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Spiritual Homilies attributed to St. Macarius of Egypt*

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“Everything is Found Inside” (Πάντα ἔσωθεν εὐρίσκεται, *Hom.* III.8.1.5).

**The Emergence and Development of the Discourse of Interiorization of Religious
Experience in the Eastern Christian Tradition:
Revisiting the Unique Contribution of the *Spiritual Homilies* attributed to St. Macarius of
Egypt**

Dean Georcheski, B.Th., M.Th.

A Dissertation submitted to the
Department of Theology and Religion at Durham University,
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the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation at hand examines the development of the discourse of interiorization used to describe inner religious experiences in the Eastern Christian tradition. It identifies three phases in the so-called phenomenon of interiorization and explores the changes that contributed toward its development, starting from the temple worship in early Judaism, through the latter development in Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, and ultimately focuses on the late fourth-early fifth-century *Spiritual Homilies* attributed to St. Macarius of Egypt. As the identity of the author of these influential texts is still debated, we refer to him as Pseudo Macarius. Part One of the dissertation, examines three major concepts fundamental to the development of the discourse of interiorization: namely, *Yahweh's glorious presence*, the *inner human being*, and the concept of the *heart*. Additionally, Part One presents the phenomenon of interiorization as belonging to the core of the Christian tradition, visible from the very beginning of the early Christian movement rather than an influence by later Neoplatonic, Stoic or Gnostic philosophies. In Part Two of the dissertation, we turn to Ps. Macarius' interiorization discourse by analyzing in detail his use of the same three major concepts — the divine presence, the inner human being, and the heart. The goal of the second part is to examine Ps. Macarius' role in the development of the Christian language of interiority, arguing that the uniqueness of his contribution lies not so much in the invention and introduction of new interiorizing concepts, but rather in the span, intensity, and creativity that characterize the way he uses already existent concepts and terminology. In doing so, this dissertation depicts Ps. Macarius as one of the most prolific and anthropologically balanced authors with a distinctive style of interiorized exegesis who develops some original and creative aspects of the language of interiority as he insists on the necessity of experiencing the continuous, transformative *presence of God* located in the depths of the synergic union of the *inner human being* and the *heart*.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family,
my loving wife, Lily Georcheska, and to my children,

Amelia Anna Georcheska and

David Symeon Georcheski

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I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my dissertation directors, Prof. Krastu Banev (Dn. Nikita) and Prof. Lewis Ayres for setting high standards for my research. I would especially like to thank Dr. Banev for his ongoing inspiration through the different stages of my research and for his warmth and brotherly care. I would also like to thank Fr. John Behr and Fr. Andrew Louth for their inspirational and valuable insights over the years.

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To my previous parish St. Clement of Ohrid Macedonian Orthodox Church in New York City, and to my present parish St. Nikola Macedonian Orthodox Church in Totowa, New Jersey, for their understanding and support over the years of my research.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the central philosophical and religious preoccupations of humanity throughout the ages has been man's perpetual fascination with the mystery of the human–divine encounter. Surpassing intellect and imagination, this encounter naturally shows resilience towards simplified and limiting definitions. The language and methods used to explain such spiritual experiences have been subject to notable and perpetual changes over the centuries, naturally shaped by local cultures and contemporary religious and philosophical thought. This dissertation explores the so-called phenomenon of interiorization and examines the development of the language used for the mystery of the human–divine encounter from its rudimentary and anthropomorphic form to a more profound, inward, or interiorized discourse denoting the indwelling divine presence within the inner human being. This dissertation identifies three phases in the evolution of the phenomenon of interiorization and investigates the changes that contributed toward its development — starting from the temple worship in early Judaism through its latter development in Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity and ultimately focusing on the *Spiritual Homilies* attributed to St. Macarius of Egypt dating from the late fourth to early fifth century. As the identity of the author of these influential texts is still debated, in this thesis, we refer to him as Pseudo Macarius (Ps. Macarius). To that goal, this study distinguishes and examines three major concepts that we consider to be fundamental to the development of the discourse of interiorization: namely, *Yahweh's glorious presence*, the *inner human being*, and the concept of the *heart*. In the second part, by using the same three concepts, this dissertation portrays Ps. Macarius as one of the most prolific and anthropologically balanced contributors to the discourse of interiorization with a distinctive style of interiorized exegesis and some original and creative aspects regarding the language of interiority as he insists on the interiorization of every aspect of one's faith and on the necessity of

experiencing the transformative presence of God located in the depths of the synergic union of the inner human being and the heart. Additionally, this dissertation presents the phenomenon of interiorization as belonging to the core of the Judeo-Christian tradition, existent at the very beginning of the Christian movement rather than an influence from later non-Christian philosophies. The term Judeo-Christian tradition used in this dissertation, does not refer to the old-fashioned, and now largely abandoned dichotomy between Greek and Hebrew thought, but to the continuity of thought that was initiated in the Jewish religion and was transferred to Christianity.

Definition

In this dissertation, the phenomenon of interiorization is defined as discourse concerning the encounter between God and man in the depths of the inner human being. The concept of interiorization in this thesis is less about the modern notion of ‘spiritualized’ and ‘emotional’ turn towards the ‘inner self’, understood as an inner reality of the ‘real self’ — as if the ‘inner’ were more accurate than the ‘outer’ — with the goal of finding wholeness, healing, and deeper understanding of self and life in general. Rather, the notion of interiorization is defined through the prism of the concept of the inward experience of Yahweh’s glorious presence (with a focus on three phases of development: Old Testament Temple, the Incarnation in Jesus Christ, and the fulfillment in the Holy Spirit) in the realm of the mystical union of the ‘inner human being’ and of the ‘heart’.

Methodology, Argument, and Structure

This dissertation consists of two parts. **PART ONE** offers a historical and comparative study of the interiorization phenomenon. It identifies *three key phases* in the development of the

phenomenon (language) of interiority and *explores the changes* that occurred in respect to inwardness as it transformed from temple worship in early Hebrew religion through the later personified understanding at the dawn of Christianity (and latter Rabbinic Judaism) and, ultimately, to its most developed interiorized (or spiritualized) form in the patristic literature. Thus, this dissertation portrays the phenomenon of interiority as a genuine Christian vision that existed at the very formation of Christianity, rather than a later influence from non-Christian philosophies such as Neoplatonism, Gnosticism, and Stoicism. Part One, then, traces the origins and development of the discourse of interiorization from its very beginnings in the Judaic religion, and explores its intercourse with the interiorization that also developed in the Hellenic philosophical system, thus paving the way for a mature discourse within Christianity in Late Antiquity. In this part of the dissertation, the interiorization phenomenon is portrayed as a process that appeared simultaneously in both the Judaic and the Hellenic societies prompted by various geopolitical, social, cultural, and above all, religious and theological turning points, which impacted the development of later Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. Thus, this part engages in an in-depth study of three interiorizing concepts that are fundamental to the development of the discourse of interiority, namely, the concept of *God's glorious presence*, the *inner human being*, and the concept of the *heart*. Following this structure, Part One is divided into three main chapters that correspond to each concept respectively. This structure, although reversed, also provides a framework for examining the same three concepts in the works of Ps. Macarius in Part Two.

Over the last few decades, there has been a growing interest among scholars in exploring the interiorizing language of 'inner space' and 'inner self'. One of the foremost authors working the historical development of interiority as well as its implications within the Judeo-Christian and

Hellenic world is Guy Stroumsa,¹ and this dissertation builds upon his theories and findings regarding the origins of the interiorization phenomenon. In Stroumsa's understanding, it is in the new trends which resulted from certain socio-political and above all religious transformations in the classical period of the Hellenic culture and the changes in the Jewish religiosity during the second Commonwealth, that one must look for the roots and the beginnings of the phenomenon of interiorization. He states,

Processes of interiorization had appeared in Greek and Hellenic culture since the classical period, and with more intensity during the Hellenistic times... It would be mistaken to see these new trends in religiosity as the only *preparatio evangelica* as it were. No less important in the research for the roots of the interiorized Christian consciousness are the deep changes in Jewish religiosity during the same period, namely the second Commonwealth.²

Building upon the German philosopher Karl Jasper's theory of *Achsenzeit*,³ Stroumsa identifies the period of the second Commonwealth as an *axial age*, "an epoch in which the very frameworks of a civilization are transformed in a radical way."⁴ This *axial age* Stroumsa holds, is a period of a radical transformation of the old sacrificial religious system, both in Hellenism and Judaism, that directly contributed towards a development of an internalization of worship and an interiorized understanding of self. To quote Stroumsa, "[s]een together, both trends, in the Hellenic world and in Judaism, provide the background to the radical transformation of religious structures and

¹ See G. Stroumsa, "Interiorization and Intolerance in Early Christianity," in Jan Assmann, ed., *Die Erfindung des inneren Menschen: Studien zur religiösen Anthropologie* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1993). See also G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformation in Late Antiquity*, translated by Susan Emanuel (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

² Stroumsa, "Interiorization and Intolerance in Early Christianity," 168-169.

³ "The German philosopher Karl Jaspers characterized the first half millennium before our common era as an *Achsenzeit* (axial age), when across different (often imperial) civilizations there developed a hierarchical differentiation between the visible and the invisible, the material and spiritual, worlds. Confucius, Buddha, Zarathustra, the prophets of Israel, and the first Greek philosophers represented for Jaspers the types of the intellectual and religious transformation." Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice*, 5-6. See also Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, ed., *The Origin and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986).

⁴ Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice*, 6.

sensitivities in early Christianity.”⁵ In other words, during this *Achsenzeit*, right settings were already developing both in the Hellenic and Jewish world of thought that paved the way for an evolution⁶ in the religious consciousness, namely the development of an interiorized understanding of self and religious practices. Stroumsa says, “[t]he victory of Christianity in the Roman Empire cannot be truly understood as an *internal* transformation of Greco-Roman culture. It is with Jewish weapons that Christianity concurred the Roman Empire.”⁷

Stroumsa’s position regarding the language of interiority stands radically different from the ‘traditional’ theories of the roots of the interiorization in Christianity. These theories generally focus on concepts of the inner self and the inner space in Augustine’s theological thought and insist on his dependency on the Platonic and Neoplatonic or Stoic philosophies. Charles Taylor, for example, in his book *Sources of Self*,⁸ which is a historical and philosophical overview of the making of modern identity, includes a whole chapter, “In Interiore Homine,” where he argues for the Neoplatonic character of Augustine’s language of inner self. Augustine’s exhortation to search truth and God within the depths of our inner self,⁹ thus, in Taylor’s understanding, is to be interpreted as influenced “by Plato’s doctrines as they were transmitted to him [Augustine] through Plotinus.”¹⁰ In the same vein, Phillip Cary, in his work on the topic of development of inner space

⁵ Stroumsa, “Interiorization and Intolerance in Early Christianity,” 169.

⁶ “This evolution is well known, and has often been perceived, for instance by Father A.J. Festugière, as preparing the way, so to speak, to the appearance of Christianity.” Stroumsa, “Interiorization and Intolerance in Early Christianity,” 169. See also A. J. Festugière, *Personal Religion Among the Greeks* (University of California Press: 1954).

⁷ Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice*, 11.

⁸ Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

⁹ “Do not go outward; return within yourself. In the inward man dwells the truth” (Noli foras ire, in teipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas), Augustine, *De Vera Religione*, XXXIX.72; See also Augustine, *Confessions* 1:28; 8:19.

¹⁰ Tylor, *Sources of Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, 127.

and language, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self*,¹¹ also points out to the early Christian Platonist tradition. Carey argues that the Stoic language of the inward turn (to the soul/self),¹² and Plato's concept of *the intelligible space* of Ideas/Forms,¹³ which was latter reinterpreted by other Platonists as the *intelligible space* and finally by Plotinus as the *inner world* located within the soul,¹⁴ are *the* reasons behind Augustine's 'invention' of the concept of *inner self*.¹⁵ Augustine, Cary says, is not entirely honest with his readers; he does not clearly state that the reason behind 'finding God within our souls' lie in the Platonic idea of the divine nature of the upper part of the soul. "He [Augustine] does not let his readers know that for these Platonists the reason we must turn inward to find God is that inwardly we are God."¹⁶ Carey even goes to the point of blaming the entire Christian tradition of "borrowing (or stealing?) Platonist concepts since the Church Fathers, and later of course made an art form of reading Platonist concepts into the Bible by means of what they called "spiritual" as opposed to "literal" exegesis."¹⁷

¹¹ Philip Cary, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self: The Legacy of a Christian Platonist*, (Oxford: University Press, 2000).

¹² See Epictetus, *Discourses* 3:22.38-39, "If you wanted, you would have found it [the good] in yourselves, and you would not have wandered outside or sought things alien to you as if they were your own. *Turn to yourselves!*"; Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 7:59, "...the source of the good is within."; Seneca, *Epistle*, 41:1. "God is near you, with you, in you."

¹³ See Plato, *Republic* 6:508c, 509d, 7:517b.

¹⁴ "Therefore, when we look outside of what we are fastened from, we are ignorant of our own being one-like faces which are many on the outside but having one head on the inside [eis to eiso]. So, if anyone could turn, either by themselves or by a lucky tug of Athena, they would see God and themselves and all things." *Ennead* 6:5.7; For Plotinus' usage of the phrase "turn into the inside," see Cary, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self: The Legacy of a Christian Platonist*, note 67, p. 157.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁷ See *Ibid.*, ix. The question regarding the usage of non-Christian concepts and methodologies has been an ongoing issue throughout the centuries. Many of the patristic authors including Irenaeus, Tertulian, Origen, Augustine, Jerome, etc., have advocated for Christian's right to make a good use of non-Christian philosophy. Commenting on the exodus from Egypt and the 'despoiling of the Egyptians' (Exodus. 3:22) Irenaeus for example, concludes that Christians should make good use of their worldly possessions in charity, just as the Jewish people used the stolen gold to build God's tabernacle. Origen, who was equally attacked by Christians and non-Christians for his excessive dependence on non-Christian philosophy, maintained that Christians should make a good usage of their non-Christian education, philosophical and exegetical techniques, just as the Israelites made proper use of the stolen Egyptian treasures. Similarly,

The author of this dissertation strongly disagrees with the later approach. In many ways it is misleading and anachronistic since, as it will be shown in the subsequent pages, the conceptions of interiority developed simultaneously in both Judaism and Hellenic Philosophy. The phenomenon of interiority as it appeared in Judaism, developed in several stages through particular events and culminated in the Christian Tradition. It is no secret that early Christian Tradition has made good use of the language and concepts of the existing Hellenic Philosophy. The impact, contribution, and influence of the Platonic, Stoic, and Neoplatonic Philosophy on Christianity and Patristic authors has been well noted and many of the Church Fathers have benefited from exposure to Stoic and Neoplatonic concepts and vocabulary. However, such strong and one-sided accusations, in blaming Neo-Platonism for everything which has come to be believed as “alien,” as opposed to the “pristine teachings” of the early Christian community, already sound like a cliché.¹⁸ To quote Fr. Andrew Louth whose research focuses on the inner connection between Neoplatonism and Christianity, it “is not so much a question of influence from Neoplatonism to Christianity, or even the reverse, it is much more a question of people belonging to the same world of thought, the same world of discourse. And within that same world of discourse, responding often in very similar ways.”¹⁹ This is especially true and applicable to the development of the

Augustine did not think that the non-Christian education was essentially bad, and maintained that Christians should not avoid it, but distinguish the good from the bad. See Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 4.30.1-4; Origen, *Epist. ad Gregorium* 2ab: PG II.87-89; Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus* 53: CCL 44A. 85-93; *De doctrina christiana* 2. 144-7: CSEL 80: 75-76. For an insightful overview of the patristic interpretation of Exodus 3:22, see Gillian Clark, “‘Spoiling the Egyptians’: Roman Law and Christian Exegesis in Late Antiquity” in *Law, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity*, Mathisen, R. (ed.). (Oxford University Press, 2001): 133-147.

¹⁸ See Christoph Marksches, “Does It Make Sense to Speak about the ‘Hellenization of Christianity’ in Antiquity?” in *Church History and Religious Culture* 92 (2012/1):5-34.

¹⁹ (Full Quotation) “I suppose the central subject of my research over the last 40 years, has very much been the way in which philosophical thought developed in late antiquity paralleled with the way in which Christian theology in late antiquity. And the more I think about it, the more it seems to me that is the

discourse of interiority. Building on Stroumsa's theories regarding the phenomenon of interiority this thesis posits a line of reasoning that traces the development of the discourse of interiority through the interiorizing concepts that developed within the Semitic culture and the fascinating synthesis with the Hellenic interiorizing concepts at the dawn of the Christian movement.

