition of 1958, this single volume work provides a convenient overview of patrology which it defines as that branch of theology which takes up the history of ancient Christian literature. The introduction provides a brief orientation to patrology with a general topical bibliography and a discussion of editions, collections, and translations. Chapter one begins the history with the earliest Christian writings other than the New Testament, and includes clarifying discussions of works which were for a long time inaccurately believed by the church to have been very early. Then the chapters move more or less chronologically through the literature, grouping the material by theological periods and geographical areas. The book ends with the Latin writings of the sixth century and the Greek writings of the eighth century.

Although this book, with its chronological organization and frequent orientational paragraphs, is clearly a history, the subordination of its chapters into brief "entries" on individual writers or on pairs or small groups of writers gives it the tone of a dictionary. The index helps the reader use it as a dictionary; italicized page numbers refer to articles dealing specifically with the indexed item.

A typical article on an author consists of a paragraph on his life, a paragraph on the general theme of his thought, and one or more paragraphs on his works. Between paragraphs or at the end of the article or small group are given in very abbreviated form the author's name, and dates of the pertinent editions, translations, or versions. Most of these are in Latin, Greek, French, and other languages. The long list of abbreviations at the back of the volume is obviously essential to the understanding of this bibliography.

2 of /de 2



experience with the subject matter is also needed to enable one to comprehend such titles as *Did. v. A. als Verf. der Schrift ueber d. Seraphimitikon* (325).

The article on Didymus the Blind is one page long.

- (2) Bardenhewer, Otto
Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur.
 Five volumes. Second edition.
 Freiburg: Herder, 1913-1932.

This is a large and detailed patrology in five thick volumes. It covers the literature from the Apostolic Fathers to the eighth century. Its overall organization is like that of Altaner's *Patrology* (see (1) above): as a history it is ordered chronologically by periods, and, within the periods, geographically; like a dictionary it is largely made up of articles on individual writers. Published more than fifty years ago the information it provides is, of course, badly out of date; also the German used is very old-fashioned. However it is still valuable for the very full details it gives on eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century editions and studies of the early church literature, and for the thorough way in which it treats the ancient secondary sources.

- (3) Quasten, Johannes.
Patrology.
 Three volumes.
 Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1950, 1953, 1960

This patrology is generally considered to be the fullest and most useful available to English-language readers. However it only treats the early church literature up to about the year 300 for the Latin writers and 450 for the Greek. Also it is now 25 to 35 years out of date. Its overall organization is like that of Altaner's *Patrology* (see (1) above): it is a chronologically ordered history in which the chapters subdivide into dictionary-like articles on individual writers or groups of writers. The articles are much fuller than those of Altaner. Generally they consist of several paragraphs on the writer's life, several on his works in general, and several on each of his most important

works. After this a separate section of the article provides several pages of discussion on the writer's theology under headings such as *The Trinity*, *Christology*, and *The Holy Spirit*. The frequent appearance of such headings as *Mariology* shows that Quasten has something of a Roman Catholic bias.

Scattered through the articles are small print references to pertinent editions, translations, and studies. These notes are more fully written out and hence easier to decipher than the ones in Altaner. They are also much more abundant. The texts of the articles mention by author and title quite a few of the ancient secondary sources of information.

The short time period covered in this work and the bulkiness of its being in three volumes make this patrology less convenient for use as a quick reference dictionary than is Altaner's volume.

(4) Young, Frances M.

From Nicaea to Chalcedon.

A Guide to the Literature and its Background.

Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.

This very recent history covers the period from the Council of Nicaea in 325 to the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Its chapters deal with: Eusebius as the first important church historian, some fourth century Alexandrians, the Cappadocians, some late fourth century personalities, and the Christological controversy. While the chapter sub-headings in the table of contents show about half the sections of the book to be about specific fourth and fifth century church writers, and while the book as a whole emphasizes the literature of the period, this work is not a patrology in the style of Altaner or Quasten. The narrative is much more continuous and much less dry. The author argues for her own interpretation of things, and there is not the attempt to represent each and every writer of the period. Information on the known works of the writers presented, on important discoveries, editions, and studies—information in which this book abounds—is presented as part of the very stimulating and readable text and or as part of the two bibliographies at the back of the volume. The first bibliography is devoted to works in English, the second to works in English and other European languages since

1960. Together they list the significant advances in editions, translations, and studies (books and articles) since Quasten's *Patrology of 1950-1960* (see (3) above).