Corresponding to the three foundational interiorizing concepts, Part One of this dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is a study of the concept of the presence of God's glory in the Jewish religion. It examines the centrality of the concept of Yahweh's presence among His people as manifested in the pillar of fire, the tent, and the temple. By investigating the crucial social and geopolitical events that led to alternative places of worship and the development of a vast body of apocalyptic Merkabah literature, this chapter explores the gradual paradigm shift toward a more decentralized and interiorized interpretation of the divine presence. These events will be presented as turning points that naturally led to the development of Rabbinic Judaism and the emergence of the early Christian community as two branches that developed after the loss of the Temple and the end of the sacrificial system that was central to Temple worship. This, it will

way to look at it, that in late antiquity both Christians and pagans were responding to the same kinds of developments in society and also listening to one another, sometimes disagreeing to one another. And that is not so much a question of influence from Neoplatonism to Christianity, or even reverse, it is much more a question of people belonging to the same world of thought, the same world of discourse. And within that same world of discourse, responding often in very similar ways. One particular example for instance is the way in which as you move through the 4th century, the idea that if you are going to understand anything at all there is a necessary step of faith. Whether you are a pagan or a Christian there is some step which is, cannot be reduced to simple rationality and that without taking that step, we will never progress in our understanding. Some people say, this is a Christian imprint on Neoplatonism. I wonder, it seems to me that it is much more a response to common problems they had. And of course, that's the case nowadays, it seems to me that the links say between existentialism or phenomenology or hermeneutic philosophy and Christianity, are not so much a question of influence, but rather a question of belonging to a common world of discourse and hearing what other people are saying and finding these helpful ways of expressing what we want to say ourselves." Andrew Louth, *Priest Andrew Louth on Christianity and Platonism*, interview conducted by Киностудия МДА БОГОСЛОВ, March 27, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jdlvSe--wq4>; See also Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denis*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

be maintained, resulted in the reinterpretation of the discourse of interiority, which is to be seen as a theological response to the loss of the established temple worship. In this first chapter, we will identify three stages in the development of the understanding of the presence of Yahweh: namely, the institutionalized or ‘petrified’ glory in the Temple; the personified presence in the Torah and in the person of Jesus Christ; and lastly, the interiorized or spiritualized presence within the inner human being. The second chapter explores the meeting points of both the Jewish and Hellenic variants of the concept of interiorization at the formation of the Christian community. In this chapter, the main emphasis will be on the apostle Paul’s appropriation of the Hellenic concept of the inner human being. The second chapter also includes a study of the later development of the concept of the inner man within Christianity in Late Antiquity with a focus on Origen and Plotinus. The third chapter looks at the Semitic concept of the heart, which is a central anthropological concept in the Jewish religion and analyzes the work of authors within the Syriac milieu such as St. Ephrem, Aphrahat, and the *Book of Steps*, in whose works the concept of the heart gains truly interiorizing attributes.

PART TWO of this dissertation offers a detailed exegetical, textual, and theological analysis of the language of interiorization in the Ps. Macarian *Homilies*. The main goal of the second part is to portray Ps. Macarius as a highly imaginative and prolific contributor to the development of the language of interiority in the Eastern Christian tradition. It will be argued that he is an original contributor to the discourse of interiority not so much by invention and introduction of new interiorizing concepts but rather by the span, intensity, and creativity of using existing concepts and terminology. It will be demonstrated that in his interiorized exegesis and spirituality Ps. Macarius advocates for a highly developed “inner spiritual world” in which the transformational

presence of God is to be experienced almost exclusively in the depths of the realm of the human heart. This goal will be achieved by investigating Ps. Macarius' exegetical approach as well as his rendering of the same three major interiorizing concepts (although in reversed order). In this part, Ps. Macarius' entire theological thought will be presented, so to speak, as being shaped by one's experience of God's presence in the depths of the inner man of the heart. By investigating his specific rendering of the concepts of the *inner* and the *outer man*, i.e., the soul and the body, in an intimate synergic relationship, Ps. Macarius will be portrayed as an author of one of the most holistic and balanced anthropologies in Late Antiquity. This part demonstrates that being a profoundly eclectic writer and a remarkable synthesizer, Ps. Macarius has succeeded in blending the best insights of the Judaic, Hellenic, and the Syriac traditions, thus producing a unique and complex inner world of spirituality of the heart, while still remaining true to the core of his Christian tradition.

There are a number of studies on the Eastern Christian tradition that focus on the development of the language of interiority, especially the development of the concept of the inner man from Paul to Origen.²⁰ The second part of this dissertation consolidates and builds on studies that treat different aspects of interiority and are focused on the life and work of Ps. Macarius, in whose

²⁰ See Gundry, *Soma in Biblical Theology with an Emphasis on Pauline Theology and the Law*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987); H.J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*, (2 vols; Freiburg & Leipzig: Mohr, 1897; 2nd edn 1911), 2.13-15; Burkert Walter, "Towards Plato and Paul: The 'Inner' Human Being," in *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture: Essays in Honor of Hans Dieter Betz*, Edited by Adela Yarbro Collins, (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1999), 59-60; Christoph Marksches, "Die Platonische Metapher vom 'innerer Menschen': Eine Brücke zwischen antiker Philosophie und altchristlicher Theologie", in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (1995): 3-18; Hans Dieter Betz, "The concept of the 'Inner Human Being' (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul" in *New Testament Studies*, v. 46 no. 03, (2000): 315-341; Sarah Harding, "Paul's Eschatological Anthropology: The Esō Anthrōpos and the Intermediate State," *Transformation*, 2017, Vol. 34 (I): 50-65.

corpus, we recognize as a sort of a summit of a highly developed inner world of Christian spirituality. Foremost among these is Columba Stewart's monumental work, *Working the Earth of the Heart*,²¹ in which he sets the standards for further textual and linguistic studies of the Ps. Macarian Corpus. Besides his effort to tackle the Messalian issue, Stewart engages in detailed textual analysis of Macarius' three key concepts πληροφορία (confidence/assurance), αἴσθησις (feeling or sensation), and πείρα (experience). Stewart also discusses Ps. Macarius' usage of images and metaphors such as: mixing and blending, indwelling, and filling of the hearts and souls with a foreign (divine or demonic) presence. By building on these findings, more specifically Ps. Macarius' insistence on the necessity for experiencing the transformational presence of God, we portray Ps. Macarius as a prolific author with a distinctive place and contribution to the discourse of interiority. Another important monograph that treats the discourse of interiority in the works of Ps. Macarius is Marcus Plested's *The Macarian Legacy*,²² in which he places Ps. Macarius in the context of the wider Eastern Christian tradition. Through extensive research across various theological disciplines, including, anthropology, cosmology, the Fall and its consequences, Christology, incarnation, sacraments, and spiritual life, Plested successfully outlines Ps. Macarius' understanding of the correlation between the inner and the outer. Plested's findings on Ps. Macarius' holistic anthropology are crucial for our claim that Ps. Macarius is one of the most anthropologically balanced authors in the Late Antiquity, in spite of his ties with Messalianism; Ps. Macarius creatively lays out the inner world of the heart as a dwelling place for God's glory

²¹ Columba Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart: The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to A.D. 431*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1991).

²² Marcus Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: The Place of Macarius-Syemon in the Eastern Christian Tradition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). See also Marcus Plested, "The Spiritual Senses, Monastic and Theological," in *Knowing Bodies, Passionate Souls: Sense Perception in Byzantium*, Ed. By Susan Ashbrook Harvey and Margaret Mullet (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2017), 301-312.

that simultaneously exists in both the ‘spiritual’ and the ‘physical’ realms. For the connection of the Ps. Macarius’ interiorizing theology with the Old Testament and the Merkabah mysticism, the publications of Archbishop Alexander Golitzin and his colleague at Marquette University, Andrei Orlov, have proved invaluable. Both have explored in detail Ps. Macarius’ inner spirituality and his utilization of the Old Testament Temple and throne imagery and the intertestamental Hekhalot literature.²³

Building on the contributions of the above-mentioned scholars, Part Two of this dissertation will analyze the Ps. Macarian corpus in four steps. The first chapter will introduce the Ps. Macarian corpus and address the question of authorship as well as the scholarly debates on the suspected Messalian influences in the corpus. The second chapter will explore Ps. Macarius’ exegetical approach to the Scriptures and look at the span and intensity of usage of his interiorizing vocabulary. In this chapter, we will present an overview of the style of monastic interpretation of

²³ Alexander Golitzin “Temple and Thorne of Divine Glory: Pseudo Macarius and Purity of Heart” (Liturgical, 1999); “A Testimony to Christianity as Transfiguration: The Macarian Homilies and Orthodox Spirituality” in *Orthodox and Wesleyan Spirituality*, ed. S.T. Kimbrough, Jr. (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2002); “The Vision of God and the Form of Glory: More Reflections on the Anthropomorphic Controversy of AD 399” in *Abba, The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West, Festschrift for Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Dioklea*, Eds. John Behr, Andrew Louth, Dimitri Conomos (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003): 273-297; “Earthly Angels and Heavenly Men”: The Old Testament Pseudoepigrapha, Niketas Stethatos, and the Tradition of ‘Interiorized Apocalyptic’ in Eastern Christian Ascetical and Mystical Literature” in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 55 (2010): 125-153; “Hierarchy Versus Anarchy? Dionysius Areopagita, Symeon the New Theologian, and Their Common Roots in Ascetical Tradition” in *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 2 (1994): 131-179; “Making the Inside like the Outside: Toward a Monastic Sitz in Leben for the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel” Contribution to a Festschrift, edited by Monica Blanchard and Robin Darling Young for Catholic University of America Press, forthcoming 2003; “Recovering the ‘Glory of Adam’: ‘Divine Light’ Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Ascetical Literature of Fourth-Century Syro-Mesopotamia.” *Paper given at the International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, St. Andrews, Scotland on 28 June, 2001*; “The Image and Glory of God in Jacob of Serug’s Homily, ‘On That Chariot That Ezekiel the Prophet Saw.’” A paper given at the North American Patristics Society Conference, May 1998, at Loyola, Chicago, and under review for *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly*; Andrei Orlov, “Paradigms of the Transformational Vision in Macarian Homilies” (*Vigiliae Christianae*, 2001): 281-298; “A Farewell to the Merkabah Tradition” (*Marquette University*, 2015).

the Scriptures that existed in Ps. Macarius' time. In addition, here we will treat the modern issue of allegorical versus typological interpretation and we will identify Ps. Macarius' particular approach to exegesis as spiritual, or rather interiorized, as in line with the traditional Alexandrian spiritual interpretation. Furthermore, we will argue that the main reason behind Ps. Macarius' overwhelming interiorizing tendency lies in his understanding of the visible (un)fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies of Jesus Christ and the Church. Lastly, this chapter will examine the frequency of application of key interiorizing concepts as well as the breadth of technical vocabulary that characterizes Ps. Macarius' distinctive position in the Eastern Christian tradition. The Ps. Macarian phrase, πάντα ἔσωθεν εὐρίσκεται ("Everything is to be found inside", Hom. III.8.1.5), will thus be seen as summarizing his entire theology. The third chapter will focus on Ps. Macarius' anthropological presuppositions arguing that Ps. Macarius' bipartite and holistic anthropology offers the foundation for his interiorizing discourse. We shall see how, in keeping with the New Testament tradition (Apostle Paul) and the teaching of the patristic authors (mainly Origen), Ps. Macarius mingles the above-mentioned key interiorizing concepts of the inner human being and of the outer human being into a holistic unity. By assigning a corresponding role to both the noetic and the material parts of the human being, he brings 'the inner' and 'the outer' into an analog synergetic relation. Ps. Macarius' most original contribution in this respect, we will argue, is his locating of the leading part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν) not only within the 'realm of the heart', but also in the physical organ of the heart. By using the same analogy, just as the physical body is a house of the soul, the leading part of the body — the physical organ of the heart — is a house of the leading part of the soul — the ἡγεμονικόν. It will be demonstrated that, by drawing an analogue correlation between the concept of the ἡγεμονικόν and the physical organ of the heart, Ps. Macarius distinctively emphasizes the importance of such a union as a locus for the human-divine encounter.

In that sense, we will demonstrate the salvific transformation, which begins in the leading part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν), through the dispersing properties of the leading part of the body (the heart) is being spread to all the organs of the body, thus ultimately becoming a deifying transformation of the entire human being, body, and soul. In doing this, he is equating the physical organ of the heart with the physical Old Testament Temple, and the immaterial and intellectual being of the soul with Yahweh's throne in the Holy of Holies. The final chapter will examine Ps. Macarius' rendering of the concept of the presence of God. Ps. Macarius' theology will be represented as deeply experiential and existential in the sense of one's need for a conscious experience of, and continuous cohabitation with the transformational presence of God's glory in us. The main argument of this chapter is that Ps. Macarius advocates for an unmediated, transformational, and experiential presence of the divine glory as opposed to a mere intellectual and gnostic conceptual understanding of divinity. God, in Ps. Macarius' interiorizing theology, is truly present on the throne of the human heart, just as He was present in the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple. Lastly, we will suggest that this presence, according to Ps. Macarius, is a continuous transformational inner presence through which the human being is being united with the perfect Image of God, deified, and transformed to the eternal Glory. This, for Ps. Macarius, is an ontological necessity.

PART I**EZEKIEL AND PLATO: THE CONTINUITY OF THE PHENOMENON OF INTERIORITY
IN THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT**

I.1. INTERIORIZED GLORY: FROM SOLOMON’S TEMPLE TO THE DEPTHS OF THE HUMAN HEART

Chapter One explores the initial phase in the development of the phenomenon of interiority by examining the concept of *Yahweh’s glorious presence* and the changes that took place as it transitioned from *institutionalized* presence in early Judaism to the *personified* or *personalized* understanding of the presence in the latter Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. This chapter begins by investigating the importance of the notion of the presence of God in the early Jewish society and deals with the changes that occurred as the society endured various geopolitical, social, and theological challenges. More precisely, this chapter examines the process of deinstitutionalizing the concept of presence and its subsequent interiorization both, on the level of religious practice and on the level of religious literature. In doing so, this chapter also argues that the discourse of interiority is an integral part of the Christian tradition from its very formation. The tendency toward the interiorization of the concept of Yahweh’s glorious presence, this chapter holds, originated in Jewish theology and culture. In the General Introduction, we reviewed — and rejected — some of the most influential scholarly positions regarding the supposed Neoplatonic character of the interiorization phenomenon.²⁴ Siding with the arguments of Guy Stroumsa, we begin from the assumption that both the interiorization in Judaism and its counterpart, the interiorization in the Hellenism, developed simultaneously. The present chapter builds upon Stroumsa’s insights and proposes the examination of the concept of Yahweh’s glorious presence among His people as the prevailing concept in the Judaic line of thought. The notion of God’s presence in this chapter is studied both as a key Biblical term from a textual point of view and as a crucial segment in the

²⁴ See discussion above in the general Introduction; Tylor, *Sources of Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, 127; Cary, *Augustine’s Invention of the Inner Self*, ix, 10-11, 39, 157; Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice*, 6, 11, 63; *Ibid.*, “Interiorization and Intolerance in Early Christianity,” 169.

defining and self-identification of the Israelites. This chapter, then, examines the reasons behind the appearance and the evolution of the interiority phenomenon in the Jewish culture and society as well as its merging with aspects of the interiorization that also developed in the Hellenic philosophy. More precisely, this chapter explores the decentralization, internalization, and personification of the concept of the presence of God. It explores the details of how the said concept in the Judaic theological thought shifted from focusing on a celestial God, whose divine glorious presence was exclusive to the heavens and the divinely ordained earthly temple, to a God who is to be found in the heart of every human being who desires Him.

As to the question regarding a possible date for this momentous shift in Jewish religious conscience, Guy Stroumsa has claimed that it was the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (AD 70) that ended the Jewish sacrificial system and led to a shift towards an interiorized understanding of religious practice.²⁵ While accepting the basic principle of Stroumsa's theory, namely, that the destruction of the temple and the interruption of animal sacrifices leads to an increase in interiorized religiosity, this chapter will argue for an earlier dating. For this, we propose the destruction of Solomon's Temple and the exile of the Jews to Babylon (586 BC). By modifying Stroumsa's theory in this way, we will seek to describe with greater nuance three distinct ways (or phases) of understanding the presence of God:

²⁵ Guy Stroumsa holds that Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism are two new religions/sects born out of the Old Judaism after the destruction of the temple. He says "[t]he destruction of the temple of the Jews after practically a millennium of existence and activity was bound to have consequences, both direct and indirect, which are still far from having been well identified and analyzed. One of these consequences, of course, was the creation of not one, but at least two new religions: Christianity alongside rabbinic Judaism, and also, various dualist currents usually called Gnosticism." See Guy Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformation in Late Antiquity*, translated by Susan Emanuel, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 63. For a revised approach to Gnosticism see Michael A. Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1996).

- First is the institutionalized presence of God’s Glory, before, during, and immediately after the Babylonian exile. This phase is characterized by the centralized and even ‘petrified’ notion of the presence of divine glory in the very building of the first Temple in Jerusalem.
- Second is the personalized or personified presence of divine glory in the Torah (as understood in the later Rabbinic Judaism) and in the person of Jesus Christ (as understood in Christianity).
- Third is the interiorized and spiritualized presence which is to be found in the realm of the “inner man,” — that is, the heart, the soul, or the mind of man (as understood in the New Testament and the works of the Church Fathers).

Part One of this thesis, and especially Chapter One, looks at the transition between the first and the second phase in the interpretation of the concept of God’s glorious presence, while Part Two deals with the transition between the second and third phases.²⁶ In adjusting the argument to the Babylonian exile and defining these three phases not only we will portray the progression of the phenomenon of interiority that culminates in the Ps. Macarian corpus, but we will also determine the first destruction and the exile as *the* event that originally triggered the development of the concept of *decentralized* God’s glorious presence. This, will be argued, is the beginning of the phenomenon to interiorization. Its later evolution will be traced and examined through the subsequent events in the Jewish society and culture, including the Merkabah apocalyptic literature

²⁶ Naturally, the boundaries between these phases are not so clearly drawn. For example, even in the third interiorized/spiritualized phase, God is still considered a Celestial God, while the second and third overlap since already in the NT we witness a cradle of the language of interiority in Apostles Paul and John’s theology (Paul’s inner versus outer, and Johns “we will dwell within him”).

of the intertestamental period, the rise of the public gathering places of the Jewish diaspora (synagogues), as well the beginnings of the Christian community as a movement that emerged as one of the consequences of the interiorization of the old sacrificial system.

I.1.1. God's Glorious Presence

God's glorious presence is probably *the* most important concept that defines the religiosity of the Israelites in the Old Testament. From a linguistic point of view, the Old Testament concept of 'glory' (כְּבוֹד) has a wide spectrum of meanings. It has been used either to denote power, strength, ability, and substance, or when used specifically regarding God himself, it could be translated as glory, honor, splendor, or magnificence.²⁷ As a concept, Yahweh's presence among the Israelites was supremely important. It was *the* prime element of their self-identification. It was *the* foundational idea upon which the young society of Israel was to be built. There was no nation, no identity, and no chosen community of people without the perpetual presence of God's glory. All the Biblical accounts inform us of God's intense, glorious presence, one that was overwhelmingly and physically evident during the initial phase of the Exodus from Egypt. "[T]he Lord was going before them in a pillar of cloud by day to lead them on the way, and in a pillar of fire by night to give them light, that they might travel by day and by night." (Exodus 13:21). Three months into

²⁷ "There are 24 occurrences in the Pentateuch (13 in P), 7 in the Deuteronomistic history, and 18 in the Chronicler's history. It is especially frequent in the prophet Isaiah (38) and Ezekiel (19) and is found occasionally in Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets. The 51 occurrences in the Psalms and 16 in Proverbs illustrate the fondness these books have for the term, although the Psalms speak primarily of the *kevod YHWH*, whereas Proverbs speaks more of human *kabod*." M. Weinfeld, "Kabod" in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green, Vol. VII (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974), 24. In total, "as a noun it appears 199 times in the Old Testament, [and] [t]he Septuagint univocally translates it as δόξα." See Dean Gjorcheski, *Dwelling Place of Soul and Mind: The Role of the Heart in the Macarian Homilies*, (Unpublished Master Thesis at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, Crestwood, New York, 2010), 19.

their journey to freedom, on the mountain of Sinai, through the mouth of Moses, God had further strengthened the Israelite community by giving them a specific set of laws, but more importantly, He gave them specific instruction on how to build Him a Tabernacle, so that He may dwell among them. From this point, the Israelites were given the opportunity to build their first physical structure in which Yahweh's glory would abide.²⁸ Upon building their holy place, the author of Exodus informs us, the glory of the Lord covered the tent of the meeting and filled the Tabernacle. It was so tangible and evident that even Moses was not able to enter the tent.²⁹ By now, even slightest doubt that Yahweh's glorious presence was among the Israelites was eliminated. The presence of the Lord almighty was concrete, not as a symbolic fulfillment, but as a real and tangible manifestation of His glory.

With the building of the First Temple, the presence of Yahweh's glory became, we may say, 'petrified' and thus 'owned'. The Temple built in the promised land was the ultimate fulfillment of God's promises to dwell among them. Initiated by King David, and finished by his son King Solomon, it became a permanent place and a house of Yahweh's dwelling. The presence of the Lord was finally 'institutionalized.' The Israelites had their own land, own structure, own institution, and the Lord God was present among them. The priests and all the Israelites could witness this glory as a cloud was filling the house of the Lord. It was so dramatic and real that even the priests were not able to minister during such manifestation of God's presence. All this

²⁸ Exodus 25:8 "Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter the tent of meeting because the cloud had settled on it, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And throughout all their journeys whenever the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the sons of Israel would set out; but if the cloud was not taken up, then they did not set out until the day when it was taken up. For throughout all their journeys, the cloud of the Lord was on the tabernacle by day, and there was fire in it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel". See also Leviticus 26:11-13; See also the NT fulfillment of this promise John 1:14.

²⁹ Exodus 40:34-38.

gave Solomon and the Israelites a firm hope that their God would dwell in the Temple *forever*; to care for them and to protect them.³⁰ Their hopes, however, were soon to be challenged with the destruction of the Temple and the exile to Babylon.

The concept of the presence of God, that became the underlining ethos of the newly formed Jewish society, as will be seen later, also plays the role of *the central* concept in the development of interiority. The destruction of the First Temple and Jewish exile to Babylon forced the Israelites to observe God's glorious presence in a new manner. The search for the divine presence amid destruction, exile and serious political, sociological, and theological crisis resulted in a revised understanding of the concept of institutionalized glory. At first sight, it looked like God had abandoned the magnificent Temple to its destruction and allowed His people to be forced into exile. Such events require a theological struggle and reinterpretation of God's intention. In the words of Halperin, "Every effort of contextualization, i.e., making a piece of literature [or concept] relevant for certain community or group, [in light of new developments] is in essence a process of reinterpretation."³¹ This is especially true for the concept of the promise for institutionalized presence in a challenging situation, such as the exile.

The best attempt within the Old Testament corpus to make sense of the presence of God in exile, is the reinterpretation and shift from institutionalized presence (temple) to a mobile presence (chariot throne) of Yahweh. This contextualization and reinterpretation of Yahweh's promise,

³⁰ 1 Kings 8:10-13. "And it came about when the priests came from the holy place, that the cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord. Then Solomon said, "The Lord has said that He would dwell in the thick cloud." I have surely built Thee a lofty house, a place for Thy dwelling forever."

³¹ See David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*, (Tubingen: J.C.B Mohr (Paul Seibeck), 1988) 69; See also 70-71.

given the new developments, is found in the canonical book of Ezekiel. The book itself, as a literary piece, is a true embodiment of contextualization of earlier divine promises, now shattered by the faith or destiny of a nation in great distress. It is in these challenges that the interiorization paradigm shift is most observable. The book of Ezekiel reveals two moments of interest that need to be considered as they contribute to the interiorization process, namely: the development of alternative places of worship (synagogues), and the appearance of an apocalyptic literature as a result of the inaugural vision of the chariot or mobile throne.

I.1.2. Alternative Places of Worship

The main question that this subchapter asks is: On the level of religious practice, what were the changes that occurred in relation to inwardness during the first stage of the phenomenon of interiority and how did they contribute to its later development? It will be argued here that the destruction of the First Temple and the exile to Babylon triggered a fascinating change in the perception and understanding of Yahweh's glorious presence as well as a transition from the centralized and institutionalized worship in Jerusalem's temple into a deinstitutionalized worship in alternative places in Babylon, outside of the divinely designated, now destroyed, temple in Jerusalem. This period will, thus, be seen as central to beginning the development of the phenomenon of interiority. The very limited literary evidence, and the absence of archaeological data for the period of the Babylonian Exile³² do not allow us to speculate on what alternative places of worship may have appeared after the destruction of the First Temple. This is a period for which

³² "The earliest 'hard' evidence we have for the existence of a synagogue appears in a number of inscriptions from Ptolemaic Egypt which mention a *proseuche*, commencing with the third century B.C.E. To the date, about twelve such inscriptions and papyri have been discovered from the Hellenistic period, and the earliest archeological remains of a synagogue building on the island of Delos in the Aegean indicate a late second-century or possibly mid-first century B.C.E. date of construction." Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*, (New Haven: Yale University, 2000), 19.

we have no knowledge of designated and organized houses of worship, of prayer, or of liturgy (synagogues), not to mention “a distinctive institution with its own characteristic structure.”³³ It is only around the first century C.E. that the synagogue plays an active and important role in the spiritual and social life of Jewish communities next to the Temple in Jerusalem; only after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D does it become *the* central spiritual and communal institution of Jewish communities both in Palestine and in the Diaspora. In this subchapter, the alternative places of worship that developed during the exile in Babylon are seen as antecedents of the fully developed synagogues.

Before delving into an in-depth study of the changes and their contribution to the development of the interiorizing of worship and religious experience, we should say a few words of various attempts to trace the beginnings of the synagogues. There exist multiple theories and studies that deal with the beginnings of the synagogue as an alternative place of worship.³⁴ Probably the most popular and widely accepted theory, until the last decade when it lost its hold,³⁵ dates the emergence of the synagogues during the Babylonian exile,³⁶ or perhaps a little later, during the Ezra and Nehemiah’s

³³ Pieter W. van der Horst, “Was the Synagogue a Place of Sabbath Worship Before 70 CE?” in *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue*, Ed. S. Fine. (London/New York: Routledge, 2002): 18-43.

³⁴ “Over the past century, scholarly opinion has generally been divided over these last three options: a seventh century B.C.E. focusing on the Josianic reforms, a sixth century Babylonian Exilic venue, or a fifth century B.C.E. Jerusalem Torah-reading framework. All three relate to the synagogue primarily as a religious institution, the first two as a worship context (prayer, prophetic discourse) in lieu of sacrifices, the last as liturgical-scriptural context, with the Torah-reading ceremony serving as its focus.” Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 23.

³⁵ See Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study*, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001), 123.

³⁶ For proponents of the Babylon theory see Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (especially p. 224-226); Gutmann, “Sherira Gaon” (esp. p. 209); For opponents see Orlinsky, “Nationalism-Universalism” (esp. p.225. n. 15). For a good summary and scholarship overview of the Babylonian theory, see Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study*, (2001)

reforms.³⁷ Transmitted as part of the Jewish tradition, the theory of the Babylonian exile was first introduced by Rav Sherira Gaon, who in the tenth century writes of the existence of a synagogue in Nehardea Babylonia, “built with stones from the destroyed temple in Jerusalem.”³⁸ Several centuries later, the first modern scholar to suggest that Babylonia was the actual birthplace of the synagogue, is Sigonius in his work *De Republica Hebraeorum*, writing towards the end of the sixteenth century. In Babylon, estranged from Jerusalem’s Temple as a center for all their spiritual activities, Sigonius argues that Jews have established a similar place in which they could practice their religion.³⁹ As limited as they were, these religious practices have contributed towards a transition of the concept of Yahweh’s glorious presence, radically different from the earlier centralized and institutionalized understanding of the glory. It is in these gatherings, as we shall see shortly, that we witness the development of a new concept, or rather a contextualized and reinterpreted concept of the presence, a notion that was initiated precisely through Ezekiel’s inaugural vision of the mobile Chariot Throne. Since there is virtually no archaeological evidence of that era, and no extra-biblical literature that treats such religious activities in Babylonia, attention to the biblical texts available — notably, the book of Ezekiel — is essential.

Ezekiel, the son of Buzzi, as the book portrays him, was born into priesthood lineage. Had the destruction of the Temple never happened, as a priest, he would have ministered in the Temple,

³⁷ Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 20.

³⁸ See *Megillah*. 29a; “For the text of Iggeret Sherira Gaon, see Lewin’s edition, pp. 72-73. A Translation is given by Schlüter, *Rav Sherira Gaon*, pp. 195-196. quoted in Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, 112.

³⁹ “Ego verò si quid in eiusmodi antiquitate concipienda coniecturæ est, eas in Babylonico exilio primum constructas putarim, ut qui Templo carerent, in quo aut orarent, aut docerent, locum aliquem similem Templo haberent, in quem eiusmodi officii gratia conuenirent atque hoc idem fecisse reliquos dispersionis Iudæos in Asia, Aegypto, & Europa censuerim.” Sigonius, *De Republica Hebraeorum*, 88-90; See also Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel*, 225; Sonne, “Synagogue,” p. 478; Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, 112.

praising God, offering sacrifice, and advocating for the sins of his people. Carried away to Babylon, his role as a priest must have been rather limited while his role as a spiritual leader evidently did not diminish. On the contrary, his home in Persia became a gathering place for meetings with the elders and other people, which one presumes, were of exceptional importance to the Jewish community in exile. Several verses, including 8:1; 14:1; 20:1, and 33:30-31, testify to the importance and the spiritual nature of the gatherings in Ezekiel's home. The first two verses (8:1; 14:1) inform us of the elders' frequent visits to the house of Ezekiel, while verse 20:1, discusses the nature of such gatherings, namely, to enquire the will of God. Furthermore, Chapter 33 emphasizes that such meetings were not exclusive to the elders, but that other people too, were welcomed at Ezekiel's to enquire of the Lord. Although based on these verses, it is too much to assume these were regular, public, and liturgical gatherings, or even organized prayers or worship of any kind, the development of an alternative place of worship is rather noticeable. Ezekiel conveys the will of God to all his people who come to visit him at his home, both the elders and the general population. It is through this divine communication to the exiles that the presence of God has been reestablished. God, even in exile is still present with His people. He has not abandoned them. Even in great distress, Yahweh travels to be with them wherever they might be.⁴⁰ The Glory of the Lord has not abandoned His people entirely; indeed, Yahweh's glory follows them mounted on His mobile Chariot-Throne. God proves His presence by visiting His people in Babylonia, and through the mouth of Ezekiel, He has been revealing His will and plans for the future. Having a priest outside of the Temple who interprets the will of Yahweh in an "unclean land" of strange "gods" and idols, as well as witnessing the visitation of the Glory of the Lord amidst unclean people, testifies to the fascinating revision and contextualization of the concept of

⁴⁰ See Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, 118.

the *Glory of God* that was once thought to be inherent to the Temple. Probably the most interesting verse in this respect — a verse that elevates the language of interiority to a new level — is Ezekiel 11:16,

Thus says the Lord God: Though I removed them far away among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a sanctuary for them for a little while in the countries where they gave gone.⁴¹

What we have here is Yahweh’s refutation of Jerusalemites’ errancy and fallacy: the destruction of the Temple and the exile does not equal alienation from His presence. In fact, it was the Jerusalemites that have arrogantly been drawing further and further away from God (see 8:12; 9:9; 11:3; 12:2). More importantly, in this verse, a paradigm shift to a unique personalized spirituality is to be witnessed. Not the Temple but Yahweh Himself is the locus of the human–divine encounter: He Himself will be *a sanctuary for them for a little while*. What He promises to them is “to be for the exiles what the temple has heretofore been for them in Jerusalem.”⁴² The Temple, which was *the* personification of His presence, *the* unique place of worship, and *the* constitutional element of their identity as Yahweh’s people, has now been (temporarily) replaced with a rather personalized concept. Ezekiel, “whose clan’s interests are vested in defending the centrality of the temple, announces the possibility of a relationship with Yahweh apart from the temple!”⁴³ This highly personalized ‘place of worship’ is unparalleled in the OT Scriptures,⁴⁴ and as will be seen

⁴¹ This verse has been used as evidence for synagogues in Babylonia. For the Talmudic interpretation of the importance of the synagogues and the presence of God see Babylonian Talmud Megillah 29 a.

⁴² Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament, ed. R. K. Harrison and Robert L. Hubbard Jr., (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997), 349.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 350.

⁴⁴ For an allusion see Isa. 8:14. In Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, 118, n. 211.

later, it is *the forerunner* of the New Testament theology in the person of Jesus Christ⁴⁵ and later further developed in the Ps. Macarian corpus.

In summary, on the level of religious practice, the development of an alternative place of worship at Ezekiel's home in Babylon, along with the fascinating reinterpretation of God's presence in the image of God's mobile apparatus of the Chariot-Throne, and the introduction of the interiorized concept of God Himself being a sanctuary for his people (apart from His Temple), have initialized the shift from institutionalized to a decentralized understanding of the presence of God's glory. During the period of the first destruction of Jerusalem's Temple and the exile to Babylon, that we witness the transition from temple worship to synagogue worship. From this moment onwards, the decentralization of the presence of God and interiorization of the spiritual experience becomes an irreversible process.