Notes are at the back of the book, possibly making the text appear less heavy to the students for whom Young has at least in part prepared this work. In the bibliographies a very small number of abbreviations is used with the result that these entries are blissfully easy to read. There is an *Index of Subjects* and a *Select Index of Greek Words*.

2 Didymus' Works

2.1 Commentaries on the Books of the Old Testament (in the usual Old Testament order)

(5) *Commentary on Genesis*

Lost except for fragments in catenae (Edition: PG 39, 1111-1115) and excerpts in the Tura papyri (Edition: *Sur la Genèse*, edited by P. Nautin and L. Doutreleau, in *Sources Chrétiennes*, 233, 244, 1976, 1978).

(6) *Commentary on Exodus*

Lost except for fragments in catenae (Edition: PG 39, 1111-1115).

(7) *Commentary on Leviticus*

Lost.

(8) *Commentary on 1, 2 Kings*

Lost except for fragments (Edition: PG 39, 1115-1120).

(9) *Commentary on Job*

Lost except for fragments in catenae (Edition: PG 39, 1119-1154) and excerpts in the Tura papyri (Edition: *Kommentar zu Hiob*, edited by A. Henrichs, 3 vols., in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, Bonn, 1968).

(10) *Commentary on the Psalms*

Lost except for fragments in catenae (Edition: PG 39, 1155-1616, 1617-1622), excerpts in Tura papyri (Edition: *Psalmenkommentar I*, edited by L. Doutreleau et al., in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, Bonn, 1969; *Psalmenkommentar II-V*, edited by M. Gronewald, in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, Bonn, 1968-70); and quotations by Jerome which show it to have been a monumental work using an allegorico-mystical method of exegesis. Didymus combined an interest in textual criticism with a "freely figurative interpretation," in which the "Old Testament contains everywhere an important Christian message" (Quasten 91).

(11) *Commentary on Proverbs*

Lost except for fragments in catenae (Edition: PG 39. 1621-1646). Mentioned by Cassiodorus as having been translated at his suggestion by Epiphanius the Scholastic but the translation has been lost.

(12) *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*

Lost except for excerpts in the Tura papyri (Editions: *Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes I*, edited by G. Binder and L. Liesenborghs, in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, Bonn, 1965; *Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes I-IV*, edited by G. Binder, L. Liesenborghs, J. Kramer, B. Krebber and M. Gronewald, in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, Bonn, 1969-79).

(13) *Commentary on Song of Songs*

Lost.

(14) *Commentary on Isaiah*

Lost except for fragments in catenae. Mentioned by Jerome as having 18 volumes "although it dealt only with Isaias 40-66, a section that Didymus regarded as a book of its own" (Quasten 91).

(15) *Commentary on Jeremiah*

Lost.

(16) *Commentary on Daniel*

Lost.

(17) *Commentary on Hosea*

Lost except for fragments in catenae.

(18) *Commentary on Zechariah*

Lost, except for fragments in catenae and excerpts in the Tura papyri (Edition: *Sur Zacharie*, edited by L. Doutreleau, in *Sources Chrétiennes*, 83, 84, 85, 1962).

2.2 Commentaries on Books of the New Testament (in the usual New Testament order)

Note: Didymus is known to have written commentaries on all of the New Testament books except Mark and some of the shorter Pauline Epistles.

(19) *Commentary on Matthew*

Lost. Used by St. Jerome.

(20) *Commentary on Luke*

Lost.

(21) *Commentary on John*

Lost except for a few fragments (Edition: PG 39, 1645-54).