I.1.3. The Chariot Throne and the Apocalyptic Merkabah Literature

Whereas the previous subchapter dealt with the question of the changes in the understanding God's glorious presence on the level of religious practice, this subchapter investigates such changes as they occurred on the level of religious literature. More precisely, it explores the changes that took place and answers how they contributed to the development of the phenomenon of interiority. To that goal, the main focus of research here is Ezekiel's imagery of the Chariot-Throne and the subsequent development of the vast Merkabah literature. In this subchapter, Ezekiel's inaugural prophecy is considered the *source* of the apocalyptic Merkabah literature that largely contributed

⁴⁵ "The closest analogues are found in the NT, with Jesus' appropriation of the term 'temple' (*naos*) to himself (John 2:19-22) and his prediction to the Samaritan woman of a time when true worship will occur neither in Jerusalem nor on Mount Gerizim, but in spirit and truth (3:21-23)." In Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 349.

to the development of the language of interiorization. This subchapter claims that the decentralization and interiorization of religious practice as discussed in the preceding subchapter, reinforced by the reinterpretation of God's glorious presence in the imagery of Yahweh's mobile Chariot-Throne, was further facilitated by the religious discourse that developed in the increasingly flourishing religious and apocalyptic literature, thus paving the way for the development of the second phase of the phenomenon of interiorization. Therefore, the imagery of Yahweh's Chariot-Throne, *the mobile presence of His glory*, is of crucial importance as it originates in the book of Ezekiel, is often revisited in the apocalyptic literature, and is foundational for Ps. Macarius' interiorizing discourse, as we will witness in Part Two.

With the publication of his groundbreaking book *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, Gershom Scholem⁴⁶ has alerted the scholarship community of the existence and importance of a whole 'new' world of intertestamental apocalyptic literature and declared its direct importance in the development of both, later Jewish Rabbinic mysticism and Christianity. These apocalyptic writings are widely known under the name *Merkabah* that later developed into *Hekhalot* literature.⁴⁷ His work, although now dated, continues to inspire generations of new researchers. In his study he differentiates three major stages of the development of these writings, namely, "the anonymous conventicles of the old apocalypics; the Merkabah speculation of the Mishnaic teachers who are known to us by name; and the Merkabah mysticism of late and post-Talmudic times."⁴⁸ These

⁴⁶ Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken, 1941); Idem., *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, [1960] 1965); Idem., *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York: Schocken, 1969); idem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Quadrangle, 1974); Idem., *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

⁴⁷ From chariot, and from places.

⁴⁸ Scholem, *Major Trends in Mysticism*, 43. For an alternative division based on the "three destroyed or desecrated temples, and to three priestly classes" see Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the*

three stages were considered by him as organic parts of one “religious movement of distinctive character.”⁴⁹ He has also emphasized the throne-mysticism as *the* central theme within the framework of Judaism, *the* earliest form of Jewish mysticism, and *the* Ezekiel’s *Vision Dei* as *the* formative experience in Jewish mysticism.⁵⁰

This claim has recently been challenged by Andrei A. Orlov who argues for multiplicity of molds.⁵¹ Although he acknowledges that the “imagery of the divine Chariot was one of the paradigmatic conceptual centers of the Jewish religious tradition,” he goes on to argue that this so-called *visionary* mold is far from being the only one. For this study however, regardless of the existence of a multiplicity of molds, the imagery of the divine chariot-throne remains central, first because it has developed initially as an answer to a theological struggle of reinterpreting the *presence* of God, which in itself, is an important milestone in the development of the concept of interiority, and second because it plays a central role in Ps. Macarius’ theological system upon which he builds his *inner world* of the heart.

Emergence of Jewish Mysticism, transl. David Louvish, (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilisation, 2004).

⁴⁹ Scholem, *Major Trends in Mysticism*, 43. His theory has been challenged by Piter Shcafer and David J. Halperin, mainly because of his effort to draw a close line and interdependency between the earliest apocalyptic literature of the old and later Jewish mysticism. See Peter Shafer, “Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature,” *JSJ* 14 (1983): 172-81; idem, “The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism,” in *Hekhalot-Studien*, 277-95; idem, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 150-55; See also David J. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rbbinic Literature* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1980), idem, “A New Edition of the Hekhalot Literature,” *JAOS* 104.3 (1984): 543-552; idem, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel’s Vision* (Tuningen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1988), 359-63.

⁵⁰ Scholem, *Major Trends in Mysticism*, 43-44.

⁵¹ Orlov turns our attention to the importance of other molds, counterparts to the ‘visionary’ mold of the Kavod paradigm, i.e., the anthropomorphic, ocularcentric and aural molds. Andrei A. Orlov, “A Farewell to the Markavah Tradition,” 4.

The origins of the Merkabah concept lie in the crafted two-winged cherubim that covered the Ark in the sanctuary in the desert, later installed in the Holy of Holies of the First Temple.⁵² The emergence of the Merkabah tradition, on the other hand, are to be found in the mystically reinterpreted mobile chariot-throne of Ezekiel's vision. Ezekiel's inaugural prophecy is the source of the visionary mold and the apocalyptic Merkabah literature⁵³ that largely contributed to the development of the phenomenon of interiority. As mentioned earlier, Ezekiel is the first book of the OT canon that witnesses a movement toward a decentralized concept of the *glory*. When was the book of Ezekiel finished in the form of the document now extant, or when exactly was it enlisted in the Hebrew canon, is not known. What is certain, is that this was an ongoing process throughout the 3rd century B.C.E. It was certainly finished before 200 A.D. as witnessed in the *Wisdom of Joshua Ben Sira's* reference to Ezekiel's *visio Dei*:⁵⁴ "It was Ezekiel who saw the vision of glory, which God showed him above the chariot of the cherubim."⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that Ben Sirah, when referring to Ezekiel's vision of the glory of God, mentions the *chariot* (*Merkabah*),⁵⁶ a word that does not exist in the original account in Ezekiel. Although Ezekiel's description suggests a chariot over which he sees the *glory*, nowhere does he use the word *chariot*. The only version of Ezekiel that mentions *chariot* is the Septuagint 43:3, the Greek translation of the Hebrew text, which has, "the appearance of the *chariot* [*harmatos*] which I saw" (italics mine).

⁵² In the desert, Exodus 25:17-22; 37:6-9; In Solomon's Temple, 1 Chronicles 28:18 "...also his plan for the golden chariot of the cherubim that spread their wings and covered the ark of the covenant of the Lord"; See also 1 Kings 6:23-28; 2 Chronicles 3:10-14; Some scholars have suggested that the concept of the chariot was borrowed from the Babylonian religions. See Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.11, n.6.

⁵³ Michael Lieb, *The Visionary Mode: Biblical Prophecy, Hermeneutics, and Cultural Change*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 11; See also Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 359-63.

⁵⁴ Wisdom of Joshua Ben Sira's 49:8. See Halperin J., David, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 47.

⁵⁵ NRSV Ben Sirah, 49:8.

⁵⁶ For the origins of Merkabah see Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples*, 29; Michael Lieb, *The Visionary Mode*, 26-29.

This of course, signifies that already by late 3rd c. BC, Yahweh's visitation to His people in exile was equated with His presence in the Holy of Holies, and that the inaugural vision has obviously played an increasingly important role in post-exilic times. In following this interpretation, there is another aspect worth mentioning, that also deals with the authorship of the book, namely the discrepancy in the description of the elements of the vision in Ezekiel 1 and 10.⁵⁷ In Chapter 1, the text that contains Ezekiel's initial *Visio Dei*, the prophet engages in a lengthy description of four animals (*hayyot*) emerging from the great and fiery cloud coming from the North. Let us quote Chapter One integrally:

In the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, as I was among the exiles by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God. On the fifth day of the month (it was the fifth year of the exile of King Jehoiachin), the word of the Lord came to the priest Ezekiel son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar; and the hand of the Lord was on him there. As I looked, a stormy wind came out of the north: a great cloud with brightness around it and fire flashing forth continually, and in the middle of the fire, something like gleaming amber. In the middle of it was something like four living creatures. This was their appearance: they were of human form. Each had four faces, and each of them had four wings. Their legs were straight, and the soles of their feet were like the sole of a calf's foot; and they sparkled like burnished bronze. Under their wings on their four sides, they had human hands. And the four had their faces and their wings thus: their wings touched one another; each of them moved straight ahead, without turning as they moved. As for the appearance of their faces: the four had the face of a human being, the face of a lion on the right side, the face of an ox on the left side, and the face of an eagle; such were their faces. Their wings were spread out above; each creature had two wings, each of which touched the wing of another, while two covered their bodies. Each moved straight ahead; wherever the spirit would go, they went, without turning as they went. In the middle of the living creatures there was something that looked like burning coals of fire, like torches moving to and from among the living creatures; the fire was bright, and lightning issued from the fire. The living creatures darted to and from, like a flash of lightning. As I looked at the living creatures, I saw a wheel on the earth beside the living creatures, one for each of the four of them. As for the appearance of the wheels and their construction: their appearance was like the gleaming of beryl; and the four had the same form, their construction being something like a wheel within a wheel. When they moved, they moved in any of the four directions without veering as they moved. Their rims were tall and awesome, for the rims of all four were full of eyes all around. When the living creatures moved, the wheels moved beside them; and when the living creatures rose from the earth, the wheels rose. Wherever the spirit would go, they went, and the wheels rose along with them; for the spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels. When they moved, the others moved; when they stopped, the others stopped; and when they rose from

⁵⁷ For detailed study on the discrepancies between chapters 1 and 10, as well as differences in translations of the book of Ezekiel see David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 38-48.

the earth, the wheels rose along with them; for the spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels. Over the heads of the living creatures there was something like a dome, shining like crystal, spread out above their heads. Under the dome their wings were stretched out straight, one toward another; and each of the creatures had two wings covering its body. When they moved, I heard the sound of their wings like the sound of mighty waters, like the thunder of the Almighty, a sound of tumult like the sound of an army; when they stopped, they let down their wings. And there came a voice from above the dome over their heads; when they stopped, they let down their wings. And above the dome over their heads there was something like a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and seated above the likeness of a throne was something that seemed like a human form. Upward from what appeared like the loins I saw something like gleaming amber, something that looked like fire enclosed all around; and downward from what looked like the loins I saw something that looked like fire, and there was a splendor all around. Like the bow in a cloud on a rainy day, such was the appearance of the splendor all around. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord. When I saw it, I fell on my face, and I heard the voice of someone speaking.⁵⁸

Ezekiel's account is a description of a vision in which God is visiting his people in Babylon. He goes into great details in describing the event. The focus of this vision is on the glory of the Lord that is coming to them. There is fire, light, clouds, wind, and eerie sounds and a voice that made Ezekiel fall on his face in fear and awe. The glory of the Lord, says Ezekiel, was mounted on a sort of an uncanny vehicle, a mobile chariot throne,⁵⁹ operated by four living beings resembling man, lion, ox, and eagle who also had four faces and four wings. In Chapter 10, as Ezekiel is lifted up from Babylon and transferred to Jerusalem, he offers an interpretation regarding the identity and nature of the living beings, which he now identifies as cherubim.⁶⁰

The cherubim rose up. These were the living creatures (*hayyot*) that I saw by the river Chebar. When the cherubim moved, the wheels moved beside them; and when the cherubim lifted up their wings to rise up from the earth, the wheels at their side did not veer. When they stopped, the others stopped, and when they rose up, the others rose up with them; for the spirit of the living creatures was in them. Then the glory of the Lord went out from the threshold of the house and stopped above the cherubim.⁶¹

The consequent vision is placed in Jerusalem while the living beings are identified as the cherubim,

⁵⁸ NRSV 1:1-28.

⁵⁹ Ezekiel never uses the word chariot (מְרִכְבָּה; ἄρμα). For supporting interpretation see Sirach 49:8. See also 1 Chr. 28:18 and 2 Kings 23:11.

⁶⁰ See David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 38–48.

⁶¹ NRSV 10:15-18

i.e., the heavenly beings upon which God is seated in his Throne and the glory of Yahweh resides.⁶² By placing the vision in close proximity to the sculptured cherubim in the Temple, the author is hoping the readers will easily make the connection.⁶³ All of the elements of Ezekiel's visions lead the reader to draw a connecting line between the mobile chariot of God's glory with the Holy of Holies of the now destroyed Temple. The fire, the clouds, the light, and now the cherubim on whose wings the mobile chariot is being moved resemble the now lost presence of God in the Temple. Ezekiel's vehicle is the Holy of Holies, a mobile and portable throne that He uses to visit His people Babylon.⁶⁴ On the basis of these findings, Chapter 10 will be viewed as a development and later interpretation of the original vision, while the book of Ezekiel as a composition of multiple authors, self-interpreting the initial inaugural vision of Chapter 1, and a source for the latter Merkabah literature.⁶⁵

Of crucial importance for this subchapter's argument is that, already in the book of Ezekiel itself, we see patterns of exegesis and the tendency of interiorizing the *glory of God*. To quote the apt phrase of Martha Himmelfarb, "Ezekiel's visions of the chariot throne mark the beginning of a trend to dissociate God's heavenly abode from the Temple in Jerusalem."⁶⁶ In the pre-exilic times, as we have seen above, there is a strong tendency to depict Jerusalem and the Temple as Yahweh's

⁶² Two of these cherubim were crafted by and installed in the Tabernacle.

⁶³ The cultic objects of the Temple, including the cherubim in the Holy of Holies, the copper wheels of the stands in the Temple court, and the four creatures on all four sides of the Temple structure, all play central role in Ezekiel's visions. See 1 Kings 6:23-8; 7:23-37; 8:6-9; 2 Chronicles, 3:10-13; 4:3-4.

⁶⁴ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 9-20.

⁶⁵ "The people who first added their interpretations to Ezekiel's vision and organized them into the book that bears Ezekiel's name dealt with a baffling and idiosyncratic image by fitting into a context where it seemed to make sense: the central shrine of the Temple whose destruction Ezekiel Prophesied." See David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 44.

⁶⁶ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 11.

earthly home.⁶⁷ The socio-political and theological turning points that resulted from the Babylonian exile, however, initiated a revised tendency with a decentralized approach. This monumental paradigm shift, from God whose glory dwells in the Temple, to a mobile glory that visits His people in their place of exile, is actually the initial documented motion towards interiorization of God's presence. God's presence is wherever His people are, even dispersed in exile. In accord with the earlier depiction in the Israelite tradition, he travels enthroned on his cherubim; the mobile chariot is carrying the glory of Israel. Yahweh is no longer bound to the earthly Temple in Jerusalem as he is free to take his "cultic apparatus that expresses his holiness and his power with him to his people in Babylonia (Ezekiel 11:15-16)."⁶⁸

The wide body of literature under the name of *Ma'asheh Merkabah (Work of the Chariot)* that developed sometime during the postexilic times was undoubtedly inspired by Ezekiel's *Visio Dei*. One of the oldest is *The Book of Watchers*, which is one of the five originally independent books contained in the compilation called Enoch I. It can be dated as early as the third century B.C.E.⁶⁹ If the book of Ezekiel, more precisely Ezekiel's inaugural prophesy of the chariot throne, is the source of the visionary mold and the apocalyptic Merkabah literature, the book of Enoch is the "well-spring of the later *Merkabah* thought."⁷⁰ This book however, includes one radical and central development, a notion rather different from Ezekiel and the other prophets; Enoch actually ascends to Yahweh's heavenly place.

And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and hastened me, and the winds in 9 the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven.

⁶⁷ "Isaiah's vision reflects the belief current among Israel's neighbors in Canaan and Mesopotamia that the god actually dwelt in the temple human beings built for him." in Ibid.

⁶⁸ Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 41.

⁶⁹ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 10.

⁷⁰ According to Ithmar Gruenwald, in Michael Lieb, *The Visionary Mode*, 51.

And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright 10 me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was 11 of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were 12 fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its 13 portals blazed with fire. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice: there 14 were no delights of life therein: fear covered me, and trembling got hold upon me. And as I quaked 15 and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater 16 than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to 17 you its splendour and its extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path 18 of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of 19 cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look 20 thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and 21 was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason 22 of the magnificence and glory and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times 23 ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no counselor. And the most holy ones who were 24 nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: 'Come hither, 25 Enoch, and hear my word.' And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me, and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards.⁷¹

Enoch's vision speaks less about development in the notion of interiority as it does about the tendency to bypass the earthly Temple in reaching the *presence of God*. In spite of this new development, however, "the debt of 1 Enoch 14 to Ezekiel is profound."⁷² Ezekiel's vision of the vehicle that carries *Yahweh's glory* (Ezekiel 1:8-11; 43), rather than the blueprints, details and symbols of the Temple, seems to be the source behind Enoch's throne of cherubim in the heavenly sanctuary.⁷³ The destruction of the First Temple and the consequent visions of the mobile chariot throne in Ezekiel actually caused the radical and perpetual change in disengaging *Yahweh's glory* from the Temple. The Second Temple that was built in post-exilic times never lived up to the

⁷¹ The Book of Enoch, 14, in H.R Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1963).

⁷² Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 10.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

“glory” of Solomon’s Temple. The sacred relics, including the ark and the cherubim were never reintroduced and the new Temple was seen less and less as Yahweh’s abode. Once the notion of the presence of His glory was deinstitutionalized and further interiorized in the mystical Merkabah literature, the right set up was established for the second phase of the interiorization of Yahweh’s glorious presence.

I.1.4. Zadokite Controversy

The last factor worth mentioning that also has its role in the development of the notion of interiority in the post-exilic times is the Zadokite priests’ controversy of the 2nd century B.C.E. From the very foundation of Solomon’s Temple up until the midway of the Second Temple, the role of the high priest was reserved for the members of Zadokite priesthood.⁷⁴ During the second century however, and over the next 120 years, the rivalry between the descendants of the high priest Simeon II, the political turmoil in the Hasmonaean dynasty, greed for power and position, as well as the Hellenization and desecration of the Temple, rendered the Zadokite priests unable to serve in the Temple.⁷⁵ According to Rachel Elijor, these Zadokite priests are the authors behind many of the *Merkabah* writings. After being deprived of their right to minister in the sanctuary as high priests, the Zadokite priests revived Ezekiel’s *Merkabah* vision⁷⁶ and, according to Elijor, replaced the earthly Temple with a heavenly Merkabah and heavenly sanctuaries – Hehkalot. In doing that, they have created a super-temporal liturgical and ritual relationship between the priests performing the sacred service and the ministering angels in the supernatural sanctuaries.⁷⁷ All the moments

⁷⁴ 1 Kings 1:32-45; 2:35; 1 Chronicles 5:29-41; 9:11; 24:3-6; 29:22; Ezra 7:2-5; Nehemiah 11:11; 12:10-11.

⁷⁵ See Rachel Elijor, *The Three Temples*, 1-16.

⁷⁶ The Zadokite priests play key role – a divine nomination and exclusive right of ministry – in the Ezekiel’s vision of the future in 40-8.

⁷⁷ Rachel Elijor, *The Three Temples*, ‘Introduction’, i.

identified by Elijah directly contributed toward diminishing the cultic importance of Jerusalem's Temple and disassociating the *presence of Yahweh's glory* with the earthly Temple. To come back to Guy Stroumsa's thesis full circle, the ultimate destruction of the Second Temple (AD 70) brought this process to its logical conclusion and paved the path for *interiorizing God's glory* both in later Rabbinic Judaism and in Christianity.

I.1.5. Rabbinic Judaism

After the destruction of the Second Temple the synagogue became the center of Jewish spirituality. In his colossal study *The Faces of the Chariot*,⁷⁸ David Halperin scrutinizes post-second Temple Jewish interiorization of God's glory; here he depicts the synagogue as the place where one can experience God's glory. The Temple was finally destroyed (second time), but for the Jewish people God's presence remained with his people through the synagogue experience. There was no more central, monopolized and institutionalized worship in the Temple. Instead, there appeared many worship or prayer houses (synagogues) where God's presence was to be experienced by everyone and everywhere on earth. Stroumsa calls this new reality, a real "spatial explosion and democratization of Jewish worship."⁷⁹ Any group of ten adult males is eligible of forming a community whereby the divine *shekina* could be found. Yahweh's presence can be spiritually experienced by anyone interested in finding God in the depths of their hearts and soul. To quote *Haggadat Shema Yisra'el*, "You too saw, with the understanding of your heart and your mind and

⁷⁸ Halperin J., David, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*, (Tubingen: J.C.B Mohr (Paul Seibeck), 1988).

⁷⁹ Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice*, 141. "A group of ten adult men may constitute a community and may without any other condition celebrate public worship. God, who has lost his place, his own habitation, now 'stays with the locals,' as it were. The divine presence, the *shekina* (from the root *shakhan*, to inhabit) whose specific place had been in the Temple, is now found (according to a well-known midrash) in 'the four cubits of the *halakha* alone.'" See Babylonian Talmud, *Berakhot*, 8a. *Halakha* refers to religious law.

your soul, how [God] ... descended in his glory on Mount Sinai. Therefore, Israel, holy nation all, you must hear and understand and know that *the Lord is our God*, by whose name we are called, in unity; *the Lord is one*.”⁸⁰ The synagogue, argues Halperin, was the home of the *Merkabah* stories and where the *Merkabah* tradition continued to live in power.⁸¹ In this newly reinterpreted concept of the presence, such experience becomes highly personified and spiritualized. The synagogue, or more precisely the reading of the Torah and the offering of prayers became central activities of Jewish people. “Where two sit together and the words of Torah do not pass between them that is the seat of the ungodly (Ps. 1:1), but where two are sitting together and the words of Torah do pass between them, then there the Shekhinah is present with them,”⁸² says Rabbi Hananiah Ben Teradion in the Avot (the Fathers) chapter of Mishnah. In this chapter, over and over it is being emphasized that the presence of God, after the destruction of the Temple, is to be found in the study of Torah especially within the synagogues. The presence of God is where there is a Torah study. In this new and revised setting, the Rabbis and sages replaced the Temple priests as the sole interpreters of the Torah and *Merkabah*, which very quickly developed into a highly personalized worship, or to borrow Stroumsa’s term, a “privatized worship.” Hebrew communities in the post second Temple era thus became scriptural communities with great emphasis on knowledge and prayer.

⁸⁰ From *Haggadat Shema Yisra’el*, Quoted in Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 355.

⁸¹ “...the origin of the *merkabah* stories. Their home was the synagogue. The occasion with which they were particularly associated was Shabucot. The prototypes of their heroes were the preachers who expounded the *merkabah* as Shabucot *hafterah*.” Ibid., 18-19.

⁸² Rabbi Hananiah Ben Teradion, Avot chapter of Mishnah. Compare this to the NT text of Matthew, 18:20 “For where two or three gather in my name, there I am with/among them.” Christ as the embodiment of the Glory of Yahweh.

In a manner of speaking, Rabbinic Judaism never really abandoned the OT sacrificial system (which, in a way, is also true for Christianity). In fact, the Temple sacrifices were transformed into a spiritualized and internalized form of an offering, mainly prayer and almsgiving.⁸³ Such properties were never before attributed to prayer and never before the almsgiving was equated, or even better, placed on a higher level than sacrifice. Rabbi Eleazar says, “To do charity and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice... Prayer is higher than sacrifice.”⁸⁴ The ascetic struggle as expressed in charity, moral and ethical conduct, fasting, diligent reading of the Torah, as well as fervent prayer thus became the spiritual and interiorized replacement for the Temple worship.

I.1.6. Emergence of the Christian Community

The emergence of Christianity alongside Rabbinic Judaism marks the core of the second phase in the development of the concept of interiorized glory, namely, the personalized or personified presence of God. It is also the beginning of the third phase in the evolution of the phenomenon of interiorization, namely the spiritualized and interiorized presence of God in the human being. Whereas in Rabbinic Judaism the concept of the institutionalized and petrified presence of God’s glory was replaced with the personified and individualized presence in the Synagogue through reading of the Torah and offering prayers to God, in Christianity it seems to have been replaced with the personalized incarnate presence of God’s glory in the person of Jesus Christ.

As we have already mentioned in the previous subchapter, at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. there is already a noticeable movement towards decentralized reinterpretation of God’s glory. By

⁸³ See Guy, *The End of Sacrifice*, 62-63.

⁸⁴ Babylonian Talmud, *Shukkah*, 49b. In Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice*, 68.

the time of Jesus Christ, the synagogues were slowly accruing the role of an alternative places of worship next to the Temple. They were already playing a somewhat important role in the lives of the Jewish communities in the diaspora as well as in Judea. There was a vast corpus of intertestamental apocalyptic Merkabah literature and a number of sects and messiahs claiming divine authority, among which the Zadokite priests' esoteric community also known as Essenes. All the circumstances seemed ripe for a new level of interiorization, the personalized divine presence in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

Given these circumstances, many of the Old Testament's promises, were further reinterpreted by the early Christian community in an interiorizing way. We have already discussed the shift toward a personalized promise of the Lord in Ezekiel 11:16,⁸⁵ in which Yahweh Himself promises to be their [Israelites] sanctuary even in exile, thus making Himself the locus of the spiritual encounter. The ultimate interiorization of the presence of the Lord, however, happens in the person of Jesus Christ.⁸⁶ In the Gospel of John, the incarnation of Jesus Christ is most bluntly connected with the presence of the Lord in the Tabernacle.⁸⁷

And the Word became flesh, and dwelt (ἐσκήνωσεν = tabernacled) among us, and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ “Thus says the Lord God: Though I removed them far away among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a sanctuary for them for a little while in the countries where they gave gone.”

⁸⁶ Most of the Old Testament prophecies and promises were reinterpreted through the prism of Christ's sacrifice. For interpretation of the Old Testament in light of the Cross of Christ, see John Behr, *The Mystery of Christ: Life in Death* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006), especially chapters 1 and 2.

⁸⁷ Exodus 40:34-38. “Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter the tent of meeting because the cloud had settled on it, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And throughout all their journeys whenever the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the sons of Israel would set out; but if the cloud was not taken up, then they did not set out until the day when it was taken up. For throughout all their journeys, the cloud of the Lord was on the tabernacle by day, and there was fire in it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel.”

⁸⁸ John 1:14.

By using the term ἐσκήνωσεν, which has the meaning of ‘dwelling as in a tent’, the Apostle John is making a powerful connection between Yahweh’s promise to dwell among His people and Christ’s incarnation. What Apostle John is doing here, is highlighting the ultimate fulfillment of Yahweh’s promise: Jesus Christ is the personified *glory of God*. The *glory of Yahweh* dwells among his people in human form: *the Word became flesh and we saw His glory as the only begotten from the Father*. Furthermore, in the very next chapter of his Gospel, Apostle John marks Christ’s own words regarding the nature of the Temple. In a striking analogy between the body of Christ with the temple in Jerusalem, Apostle John spiritualizes and interiorizes the very nature of worship. In the account of his theological discussion with the Samaritan woman, Jesus Christ declared the Temple to be obsolete.

Jesus answered and said to them, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." The Jews then said, "This temple has been under construction for forty-six years, and will you raise it up in three days?" But he was speaking of the temple of his body⁸⁹

The woman said to him, "Sir, I see that you are a prophet. Our ancestors worshiped on this mountain, but you say that the place where people must worship is in Jerusalem." Jesus said to her, "Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth."⁹⁰

This revolutionary statement depicts Jesus Christ as *the Temple of God*, *the dwelling place of God’s glorious presence*. In a human form, God is once more with his people.⁹¹ Not only does *Yahweh’s presence* get personalized in Christ’s incarnation, He, also redefines the nature of worship: no more places, temples or mountains. The worship too is spiritualized and internalized. This feature was interpreted by some scholars as a reason to deem Christianity a form of *Merkabah*

⁸⁹ John 2:19-20

⁹⁰ John 4:19-24

⁹¹ Cf. Matthew 1:23. For His frequent comparisons with God, Jesus Christ was often threatened with stoning. See John 10:30-31.

Gnosticism. For Gilles Quispel, for example, the mere fact that the fundamental truth of Christianity lies in the belief that Christ is the actual “Glory of God, which comes from heaven, touches the earth for a moment, is incarnated in the man Jesus, and eventually returns to the heavenly realm,” is a result of a direct development of Ezekiel’s *visio Dei*, and should be considered as a form of Gnosticism.⁹² Michael Lieb, quoting Hans Jonas’ definition of Gnosticism, draws a connection between the object of worship or knowledge in gnostic sects and Christianity and considers it entirely justified to speak of a Christian Gnosticism: “If the ultimate object of Gnosis is God, the experience of gnosis is one that ‘transforms the knower himself by making him a partaker in the divine existence.’”⁹³ The misconception here consists in that the Christian experience is first and foremost divinely transformative rather than humanly cognitive (which is best seen in the Macarian concept of knowing God through *becoming* rather than *knowing* Him through gnosis). Christians are not being enlightened through experiencing gnosis, but through an ontological change carried by the presence of a foreign divine element, which is the transformative power of God’s glorious presence (ἡ παρουσία τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ). In Christianity, the knowledge of God seems to be achieved mainly through *having or receiving* (John 1:12), *indwelling* (John 14:23; Eph. 3:17), and *becoming*, rather than through mere gnostic enlightenment. Although Christianity as a system shares the same conceptual frames with the intertestamental Merkabah narrative from which it emerges, it is rather too bold to simply deem it Gnosticism. Furthermore, “seeing or knowing” God in the Christian theological system is not limited to an esoteric group of chosen seers or visionaries, but is open to everyone, interested in finding God. The “knowledge” of God is no more reserved for a special few who have managed

⁹² Gilles Quispel, “Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages,” *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, 16 vols, (New York: Macmillan, 1987), V, 567; See also Quispel, “Gnosticism and the New Testament,” *Vigilae Christianae* 22 (1968): 81-93.

⁹³ See Michael Lieb, *The Visionary Mode*, 175.

to ascend to the “palaces or throne of God.” Through the incarnation, once and for all Christ altered the very human being on an ontological level, thus paving the path for everyone that desires to do the same. Through His achievement, everyone’s soul, mind and body are being transformed into a temple and throne of God’s glorious presence. This is quite observable even at the very foundation of the Christian Community in the Acts of the Apostles. Right after informing us of the event of the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples, the Evangelist Luke, quoting an OT passage, marks the following:

In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.⁹⁴

For the early Christian community, it was clear, the Holy Spirit Who is the operational presence of God’s glory in the name of Christ until His second coming, was given to everyone without discrimination. In his second epistle to the Corinthians, Apostle Paul further commits on this claim, “And all of us, with unveiled faces, seeing the glory of the Lord as though reflected in a mirror, are being transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.” (2 Cor. 3:18).

The apostolic teachings mark the beginning of the third phase in the development of interiorized divine presence. The Apostle Paul for example, maintains that through Christ’s incarnation, every believer’s body becomes temple of God’s glorious presence. On the one side, Apostle Paul personifies God’s glorious presence in Jesus Christ, and on the other side he interiorizes and spiritualizes the individual spiritual experience. Jesus Christ is the actual presence of God, while

⁹⁴ Acts 2:17.

the believers are the dwelling place of God, both as individuals (the individual body as a temple) and as a community (the church as a temple). Apostle Paul says,

Do you not know that you are a temple of God, and *that* the Spirit of God dwells in you? If any man destroys the temple of God, God will destroy him, for the temple of God is holy, and that is what you are.⁹⁵

Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? ... Or do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit who is in you, whom you have from God, and that you are not your own?⁹⁶

Furthermore,

I pray that, according to the riches of his glory, he may grant that you may be strengthened in your inner being with power through his Spirit, and that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith, as you are being rooted and grounded in love.⁹⁷

In the Pauline line of thought, it is by participating in Christ through the transformational indwelling of the Spirit of God that the believer becomes a temple of God. The coming of the Spirit thus effects and *is* the presence of God in each believer, in accordance with the prophecy of Ezekiel.⁹⁸ For Paul, the believer becomes “the temple of the living God; as God said, “I will live in them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.”⁹⁹ The ultimate fulfillment of this promise is the transformational presence of the Holy Spirit in the heart of each

⁹⁵ 1 Cor. 3:16-17.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 6:15-19.

⁹⁷ Ephesians 3:16-17; See also Ephesians 2:19-22. “So, then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone. In him the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built together spiritually into a dwelling place for God.”

⁹⁸ For apostle Paul’s understanding of the Holy Spirit as God’s personal presence, and His reception as the New Testament’s expression and fulfillment of God’s promise for a renewed presence among His people (Ezekiel 36-37), see Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 827-845.

⁹⁹ 2 Cor. 6:16; See also 2 Cor 3:17-18, “Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. And all of us, with unveiled faces, seeing the glory of the Lord as though reflected in a mirror, are being transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.”

individual believer.

The next key stage in the development of the discourse of interiority is marked by the Apostle Paul's appropriation of the concept of *the inner man* (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος)¹⁰⁰ which he borrows from the Hellenic philosophical tradition. Paul's contextualization of the Hellenic concept of interiority was later adopted by various Church Fathers including Origen, and as will be seen in Part Two of this thesis, brought to perfection in the works of Ps. Macarius.