(22) *Commentary on Acts*

Lost except for citations in many catenae and in Theophylactus' commentary on Acts (Editions: PG 39, 1953-78: 30 additional excerpts in J. A. Cramer, *Catenaë Græcorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, Oxford, 1844, t. III, 21, 90, 187-413). Evidently a long commentary.

(23) *Commentary on Romans*

Lost.

(24) *Fragment on Romans 7*

Probably belongs to *Against the Manichaeans* rather than to a commentary on Romans; see (30) below.

(25) *Commentary on 1 Corinthians*

Fragments in the Codex Athous Pantokrat 28 preserve the greater part of the 1 Corinthians 15 and 16 portion of this commentary (Edition: K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Münster, 1933, 6-14). Quoted from by Jerome.

(26) *Commentary on 2 Corinthians*

Fragments in the Codex Athous Pantokrat 28 preserve the greater part of this commentary (Edition: K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Münster, 1933, 14-44). Codex Vaticanus 762 provides an incomplete text (Edition: PG, 1677-1732).

(27) *Commentary on Galatians*

Lost. Written before 387; used by Jerome in the preparation of his commentary on Galatians.

(28) *Commentary on Ephesians*

Lost. Used by Jerome in the preparation of his commentary on Ephesians.

(29) *Commentary on the Catholic Epistles*

(*James, 1, 2 Peter, 1, 2, 3 John, Jude*)

Greek original lost except for a few excerpts (Editions: PG 39, 1749-1818; J. A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, Oxford, 1844, t. VIII, 2. 30. 52. 63. 22. 65). Mentioned by Cassiodorus as having been translated into Latin by Epiphanius the Scholastic; the Latin version is extant (Editions: PG 39, 1949-1818; F. Zoepfl, *Didymi Alex. in epistolas canonicas brevis enarratio*, in *Neutest. Abhandl.* 4, 1, Münster, 1913). The authorship is disputed; "however, K. Staab's careful investigation has left little doubt that Didymus is the author" (Quasten 92).

2.3 Theological Works

(30) *Against the Manichaeans.*

Plausibly attributed to Didymus. Extant in Greek with a mutilated introduction, and 18 short chapters (Edition: PG 39, 1085-1110). Gives the impression of being an excerpt from a larger work. Includes a fragment probably by Didymus on Romans 7: this fragment is not likely to be part of a commentary on Romans. (Edition: K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Münster, 1933, 1-6). Polemicizes against the Manichaeans as do his *On the Trinity*, *On the Holy Spirit*, and biblical commentaries. In this work Didymus seems not to have been influenced by Serapion's *On the Manichaeans* which, however, he apparently knew.

(31) *On the Holy Spirit.*

The Greek original has been lost. It must have been composed before 381 since it was used (plagiarized, according to St. Jerome) by St. Ambrose in 381. The Latin translation by St. Jerome is extant (Editions: PG 39, 1031-1086; PL 23, 101-154; G. Bardy, *Traité du Saint-Esprit. Texte, introduction, traduction et notes*, in *Sources Chrétiennes*, edited by H. de Lubac and J. Daniélou, Paris, 1941ff.). It was prepared between 384 and 392. Evident misquotations show it to have been extremely faithful to the original. However, Jerome translates trinitarian terms and expressions unreliably. "The first part (chapters 4-29) adduces proof that the Holy Spirit is not a creature but consubstantial with the Father and the Son; the second (chapter 30-59) deals with Scriptural texts which confirm the Catholic doctrine and refute the objections of the Pneumatomachi" (Quasten 87).

(32) *On the Trinity.*

Extant (Editions: PG 39, 269-992; *De Trinitate I*, edited by J. Hon-scheid; *De Trinitate II*, edited by I. Seiler, Meisenheim, 1975). Didymus' authorship is not completely sure, but is generally assumed. The work was composed between 381 and 392. The first two books are on the Son and the Holy Spirit; book three gives a summary and important biblical passages.

Sometimes the Scriptural texts are studied in depth, but sometimes they are distorted. The approach follows Athanasius rather than Origen, defending the consubstantiality and equality of the three divine persons (Quasten 87).