I.1.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the concept of the God's glorious presence as crucial for the development of the identity of the Jewish society in formation and for understanding the development of the phenomenon of interiority. We have discussed the changes in the understanding of the concept as it was reassessed on the level of religious practice and religious literature. We have claimed that it is in these changes — more precisely, in the reinterpretation and contextualization of the concept of Yahweh's presence, that we see the modest beginnings of the notion of inwardness. We have argued that the process of dissociating God's heavenly abode from the Temple in Jerusalem, i.e., *the presence of His glory*, a process that eventually resulted into the development of the synagogue worship, initiated the de-institutionalization and interiorization of the concept of God's glorious presence. This, we claimed, was enabled by the

¹⁰⁰ Romans 7:22; 2 Cor. 4:16; Eph. 3:16. See also 1 Peter 3:3-4. Kooten suggests that the most precise translation of the phrase, together with the other variants as used in Plato and Plotinus ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἐνδον ἄνθρωπος, should be 'the man within' or 'the man inside' since ἔσω, ἐνδον and ἐντὸς are not adjectives, but adverbs. In the present study we shall use the traditional translation 'the inner man' or 'the inner human being.' See George H. van Kooten, *Paul's Anthropology in Context: The Image of God, Assimilation to God and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Christianity*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 358-359.

religious discourse that commenced with the introduction of the Chariot Throne imagery in the book of Ezekiel and further expanded in the vast Merkabah apocalyptic literature; this created the right environment for the development of the second phase of the phenomenon of interiority, i.e., *personified or personalized* interiorization, as we have witnessed in our exploration of the Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. In this chapter, then, we have taken the first interiorizing concept, *God's glorious presence* and we have examined how its contextual reinterpretation developed over the centuries from an 'institutionalized' glory, 'petrified' in Holy of Holies of the Temple in Jerusalem, to a personified and personalized presence in the Person of Jesus Christ in Christianity and the Torah of Rabbinic Judaism. Additionally, in this chapter, we have demonstrated that this phenomenon belongs to the core of the Judeo-Christian tradition; its roots are to be found in the Judaic religion and practice, rather than as a later infusion by the Neoplatonism in the early stages of Late Antiquity. The term Judeo-Christian tradition in this thesis, we clarified, refers to the continuity of thought initiated in the Jewish religion and transmitted to Christianity, rather than enforcing an old-fashioned dichotomy between Greek and Hebrew thought. What follows, in Chapter Two of Part One, is an in-depth study of the second interiorizing concept, namely the *inner human being*, in which we point out the fascinating fusion of the notions of interiority (that simultaneously and independently developed in the Jewish and Hellenic thought) in the concept of the Hellenic ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, which was accepted and further expanded in the patristic literature, and especially Ps. Macarius as presented in Part Two.

I.2. THE INNER HUMAN BEING (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος): CHRISTIAN APPROPRIATIONS OF THE HELLENIC CONCEPT OF INTERIORITY

This chapter examines the significance of the concept of the ‘inner human being’ (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Christian tradition. We argue that this concept represents *the* meeting place between the discourses of interiority that developed simultaneously in Judaism and Hellenism. The Judaic discourse of interiority was closely tied to the notion of the presence of God’s glory – as a divine element, external to creation – amid God’s chosen people, while the Hellenic notion of the “inner human being” was related to the belief in the divine attributes of the human soul itself. As we shall see, Apostle Paul’s appropriation of the Platonic metaphor of the inner human being represents a turning point in the Judeo-Christian tradition to which the *Spiritual Homilies* of Ps. Macarius will make a distinctive contribution.

Before we turn to the Pauline epistles or Ps. Macarius, however, we need to establish the Hellenic background that informs them both. As well known, the phrase of the ‘man within us’ (or ‘the inward man’; the ‘inner human being’) was first coined by Plato in his *Republic*,

And on the other hand he who says that justice is the more profitable affirms that all our actions and words should tend to give the man within us (τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος) complete domination over the entire man and make him take charge of the many-headed beast—like a farmer who cherishes and trains the cultivated plants but checks the growth of the wild—and he will make an ally of the lion's nature, and caring for all the beasts alike will first make them friendly to one another and to himself, and so foster their growth.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Plato, *Republic*, 9.589a-b “οὐκοῦν αὖ ὁ τὰ δίκαια λέγων λυσιτελεῖν φαίη ἂν δεῖν ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔσται ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦ πολυκεφάλου θρέμματος ἐπιμελήσεται ὥσπερ γεωργός, τὰ μὲν ἡμερα τρέφων καὶ τιθασεύων, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια ἀποκωλύων φύεσθαι, σύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὴν τοῦ λέοντος φύσιν, καὶ κοινῇ πάντων κηδόμενος, φίλα ποιησάμενος ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ αὐτῷ, οὕτω θρέψει.” English translation in: Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vols. 5 & 6 translated by Paul Shorey. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1969. For an overview of various types of meaning of the phrase, including literal, physiological or medical, metaphorical and philosophical, see Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context*, 359-365.

Plato's phrase, 'the man within us', is a symbolic depiction of the soul, or rather the most intimate and important part of the soul. In the philosopher's view, the man within us is judged to establish complete control over the entire human being, especially the parts of the soul that he portrays as a many-headed beast. Plato clearly coins the phrase in a philosophical and anthropological sense where 'the man within' is on the one side equated with the chief part of man's soul, and on the other side juxtaposed to the external part of our being.¹⁰² These terms, and the religious, philosophical and anthropological ideas they express, will find a new application in the theology of the Apostle Paul and in later writers such as Origen and Plotinus.

I.2.1. The Inner Man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος): From Plato to the Apostle Paul

By the early first century AD, the concept of the inner man seems to have been a relatively well-known anthropological term of the prevailing religious-philosophical discourse. Apostle Paul's employment of the concept ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος for his theology of the renewal of the human being signifies a crucial step in the development of the phenomenon of interiority. It is not entirely clear, however, where and how the Apostle Paul first encountered Plato's concept. Hans Dieter Betz has attempted to trace the transmission of the concept from Plato to Paul and to give the theological reasons behind the latter's utilization of the metaphor.¹⁰³ The period from Plato to Apostle Paul, however, as Betz demonstrates in his research, offers very limited material that can be used to

¹⁰² See Burkert Walter, "Towards Plato and Paul: The 'Inner' Human Being," in *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture: Essays in Honor of Hans Dieter Betz*, Edited by Adela Yarbro Collins, (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1999), 79-80; See also Heckel, *Der Innere Mensch. Die paulinische Verarbeitung eines platonischen Motivs* (WUNT 2.53; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 11-26.

¹⁰³ See Hans Dieter Betz, "The concept of the 'Inner Human Being' (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul" in *New Testament Studies*, v. 46 no. 03, (2000): 315-341. He points out to Henrich Julius Holtzmann as the scholar who suggested that the term originates in Plato. See H.J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*, (2 vols; Freiburg & Leipzig: Mohr, 1897; 2nd edn. 1911), 2.13-15.

establish the details of transmission. There is simply not sufficient textual evidence upon which a case for a direct connection can be established.¹⁰⁴ Philo of Alexandria who also utilized the notion of the inner human being would have bridged the gap. The problem, however, with this presupposition is that Philo does not use the exact phrase¹⁰⁵. Moreover, there is no evidence that Paul knew Philo or, as Betz put it, that “Hellenic Judaism apart from Philo shared a Platonic-Stoic-Jewish anthropology.”¹⁰⁶ While it is rather difficult to determine with certainty how Paul came across the concept, it is almost certain that he first started using it during his stay in Corinth.¹⁰⁷ Both letters, 2 Corinthians and Romans, in which the exact phrase ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος appears were written in Corinth, and the phrase is not found in Apostle Paul’s earlier letters.¹⁰⁸ Christoph Marksches suggested that Apostle Paul was the first in Greek Literature to coin the terms ὁ ἔσω and ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος.¹⁰⁹ His position was later refuted by Burkert Walter, who despite reaffirming that the apostle made “quite an original use of it,” maintains that it is hardly credible that Apostle Paul “coined the term afresh by himself.”¹¹⁰ H. D. Betz on the other hand, takes a more cautious approach contending that it may have been Apostle Paul who articulated the concept “as a result

¹⁰⁴ See Burkert, “Towards Plato and Paul: The ‘Inner’ Human Being,” 59-60.

¹⁰⁵ In Philo we already see terminology with which he is attempting to describe the inner reality of the human being. He, however, does not use Plato’s exact phrase, but rather a variation, ‘the true man’ ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἀληθινός ἄνθρωπος (*De fuga et invention* 131; *Quod deterius prtori insidiari solet* 10). Philo’s terminology occurs later in Plotinus (*Enneads* 1.1.7 and 1.1.10). See *Paul’s Anthropology in Context*, 366.

¹⁰⁶ Betz, “The concept of the ‘Inner Human Being’ (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul,” 319.

¹⁰⁷ Contrary to Heckel who holds that Paul has picked up the metaphor from his opponents in Corinth, H.D. Betz maintains that apostle Paul was introduced to the concept by the likeminded of the Corinthian community. See, Hans Dieter Betz, “The concept of the ‘Inner Human Being’ (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul,” 320. See Heckel, *Der Innere Mensch. Die paulinische Verarbeitung eines platonischen Motivs*, 77-9. See also R. Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (AGJU 10; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 391-402.

¹⁰⁸ Betz, “The concept of the ‘Inner Human Being’ (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul,” 325.

¹⁰⁹ See C. Marksches, ‘Art. Innerer Mensch’, RAC 18, (1997) 266-312. See also Carey, *Augustine’s Invention of Inner Self*, 51.

¹¹⁰ Burkert Walter, “Towards Plato and Paul: The ‘Inner’ Human Being,” 59-60.

of his successive encounters with people who converted to Christianity while holding popular views regarding a dualistic anthropology of body and soul.”¹¹¹ In this, H.D. Betz is accurate. The very sparse ‘Middle Platonist’ literature that has survived does not allow us to trace a clear line from Plato to Paul and to identify the intermediaries. Yet, the notion of an inner reality behind the term ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος was obviously present in the religious and philosophical contexts of the early first century. On the other hand, it is also probable, that the Apostle Paul was the first to coin the phrase ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος building upon the existing conceptions that he learned in Corinth and used in his letters.

Regarding the meaning and interpretation of the concept, these areas are not any less complicated. As mentioned earlier, it was Plato who first introduced the concept. Plato’s inner man does not signify a turn towards sentimental inwardness. It is a concept that identifies an internal reality of human existence. Plato says “that all our actions and words should tend to give the man within us (ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος) complete domination over the entire man and make him take charge of the many-headed beast.”¹¹² In Plato’s notion of the inner man, the portion of man’s nature that possesses the capacity to exercise control over the entire human being is in alignment with his dualistic anthropology. For Plato, the human soul is divine, immaterial, incorporeal and immortal; it stands in opposition to the body. It constitutes the essence of our very being and it is the life’s driving force and the ‘mover’ of the body.¹¹³ The body on the other hand is material, corporeal and

¹¹¹ Betz, “The concept of the ‘Inner Human Being’ (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul,” 316.

¹¹² Plato, *Republic*, 9.589a.

¹¹³ See Plato, *Phaedrus*, 245c-e. (δεῖ οὖν πρῶτον ψυχῆς φύσεως περὶ θείας τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ἰδόντα πάθη τε καὶ ἔργα τάληθές νοῆσαι: ἀρχὴ δὲ ἀποδείξεως ἦδε. ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος.) See also Plato, *Alcibiades* 1.130c “But since neither the body nor the combination of the two is man, we are reduced, I suppose, to this: either man is nothing at all, or if something, he turns out to be nothing else than soul.

temporal; its main purpose is to serve as a garment for clothing the soul, although the body as such is not able to confine the soul.¹¹⁴ In his dualistic philosophy, Plato makes a clear distinction between the body and the outward appearance on the one hand and between the incorporeal soul (the rational part of it, *nous*) and the ‘true inner human being’ on the other. It is this notion of an inner reality that the Apostle Paul appropriates for his theological purposes. Apostle Paul’s inner man as a concept naturally belongs to Plato’s anthropological dualism, but its contextualization, as shall be seen shortly, is radically different.

Paul’s employment of the notion is often interpreted as a form of Christian Platonism. Rudolf Bultmann in his capital work *Theology of the New Testament*, commenting on the 2 Corinthians 5:1-10, asserts that the Apostle “Paul comes very close to Hellenistic-Gnostic dualism not merely in form of expression, by speaking of the *soma* under the figure of the ‘tent-dwelling’ and ‘garment’, but also in the thought itself.”¹¹⁵ George van Kooten goes even further in identifying Apostle Paul’s ‘inner man’ as simply Platonic. He criticizes both Marksches and Betz for, as he puts it, their “segregation of Paul from his Graeco-Roman context” since he sees both scholars as prone to “wrongly believe that Paul’s use of the term ‘inner man’ is not philosophical.”¹¹⁶

(ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὔτε σῶμα οὔτε τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, λείπεται οἷμαι ἢ μηδὲν αὐτ’ εἶναι, ἢ εἴπερ τί ἐστι, μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸν ἄνθρωπον συμβαίνειν ἢ ψυχὴν.)

¹¹⁴ The idea of the body as clothing, and a garment of flesh, for the soul can be traced back to Empedocles. See Empedocles DK B 126. See also, Democritus DK B 37; 57; 187; 223; 270; 288. See Plato, *Gorgias*, 523d; Plato, *Symposia*, 215ab. For an in-depth study of the development of the concepts of inner/outer, body vs. soul, from Plato to Paul see, Burkert Walter, “Towards Plato and Paul: The ‘Inner’ Human Being”, 59-60.

¹¹⁵ Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, translation in English by K. Grobel (New York: Scribner’s, 1951), 201.

¹¹⁶ See George H. van Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context. The Image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 364.

Our view is to seek a more balanced approach by acknowledging both the Graeco-Roman and the Semitic contexts of Paul's theological thought and recognizing his strong self-identification with the Christian transformational anthropology, rather than with the contemporary Hellenic dualistic philosophy.¹¹⁷ Let us consider Paul's usage of the metaphor in two key passages:¹¹⁸

For I delight in the law of God in my inmost self (κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον), but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members. Wretched man that I am! Who will rescue me from this body of death? Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord! So then, with my mind I am a slave to the law of God, but with my flesh I am a slave to the law of sin. (Romans 7:22-25)

Even though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed day by day. (2 Cor. 4:16)

Regardless of whether the apostle has picked up or coined the phrase himself, a superficial comparison of these verses against the classical platonic dualist anthropology will lead to a conclusion that the contrast Apostle Paul makes between the 'inner' and the 'outer' is rather dualistic. That seems to be Robert Gundry's approach.¹¹⁹ Apostle Paul says that with his inner man he delights in the law of God, but with the body (members) he is enslaved by sin; the outer nature is wasting away but the inner nature is being renewed. In verse 24 the Apostle Paul seems to express his eagerness to be saved from his mortal body, which resembles the classic Platonic revulsion towards the corporeal part of the human being. Further on, the apostle seems to distinguish between the mind (νοῦς) and the inner man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος). Both the inner man and

¹¹⁷ See Betz, "The concept of the 'Inner Human Being'", 316.

¹¹⁸ My analysis of both passages builds on the discussion in Betz, "The concept of the 'Inner Human Being'", 321; van Kooten, *Paul's Anthropology in Context*, 364-375, and Sarah Harding, "Paul's Eschatological Anthropology: The *Esō Anthrōpos* and the Intermediate State," *Transformation*, 2017, Vol. 34 (I): 50-65. footnote 29.

¹¹⁹ For a classic dualist elucidation of the difference between the 'inner' and the 'outer man', see R. Gundry, *Soma in Biblical Theology with an Emphasis on Pauline Theology and the Law* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987).

the mind are rejoicing in the law of God, and it is with his νοῦς that the apostle is serving God, not with the σάρξ. Commenting on this, Betz concludes that Paul “does not identify the *eso anthropos* with *psyche*, *nous*, or *penuma*.”¹²⁰ Van Kooten on the other side, maintains that Apostle Paul’s ἔσω ἄνθρωπος is to be identified with νοῦς (and ψυχή) in a classical platonic way.

Our argument in this chapter builds on van Kooten’s conclusion, but only in so far as Paul’s form of expression is concerned. Although the concept of ψυχή is absent from the verses in question, the apostle puts in opposition the ἔσω ἄνθρωπος and the νοῦς on the one hand, and the ἔξω ἄνθρωπος (outer man) and the σάρξ on the other hand. The outward form of Paul’s terminology is dualistic, the content of his thought, however, is not. Although he is employing a concept that originated from Platonic dualism, Paul theological appropriation of the concept places it in the Christian anthropological framework. Van Kooten’s contention of Paul’s similarity with Plotinus in regard to the purity and the ethical nature of the soul/nous, besides being anachronistic,¹²¹ does not take into consideration that Apostle “Paul applies binary predicates, both positive and negative, to each anthropological term,” as Sarah Harding has convincingly argued in a recent article.¹²²

¹²⁰ Betz, however, asserts clearly that “the apostle interprets the concepts in ways characteristically different from the Platonic tradition...” See Hans Dieter Betz, “The concept of the ‘Inner Human Being’, 334.

¹²¹ “There is fundamental agreement between Plotinus and Paul about the ethical nature of the inner man, and of real possibility that man rejoices in God’s law, the law of providence”, Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context*, 374. Kooten’s arguments regarding Paul’s approach to anthropology are partly based upon Apostle Paul’s similarity with Plotinus. Kooten analyses parts of Plotinus’ philosophy as a background and context for interpreting Romans 7:22 and Corinthians 4:16. Then working his way back, he returns to Paul, proving that his anthropology is also dualistic, which, in itself, is anachronistic and misleading.