2.4 Lost Theological Works

(33) *Ad philosophum* and *De incorporeo*

Lost. Mentioned and briefly quoted by St. John of Damascus in *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96, 248, 524).

(34) *De dogmatibus et contra Arianos* (two books)

Lost. Mentioned by St. Jerome in *De viris illustribus* 109. May be what Didymus refers to 14 times in *De Trinitate* as the *First Word*. May be what Didymus refers to in *De Spiritu Sancto* 32 as his *Dogmatum volumen*. May be the same works as those appended as the fourth and fifth books to St. Basil's *Contra Eunomium* by many manuscripts and most printed editions (Editions: PG 29, 671-774; J. Draseke, *Apollinarios von Laodicea*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 7, 3-4, Leipzig, 1892, 205-251). Consists of two books.

(35) *Defense of Origen*

Lost. Mentioned by Socrates as being a defense and exposition of Origen's *On First Principles*. Mentioned by St. Jerome as giving "an orthodox interpretation of Origen's trinitarian doctrine" but accepting "without hesitation his other errors regarding the sin of the angels, the pre-existence of souls, the Apokatastasis, etc." (Quasten 89). Written at the suggestion of Rufinus.

(36) *Sectarum volumen*

Lost. Mentioned by Didymus in *De Spiritu Sancto* 5 and 21 to have "explained among other things that the Holy Spirit does not receive wisdom but is wisdom" (Quasten 89).

2.5 Works of Dubious Authorship

(37) *Adversus Arium et Sabellium*

Extant among the works of Gregory of Nyssa (Edition: PG 45, 1281-1302). Argued to have been by Didymus or at least not by Gregory of Nyssa.

(38) *Against the Manichaeans*

See (30) above.

(39) Books Four and Five of Basil's *Contra Eunomium*

See (34) above.

(40) *On the Trinity*

See (32) above.

(41) *On the Vision of the Seraphim*

Editions: A. M. Amelli, *S. Hieronymi Stridonensis presb. tractatus contra Origenem de visione Isaiae*, Monte Cassino, 1901; G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana III*, 3, 1903, 103-122

(42) *Pseudo-Athanasian Dialogues*

Extant among the dogmatic writings attributed to Athanasius (Edition: PG 28, 1145-1286, 1291-1338).

3 Editions of Didymus' Works

(chronologically by approximate date of publication)

(43) Early Editions

A number of eighteenth and nineteenth century editions of Didymus' works are named by Bardenhewer (see (2) above). Many of these were reprinted by Migne (see (44) below). Only the Migne and more recent editions have been cited under the individual Didymus titles in this bibliography.

(44) Migne, Jacques Paul, ed.

Didymi Alexandrini: Opera Omnia
in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca* (Abbr. PG),
Vol. 39, columns 131-1818.
Paris, 1863.

This volume, edited by Migne, represents the only attempt yet made to form a complete edition of Didymus works. It missed a few of the works known at the time of its publication (Bardenhewer Vol. 3, 107-108; Bardenhewer does not mention what they were), and some catenae excerpts. Published long before the Tura find, it is, of course, missing all the fragments of Didymus' works recovered there. Its further drawbacks are that its textual criticism is below modern standards, and its print is not always clear.

In addition to Didymus' works, this volume provides an extensive list of quotations on Didymus and his works from ancient writers (PG 39, 215-268), and a long commentary on Didymus' *On the Trinity* reprinted from the eighteenth century edition of the same work by J. A. Mingarelli (PG 39, 139-215).

The table of contents to this edition of Didymus' works is given in Vol. 39, columns 7-8.

(45) *Sources Chrétiennes*, Paris.

This series of pocket-volume scholarly editions with translations into French has included two works of Didymus: the commentary on Genesis and the commentary on Zechariah. See (5) and (18) above, for details.

(46) *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*. Bonn.

This series has so far produced scholarly editions of three of the works of Didymus found in the Tura papyri: the commentaries on the Psalms, on Job, and on Ecclesiastes. See (10), (9), and (12) above, for details.

(47) Other Editions

Other editions are mentioned under the individual Didymus works in section 2. Didymus' Works, above.

4 English Translations of Didymus' Works

Until now there have been no translations of Didymus' Works into English (Young 341).

5 Selected Modern Secondary Sources on Didymus

Note: Articles and monographs were selected which treated in a general way Didymus' life, works, method, or theology. No specialized writings were included, as none pertained to Didymus' commentaries on the New Testament letters to the Corinthians, my particular area of concern.

5.1 Articles

(48) Smythe, H. R.

"The interpretation of Amos IV in St. Athanasius and Didymus."

Journal of Theological Studies N.S. 1, 1950, 158-168.

In explaining Athanasius' and Didymus' interpretations of Amos 4:13, Smythe points out that they were both arguing against the *Pneumatomachi*, a group of Christians who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Amos 4:13 was one of the texts the *Pneumatomachi* used in support of their position, and they took it to mean that the Holy Spirit is a creature of God and therefore not divine. Athanasius and Didymus interpret this verse otherwise, as Smythe shows. Smythe notes that both Athanasius and Didymus interpret the text in context, not literally, and without forcing the interpretation of individual words.

(49) Wiles, M. F.

"The Nature of the Early Debate about Christ's Human Soul."

Journal of Ecclesiastical History 16, 1965, 139-51.

The early church writers did not all agree as to whether Christ had a human soul. Wiles argues that for a long time thinking either emphasized soteriology and affirmed Christ's human soul (Irenaeus, Tertullian: If he had not had a human soul he would not have been able to save our human souls), or emphasized the unity of Christ's person and denied his human soul (Malchion, Pamphilus; Malchion, drawing on Paul, argued for Christ's having in his human body a "divine Logos" instead of a human soul). It was not until Apollinarius that an attempt was made to face the question on both fronts simultaneously. Apollinarius saw the unity of Christ's person

as defeating the soteriological argument; however, the opposite opinion soon became more popular. With Cyril of Alexandria a viewpoint that combined the emphases was attempted.

Didymus the Blind, coming before Apollinarius, followed the soteriological line of thinking. He may also have been influenced by Origen whose soteriological argument was very unusual but nevertheless served to affirm Christ's human soul.

(50) Young, F. M.

"A Reconsideration of Alexandrian Christology"

Journal of Ecclesiastical History 22, 1971, 103-14.

Alexandrian Christology is often taken as being too concerned with the divinity, and not sufficiently concerned with the humanity, of Christ. It is unfavorably compared in this regard with the Christology of the Antiochene school. Young, arguing from the writings of Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind, and others, contends that the Alexandrian Christology upholds Christ's humanity perhaps less flamboyantly, but in the end more solidly than does the Antiochene school.

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Concordance

This concordance lists alphabetically all the words of Didymus' commentary on 1 Corinthians 15, giving the page and line numbers of their occurrences in Karl Staab's edition of the text.

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ἄρσι	6.15	7.07	7.26	7.28 10.27
ἄρσι	7.21	7.23	9.13	
ἄρσι	10.03			

μεσομαρτυροί 7.10

μαρτ. 8.12 8.23 9.05 10.01 10.20 10.22 10.24

μαρτ. 6.05 7.14 7.23 10.29 10.31 11.04

μαρτ. 6.20 8.21 9.02 10.15 10.18 10.18 10.21 10.23

μαρτ. 10.06 10.21 10.25 10.29

μαρτ. 8.21 11.13

ω 9.01

ω 9.03 11.24 11.24

ωωω 8.03 11.11

ωω 7.01

ωω 7.19 8.20 9.05

ωωωωωω 8.22

ω 6.29 7.01 7.11 7.18 7.26 8.05 8.05 8.08 9.01 9.04 9.10

9.14 9.16 9.30 10.09 11.03 11.23 12.01

ωωωω 11.27

ωωωωω 10.01 11.21

ωωωωω 6.28