¹²² “Hence, we observe Paul applying binary predicates not only to each anthropological term, but also to each aspect constitutive of that term. Two important corollaries follow: (1) Paul does not ascribe intrinsic value to any particular anthropological entity, its value being dependent on some extrinsic phenomenon; (2) human renewal and transformation concern the whole human, and not any exclusive part. The faithful must possess a *nous Christos* (1 Cor. 2:16); a *phōtismos kardia* (2 Cor. 4:6); and ‘glorify God in their body’ (1 Cor. 6:20), albeit they continue to possess a *sōma psychikon* (1 Cor. 15:44) until the Parousia, when they will assume a *sōma pneumatikon* (1 Cor. 15:44).” See Sarah Harding, “Paul’s

For the purposes of the present argument, the best example to help us grasp the issue is, we suggest, Paul's usage of the concept of νοῦς. Although in the verses from Romans quoted above it seems that he ascribes purity and a state of sinlessness to the νοῦς, just few chapters before (Romans 1:28), Paul speaks of the mind in a negative sense – as a deprived mind (ἀδόκιμον νοῦν).¹²³ Furthermore, in 1 Corinthians 15:44, the Apostle Paul reminds us that the human body can be either natural (σῶμα ψυχικόν) or spiritual (σῶμα πνευματικόν). These examples show that the Apostle Paul does not ascribe absolute value to the opposing anthropological terms.¹²⁴ The mind, by itself, does not possess positive ethical properties and purity, just as the body by itself does possess negative ethical properties and sinfulness. Sin and the Holy Spirit are not naturally assigned to either the body and its members or the inner man and his intellect. In Apostle Paul's theology, both body and soul, the inner and the outer man, as one anthropological unit can be either enslaved by sin or renewed by the presence of the Spirit. Apostle Paul's contextualization of the concept, in its essence, is diametrically opposed to the platonic ontological dualism. His theological anthropology is focused on the renewal of the mind as a result of the presence of the Holy Spirit in us, and not on the mind's intrinsic properties according to its supposed divine origins. The meaning of the metaphor ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος for Paul focuses on the inner human being that is renewed by the energy and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

To sum up our analysis of Paul's usage on the metaphor of the 'inner human being' the following

Eschatological Anthropology: The *Esō Anthrōpos* and the Intermediate State," *Transformation*, 2017, Vol. 34 (I): 50-65 (52).

¹²³ See also Paul's concept of the 'foolish heart' which has become 'darkened' (ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνητος αὐτῶν καρδία) in Rom. 1:21 vs. a heart that is enlightened with the light of the knowledge of God's glory in the face of Christ (ὅς ἐλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ) in 2 Cor. 4:6. See Harding, "Paul's Eschatological Anthropology", 51.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

applies. The apostle utilizes a terminology that originates in Plato, which by Paul's time was a relatively well-known anthropological metaphor. Due to the lack of material, it is almost impossible to determine whether the apostle borrowed an already existing phrase, or whether he coined the term himself. What is certain is that Paul appropriated an interiorizing concept from the platonic dualist tradition. In doing so, he established a connection between the *nous* and the inner man on the one hand, and the flesh with the outer man on the other hand. In doing this, however, he avoided the platonic ontological dualism of body versus soul. He did not assign a higher status of the *nous*/eso anthropos over the body as is the case in Plato and Plotinus. For Paul, the human body is not to be discarded; it should be brought under the power of the Holy Spirit and renewed into a spiritual one. Paul's anthropology is therefore holistic. The entire human being, both the inner and the outer parts have to be transformed into the glory of God. Lastly, Apostle Paul continues the tendency to interiorize the Judaic concept of the presence of God. He is building upon the belief that the 'light of the knowledge of the glory of God' shines in the human heart, where the Spirit dwells (see 2 Cor 4:6). The dwelling presence of God's glory is thus, for Paul, the agent of transformation and renewal. The process starts in the depths of the inner man, in the heart, and then overflows to all the members of the human being. Paul's usage of the platonic concept of the inner man is an expression of his effort to contextualize his Christian empirical theology into the contemporary Greco-Roman world of philosophy.

1.2.2. The Inner Man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in Origen

One of the most productive and influential early Christian authors who followed Paul in appropriating the concept of the inner man was Origen of Alexandria. He saw the human being as bipartite, consisting of soul and body, with the term 'inner man' being a synonym for the soul. In

his *Against Celsus*, Origen sought to clarify “to what characteristic of man the words ‘after the image of God’ apply.”¹²⁵ More specifically, according to Origen, Celsus maintained that God couldn’t have created man in His image, since God is incorporeal and entirely different to man or any other visible creation. Although Origen agreed with Celsus’ general premise on God’s incorporeality, he proceeded to argue that Celsus misunderstood the Christian teaching on the creation of humankind. For Origen, the human being is compound in nature, consisting of a body and a soul (σύνθετον ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος), but the creation ‘after the image of God’ belonged to the soul alone. If that were not the case, says Origen, God would also have to be a compound being, consisting of a body and a soul. In his *Commentary on Romans*, he makes sharp distinction between the body, which is corruptive, decaying and inferior, and the soul, which is the superior part, renewed by God. In this text, Origen clearly identifies the soul as the inner man (ἔσω ἄνθρωπος).¹²⁶ While the body is the temple of God (ναός), in essence, the inner man is the God’s designated dwelling place as only the inner man’s nature was created in His image.

To support this position, Origen makes a distinction between two stages in the account of creation. He considers Genesis 1:26-27 and Genesis 2:7 to be two different, consecutive steps in the same creation event.¹²⁷ Developing an argument regarding the nature of the concept of “blood,” in the

¹²⁵ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VI.63. In Origen, *Contra Celsum*, Translated with an introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick, (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), 378. On Origen’s position regarding the anthropomorphic controversy see, G. Hällström, *Fides Simplicorum according to Origen of Alexandria*, (Eknäs: 1984), 64-69.

¹²⁶ Without distinguishing between the two, Origen clearly states that the inner man is a synonym for the soul and the intellect. “... let us assemble a picture of the substance of the inner man, i.e., of the soul and intellect...” Origen, *Commentary on Romans*, 7.4.9 (p.69); Cf. *Dial. Her.* 11,16-23.

¹²⁷ See, Anders Lund Jacobsen, “Genesis 1-3” as Source for the Anthropology of Origen,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 62 (2008): 213-232. See Origen, *Dial. Her.* 10.16-24,17; *Com. Joh.* 20.22; *Contra Cel.* 4:37; *Com. Mat.* 14.16.

Dialogue with Heraclides 10-24,¹²⁸ Origen offers a ‘spiritual interpretation’ of the two creation accounts in Genesis. He asserts that the two accounts are not due to a mere repetition, “as some people think,”¹²⁹ but due to something more profound. Namely, the two creation accounts represent the creation of man as a being consisting of two parts. The first account, in Genesis 1:26-27, represents the creation of the soul as the immaterial part of man – or the inner man created in the image of God, – while the second account, in Genesis 2:7, represents the creation of the body as the material component of man taken from the earth. Origen thus sees Scripture teaching that, “the human being is two human beings.”¹³⁰ He then continues,

In creation, therefore, the human being first created was the one in the image (Gen. 1.26) in whom is nothing material. For what is made *in the image* is not made from matter. *And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion* and so forth (Gen. 1.26). *And God made man* not by *taking dust from the ground* as he did the second time (Gen. 2.7) but made him *in the image of God* (Gen. 1.27). That Moses was not the only one to know that his being *in the image of God* is nonmaterial, superior to every bodily substance, but that the Apostle also knew this, is shown in his text which says: *Seeing that you have put off the old human nature with its practices and have put on the new which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator* (Col. 3.9-10). There are, therefore, two human beings in each of us.¹³¹

For Origen, then, there are two aspects of human existence, bodily and spiritual, according to the order of creation. In support of his theory, he refers to both the Old and the New Testament, claiming that both Moses and the Apostle Paul were aware of such a condition. He then proceeds with interpretation of the Apostle Paul’s metaphor of the inner man. Difficulties in interpreting Paul’s inner man have already been discussed. Origen, however, offers a rather straightforward

¹²⁸ Origen, *Treatise on the Passover and Dialogue of Origen with Heraclides and his Fellow Bishops on the Father, the Son, and the Soul*, translated by Robert J. Daly, S.J. in “Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation,” no. 54, ed. by Walter J. Burghardt, Thomas Comerford Lawler, and John J. Dillon. (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1992), 65-76.

¹²⁹ Origen, *Dial. Herac.* 12.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11:19-20. “Δύο ἄνθρωπους ἡ γραφή λέγει εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.”

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 15.28-16:11

and thus more platonic interpretation on Paul's usage of the concept. In his *Commentary on the Romans* 7.4.8, Origen makes a radical contrast between the inner and the outer man,

To me it appears that these things are being said concerning the corruptible substance of our bodies. For corruption exercises dominion over nothing else than the body. For the inner man, who has been created according to the image of God, is incorruptible and invisible and can even be said to be incorporeal according to its own special nature.¹³²

In Origen's interpretation then, the apostle Paul also believes that the body is corrupted and has no essential role in the spiritual growth and knowledge of God; it is there to be used only as a vessel. In the present state of corruption, it only serves as a prison for the soul. Origen's position on the body is in line with the classical Hellenic philosophy of revulsion regarding the material creation. He considers the needs of the body including the desire for food, the mere process of digestion, the processes of conception, birth and raising of offspring to be shameful and embarrassing. In his opinion, the noble and rational soul has been unwillingly subjected to the body, only in hope that one day it will be set free.¹³³ He concludes, "The hope is, namely, one day to be at rest from these bodily and corruptible matters."¹³⁴

To sum up Origen's key points that are important for this study the following should be said. First, the double creation. According to Origen, God created man consecutively in two stages. He first created the inner man and then the outer man, which resulted in a bipartite creation, consisting of body and soul. Second, Origen's radical understanding of corruptibility. The inner man, being created in the image of God is immaterial, incorporeal, incorruptible, and superior to the second component, the body, which being created from the dust of the earth, is material, corporeal,

¹³² Origen, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Books 6-10, in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 104, transl. by Thomas P. Scheck (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2002), 69.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 7.4.10 (p.70)

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.4.13 (p.71-72)

corruptible and inferior.¹³⁵ The soul is not subject to corruption while the body is. Third, the status of creation. Although superior to the body, both the body and the soul are mere creations. Fourth, radical understanding of deliverance and renewal. Even though the body serves as a temple for the soul, in its present state of corruption, it also serves as a prison from which the soul must be freed. The soul is the only part that is capable of renewal, and it needs to be freed from the prison of the body. Lastly, Origen uses the concept of the inner man as a synonym for the soul and the intellect (nous). The soul is immortal.¹³⁶ Origen follows the Pauline line of interpretation of the transformational presence of God, but due to his theory of double creation, Origen applies this mainly to the first creation of the soul and not to that of the body which in his speculation was created second.

1.2.3. The Inner Man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in Plotinus¹³⁷

The third century AD marks a peak in the development of both Christian and Hellenic religious anthropology, represented by Origen and his younger contemporary Plotinus. As with Origen, the notion of the inner man is also present in Plotinus's work but, as we shall see, with entirely different results. Although Plotinus is dependent on Plato, he is to be considered deeply innovative and

¹³⁵ See Origen *Homilies Genesis and Exodus*, I.12, transl. by Ronald E. Heine, in "The Fathers of the Church" vol. 71, (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 63-67; Origen, *Com. Rom. 7.4*. "It seems to me that this [Romans 8:18-22] is said of the material and corruptible substance. For, corruptibility applies only to the body. For the inner man, who is created in accordance with God, i.e. created in His image, is incorruptible and invisible and in accordance with his own kind is called incorporeal. The outer man on the other hand is called corporeal and corruptible." (*Com. Rom. 7,4*, ed. Von T. Heiter, *Fontes Christiani*, Herder, Freiburg 1990-1996, Vol. 2/4, 50, 17-24) in Anders Lund Jacobsen, "Genesis 1-3", 221.

¹³⁶ Soul is immortal and not mortal. Dial Her. 25, p. 76; 26 "Taken in this sense, [the possibility not to exist] every human soul is immortal." P, 77.

¹³⁷ An earlier draft of this section was presented as a paper at the Eighteenth International Patristic Conference held in Oxford 2019, and later published as: Dean Georcheski, "Divine Origin or Divine Becoming: The Concept of διπλοῦς in Pseudo-Macarius' Homilies and Plotinus' Enneads" in *Studia Patristica CXXII* vol. 20, ed. Markus Vinzent (Leuven: Peeters, 2021), 227-236.

original.¹³⁸ If for Paul and Origen the inner man, although capable of receiving the indwelling of God's glory, remains a creation, for Plotinus, the soul itself is divine. "There must be, within us," he claims, "the intellect that does not reason discursively but eternally has the right, and there is also [within us], the principle and the cause and god."¹³⁹ The individual soul contains in itself not mere imprints, but an actual presence of the divine. This divine presence is not a foreign and imported element, but an intrinsic constituent of our very own being. He says,

Just as in nature these aforementioned three [principles: One, intellect and soul] are found, so it is necessary to believe as well that these are in us. I do not mean that they are among sensibles – for these three are separate from sensibles – but that they are in things that are outside the sensible order, using the term 'outside' in the same manner in which it is used to refer to those things that are outside the whole of heaven. In saying that they belong to a human being, I mean exactly what Plato means by 'the inner human being'. So, our soul is something divine and of another nature [i.e., other than sensibles], like the nature of all soul; it is perfect by having intellect.¹⁴⁰

The human soul then, is a 'macrocosmic analogue' of the eternal cosmic principle (the One, Nous, and Soul).¹⁴¹ Within its depths, the human soul contains the same divine trinitarian principle: the individual *soul*, the *mind* (i.e., the 'undescended apex of the soul'), and the (image of) *The One*.¹⁴²

Plotinus' conception of the soul, however, appears to be somewhat ambiguous.¹⁴³ Although he is clear that the individual soul contains the actual forms of the cosmic divine Soul and Nous rather than their τύποι, regarding the indwelling of The One, he seems to suggest that it only abides in us

¹³⁸ See Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denis*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 37.

¹³⁹ *Enneads*, 5.1.11.

¹⁴⁰ *Enneads* 5.1.10. ET in: Gerson et al. *The Enneads*. Cambridge, 2018, 545.

¹⁴¹ Zeke Mazur, "To Try to Bring the Divine in Us Back Up to the Divine in the All': The Gnostic Background of Plotinus' Last Words", *J ECS* Vol. 25, No. 4 (2017), 561-580, 569.

¹⁴² See A. Louth, *The Origins*, (1989), 38-41.

¹⁴³ See Z. Mazur, 'To Try to Bring the Divine' (2017), 571.

as an imprint, a trace or an indwelling image.¹⁴⁴ This indwelling image of The One is an emanation of, but not identical to, its archetype. It is through contemplation that the human soul unites with it and ultimately, in the final phase of the spiritual ascent, moves from “image to archetype”, losing itself entirely in the eternal divine principle.

There is thus a converse in virtue of which the essential man outgrows Being, becomes identical with the Transcendent of Being. The self, thus lifted, we are in the likeness of the Supreme: if from that heightened self we pass still higher – from image to archetype – (ὡς εἰκὼν πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον) we have reached the end of our journey.¹⁴⁵

According to Zeke Mazur, in his later mystical passages, Plotinus disregards the “image to archetype” language and focuses almost exclusively on the mystical union within the depths of the self.¹⁴⁶ The method leading to the ultimate goal, however, remains unchanged, removing everything (ἄφελε πάντα), including the soul (ψυχή) and the intellect (νοῦς) and completely uniting with the One.¹⁴⁷ Plotinus’ interiorization of the cosmic trinitarian hypostasis within the self is likely his most unique philosophical contribution.¹⁴⁸ His interiorization language is remarkable. Plotinus’ inner man is a synonym for the divine trinitarian principle in the human being. It is not equalized only with the soul, or with the nous, or with the image of the One as separate elements, but with the entire divine reality of man, the inner space. More than anyone before him, Plotinus implores us to look inwardly for divine guidance. “Withdraw into yourself and look,” says Plotinus.¹⁴⁹ His suggestion to turn to the inner human being seems to be a product of his tendency to apply the interiorized divine experience within his pantheistic philosophical framework. Plotinus insistence

¹⁴⁴ See *Enneads*, 5.5.1.9-2.24; see also 2.9.1.34-63.

¹⁴⁵ *Enneads*, 6.9.11. ET by S. MacKenna, rev. B. S. Page, *The Enneads* (London, Faber, 1969). See Z. Mazur, ‘To Try to Bring the Divine’ (2017), 570.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 571.

¹⁴⁷ See *Enneads*, 5.3.17.

¹⁴⁸ See A. Louth, *The Origins*, (1999), 40-41; See Z. Mazur, ‘To Try to Bring the Divine’ (2017), 567.

¹⁴⁹ “Ἀναγε ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καὶ ἴδε” *Enneads*, 1:6.9; See also 5:8.11; 6:9.7.

on the inwardness produces a very intense interiorizing language, placing the entire experience of ascend into the depths of the human being. This is an important development in the interiorizing approach and as will be seen later, it is a concept often utilized and very important for Ps. Macarius too.¹⁵⁰

In summary, the following should be stated. First, the soul for Plotinus is divine. It is a macrocosmic analogue of the divine trinitarian principle. Second, there is no concept of salvation from sin as understood in the Christian thought, but only a spiritual growth by contemplating the divine within us. Third, since the divine principle is already within us from creation, the spiritual ascent is essentially a descent within the inner human being. Fourth, there is a radical distinction between the body and the soul. The body is corporeal, corruptible from which humans need to be delivered. Fifth, Plotinus' inner man is a synonym for the entire divine reality within. By insisting on the divine within, he distinctively creates an entire spiritual "realm" that is to be identified with the spiritual, rather than with the corporeal part of man.

I.2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have argued that the concept of the inner human being is the meeting place of the discourse of interiority as it developed in the Judaic and Hellenic traditions. Plato's metaphor of the inner man, over the centuries, had become an integral part of the anthropologies of many influential thinkers. As demonstrated above, many of them have utilized and contextualized the concept within the specifics of their own anthropologies. For the Apostle Paul it was the 'missing

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Homilies* III.8.1.5.

link' and a vehicle of opportunity to properly contextualize the Christian message of transformational interiorized presence of God into the Greco-Roman world of philosophy. Paul considered the utilization of the Hellenic interiorizing concept of the inner man a viable solution to fill the philosophical gap as part of his mission to transmit the good news of the Gospel. In doing that, in a manner of speaking, he grafted the Hellenic concept of interiorization (based on the nature of the human soul) onto the Judeo-Christian interiorization concept (based on the interiorized presence of God). Origen, on the other hand, utilized the phrase in the context of his theory of the double creation, while under the influence of the Hellenic dualistic anthropology. Plotinus employed the concept within the framework of his pantheistic philosophy. Ps. Macarius will continue the tradition by making a distinct contribution, to which we will turn later in Part Two of the dissertation.

I.3. THE INNER CHAMBER OF THE HEART: THE *HEART* AS AN INTERIORIZING CONCEPT¹⁵¹

This chapter deals with the concept of the *heart* as the third foundational element of the interiorizing discourse in the Christian tradition. As we shall see, the concept of the *heart* is comparable to the interiorizing metaphor of the *inner human being* in Hellenic philosophy. However, whereas the Hellenic concept of the inner human being builds primarily upon the notion of the human soul, which we have seen above, the concept of the heart has more inclusive anthropological properties. As an anthropological concept, the heart is utilized in the Christian Tradition, and especially by the Syriac Church Fathers to denote an inner reality of the human being in which the divine presence has its abode, and which simultaneously exists in the spiritual and material world. As Ps. Macarius belongs to the Syriac theological milieu, our analysis will include a review of its key features. Our argument will build on the contribution of Sebastian Brook, who has argued that scholarly assessments of early Christianity will never be complete without including the traditions of the oriental Christian Churches:

According to a pattern familiar from many standard handbooks, Christian tradition is to be divided historically into the Latin West and the Greek East; *tertium non datur*. Such a dichotomy is both unfortunate and inadequate, for it completely overlooks the existence of the oriental Christian Churches which constitute an important third stream of Christian tradition, quite distinct from the other two similar streams.¹⁵²

Our analysis of the concept of the heart will include Syriac authors as mainstream alongside Greek language sources. We shall aim to demonstrate how the concept of ‘heart’ functions in a holistic way embracing the entirety of the human being and acquiring the role of “place” or “location” for

¹⁵¹ This chapter draws upon and uses findings of earlier research executed for my MTh thesis. See Dean Gjorcheski, *Dwelling Place of Soul and Mind: The Role of the Heart in the Macarian Homilies*, (Unpublished Master Thesis at St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary, Crestwood, New York, 2010), 29-37.

¹⁵² “Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1987), x.

the indwelling of God's glory. Before proceeding with the exploration of key Syriac authors on the heart as an interiorized concept, a brief investigation of the concept of the heart in general, both in the Old and the New Testament Scriptures is in order.

1.3.1. The Heart in the Holy Scriptures and Early Christian Tradition

The concept of the heart, לֵב, לִבָּב in the Hebrew Old Testament, or καρδία in the Septuagint and the New Testament, is one of the central notions in Biblical anthropology. In the Old Testament, it appears over eight hundred times throughout various books. Its primary usage is in the spiritual, rather than literal, in the sense of the physical organ of the heart, which is quite rare.¹⁵³ According to H. W. Wolf,

We can see that the spectrum of meaning of this most frequent anthropological term is a particularly broad one... But though it undoubtedly embraces the whole range of the physical, the emotional and the intellectual, as well as the function of the will, yet we must clearly hold on to the fact that the Bible primarily views the heart as the centre of the consciously living man. The essential characteristic that, broadly speaking, dominates the concept is that the heart is called to reason, and especially to hear the word of God.¹⁵⁴

The concept of the heart in the OT, then, is a holistic concept, used to denote the entirety of human existence including the cognitive, spiritual, volitional, emotional, and the physical aspects. There are various examples of metaphor and images relating to the heart throughout the books of the Old

¹⁵³ See for example Ex. 28:29; Hos. 13:8; Gen. 18:5; Is. 1:5. See Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 41. The Scriptures do, however, allude to the physical location of the heart around the chest or the central torso. See 2 Kings 9:24; 2 Sam. 18:14; See also Baumgärtel, "Leb, lebab in the OT," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Ed. Gerhard Kittel, Vol. III (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), 606–07.

¹⁵⁴ Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology*, 40-55; See also Grundmann, "Kardia," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Ed. Gerhard Kittel, Vol. III (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), 605–620; Sebastian Brock, "The Prayer of the Heart in Syriac Tradition," in *Sobornost* vol. 4 no. 2 (1982): 131–42.

Testament.¹⁵⁵ In Job, the heart is used as a synonym for obedience and obeying God.¹⁵⁶ Hence, man's wisdom is located in the realm of the heart.¹⁵⁷ The heart is the source of thoughts; both words and thoughts are the fruit of the heart.¹⁵⁸ Further on, it is the heart as an organ that is used by God to communicate and encourage certain tasks.¹⁵⁹ Jeremiah directs attention to the moral and ethical nature of the concept of the heart; it is in the heart that human beings reveal to be of a good character¹⁶⁰ or the opposite, deceitful and wicked.¹⁶¹ In the Psalms,¹⁶² the heart is associated with purity,¹⁶³ cleanness,¹⁶⁴ wholeness, and integrity.¹⁶⁵ King David asks God for a clean and contrite heart as he repents for his wrongdoings.¹⁶⁶ The security and strength,¹⁶⁷ as well as the

¹⁵⁵ See Wolff, *Anthropology*, 40-55; See also Irene Nowell, O.S.B., "The Concept of Purity of Heart in the Old Testament," in *Purity of Heart in Early Ascetic and Monastic Literature: Essays in Honor of Juana Raasch, O.S.B.* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 18.

¹⁵⁶ "So, listen to me, you men of understanding/heart. Far be it from God to do evil, from the Almighty to do wrong." Job 34:10.

¹⁵⁷ "Therefore, people revere him, for does he not have regard for all the wise in heart?" Job, 37:24.

¹⁵⁸ "But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living, but for their sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightiest know the thoughts of thy heart." Daniel, 2:30. Moreover, in Job 8:10 man's words are coming out from the heart.

¹⁵⁹ "Moses then called Bezalel and Oholiab and every skillful one to whom the Lord had given skill, everyone whose heart was stirred to come to do the work." Exodus 36:2.

¹⁶⁰ "But you, O Lord of hosts, who judge righteously, who try the heart and kidneys, let me see your retribution upon them, for to you I have committed my cause." Jeremiah, 11:20.

¹⁶¹ The heart is devious above all else; it is perverse— who can understand it? I the Lord test the mind/kidney and search the heart, to give to all according to their ways, according to the fruit of their doings." Jeremiah, 17:9-10.

¹⁶² The Book of Psalms is one of the most important sources in the spirituality of the early Christians, especially in the monastic circles. The Psalter was, and continues to be used in prayer, chanted privately, as well as an integral part of liturgical worship. The psalms were widely utilized and commented upon by various Church Fathers. For the most extensive commentary, see Augustine's *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, NPNF1-08, translated by Philip Schaff, (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1886).

¹⁶³ For the concept of the purity of heart in the psalms (and the OT in general), see Irene Nowell, O.S.B., "The Concept of Purity of Heart in the Old Testament," in *Purity of Heart*, 17-29.

¹⁶⁴ See Psalms 51:1-10; 73:1; 78:70-72.

¹⁶⁵ See Psalm 101:2.

¹⁶⁶ Psalm 51:10.17 "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me... The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, you will not despise."

¹⁶⁷ Psalm 73:26.

readiness to praise the Lord comes from God who empowers the heart.¹⁶⁸ On the other hand, one's heart can be deceitful and dishonest (double).¹⁶⁹ Perhaps the most interesting aspect for our research is the one that attributes properties of great depth (καρδία βαθεῖα) to the heart.¹⁷⁰ There is an intriguing reference to the works of Ps. Macarius here. Although Ps. Macarius does not quote Psalm 64 directly,¹⁷¹ throughout his entire corpus he depicts the heart as a realm of great depth while using the same formulation καρδία βαθεῖα (or variations of it).¹⁷² The essence of our spiritual battle with Satan,¹⁷³ for Ps. Macarius, is being waged in the incredible depths of the realm of the human heart.¹⁷⁴ The concept of the *deep heart*, along with the concept of the *inner human being*, as we will see in Part Two of this thesis, are central to understanding Ps. Macarius' rendering of the inwardness. Although the use of the concept of the heart in the Old Testament indicates a hidden mystery of the human–divine encounter, it is in the New Testament Scriptures that it is bestowed with truly interiorizing characteristics.

The New Testament inherits, retains, and further develops the centrality of the concept of the heart as the chief organ of human existence. The word καρδία as used in the Septuagint (LXX)¹⁷⁵ carries

¹⁶⁸ Psalm 57:7.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 12:2.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 64:6 “They devise iniquities: ‘We have perfected a shrewd scheme.’ Both the inward thought and the heart of man are deep.” (καρδία βαθεῖα in the LXX).

¹⁷¹ Throughout his corpus, Ps. Macarius frequently relies on the wisdom of the Psalms, and more particularly, in regard to the concept of the deep heart, in Homily III.18.1.1-2, he does comment on Psalm 42:7 “deep calls unto deep” which he brings into relation to Jeremiah 17:10 “I, the Lord, search the heart, the mind (kidneys)...”

¹⁷² See for example *Homilies* I.14.14; II.15.32; II.41.1; III.21.1 (26-27).

¹⁷³ Ibid., III.21.1 “καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς πνεῦμα ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς κρυπτῶς ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς καρδίας πολεμεῖ.”

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., II.15.32 “εἰ οὖν ἡ καρδία βάθος τι ἔχει ἀπέραντον, (455) ἐκεῖ εἰσι τρίκλινοι καὶ κοιτῶνες, θύραι καὶ πρόθυρα, καὶ διακονίαι πολλαὶ καὶ διέξοδοι· ἐκεῖ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας, ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος, ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ, ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγαθὴ ἐμπορία καὶ ἡ ἐναντία.”

¹⁷⁵ The complexity of the “heart” as a concept is evident even in the effort and difficulties of LXX to grasp the fullness of the meaning. Besides the general use of καρδία, the LXX rarely translates כֶּלֶב or כִּבְדֵי as διάοια, ψυχή, and even φρήν, νοῦς, or στήθος. Grundmann, “καρδία”, 609.

the prolific meaning of the holistic nature of the Old Testament concept of the heart into the New Testament theology. In its rich spectrum of meanings, the heart is described as home of the human emotions,¹⁷⁶ desires, and passions,¹⁷⁷ and spiritual organ of various thought,¹⁷⁸ assurance and faith,¹⁷⁹ understanding and contemplation.¹⁸⁰ The heart in the New Testament is locus of a human-divine encounter. Not only in a metaphorical sense as in the Old Testament Scriptures, but a real realm of epiphany¹⁸¹ and a dwelling place of God.¹⁸² Apostle Paul's appropriation of the Hellenic anthropological phrase of the inner man and its association with the concept of the heart and the body in general was already discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁸³

In the New Testament we witness a phase in which both of the concepts, the inner human being and the concept of the heart, blend and contribute toward shaping a more developed discourse of interiorization. In the first Epistle of Peter, the author clearly locates the inner man within the realm

¹⁷⁶ Acts 2:26 "Therefore my heart is glad and my tongue rejoices; my body also will rest in hope." John 16:22 "So also you have sorrow now, but I will see you again, and your hearts will rejoice, and no one will take your joy from you."

¹⁷⁷ Romans 1:24 "Therefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the degrading of their bodies among themselves." Mathew 5:28 "But I tell you that anyone who looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery with her in his heart."

¹⁷⁸ Mark 7:21 "For it is from within, out of a person's heart, that evil thoughts come—sexual immorality, theft, murder, adultery, greed, malice, deceit, lewdness, envy, slander, arrogance and folly. All these evils come from inside and defile a person."

¹⁷⁹ Mark 11:23 "Truly I tell you, if anyone says to this mountain, 'Go, throw yourself into the sea,' and does not doubt in their heart but believes that what they say will happen, it will be done for them."

¹⁸⁰ Romans 10:6-8 "But the righteousness that is by faith says: 'Do not say in your heart, 'Who will ascend into heaven?'" [that is, to bring Christ down) "or 'Who will descend into the deep?'" (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what does it say? "The word is near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart."

¹⁸¹ 2 Cor. 4:6 "For it is the God who said, "Let light shine out of darkness," who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

¹⁸² Ephesians 3:16-17 "I pray that out of his glorious riches he may strengthen you with power through his Spirit in your inner being, 17 so that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith. And I pray that you, being rooted and established in love." Cf. John 14:23 "Jesus replied, "Anyone who loves me will obey my teaching. My Father will love them, and we will come to them and make our home with them."

¹⁸³ See discussion above, ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος in apostle Paul.

of the heart. He says, “But let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.”¹⁸⁴ In this way, the human heart becomes the locus of the human-divine encounter. The inner man, or the hidden man, which is located in the heart, *is* the locus of the human-divine encounter. It is also Christ’s dwelling place¹⁸⁵ and a temple of God.¹⁸⁶

The espousing of the concepts of the inner human being and of the heart was widely accepted and utilized by the early Christian authors, and as will be demonstrated in Part Two of this dissertation, perfectly developed in the writings of Ps. Macarius. This espousing was not equally utilized by everyone, however. In the writings of Evagrius, who has arguably influenced many of the patristic authors in Late Antiquity, is witnessed an emphasis on the concept of the inner human being at the expense of the concept of the heart. Although the concept of the heart is not completely absent from Evagrius’ writings, in his spiritual disciplines *πρακτική*, *γνωστική* or *θεωρητική*, and *θεολόγια*, he tends to follow the path of noetic contemplation which bears less resemblance to the biblical concept of the heart and more to the notion of the Hellenic concept of the inner human being.¹⁸⁷ In one of the few verses mentioning the role of the heart he says,

¹⁸⁴ 1 Peter 3:4.

¹⁸⁵ “I pray that, according to the riches of his glory, he may grant that you may be strengthened in your inner being with power through his Spirit, and that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith, as you are being rooted and grounded in love.” Eph. 3:16-17.

¹⁸⁶ 1 Cor. 3:16-17 “Do you not know that you are a temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwells in you? If any man destroys the temple of God, God will destroy him, for the temple of God is holy, and that is what you are.”

¹⁸⁷ Evagrius’ teaching on prayer is laid out in three major works:¹⁸⁷ *On the Thoughts* (*Περὶ λογισμῶν*), *Reflections* (*Σκέμματα*), and his most popular, widely translated and distributed treatise *On Prayer* (*Περὶ προσευχῆς*) All three have been translated in Sinkewicz, *Evagrius of Pontus, The Greek Ascetic Corpus*. Some of his works, like *On Prayer* survived in Greek only because they were transmitted under the name of Nilus of Ancyra. See *De Oratione* (PG 79:1166-1199 Migne). Evagrius’ speculative thought is mainly laid in his works *Gnostikos*, *Praktikos*, *Kephalaia Gnostika*, and the *Letter to Melania*. For Syriac with French translation of KG *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica.”* Ed. A. Guillaumont. *Patrologia Orientalis* 28, 1. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958). For French edition of *Gnostikos* see *Le gnostique*,

Allow the Spirit of God to dwell within you; then in his love he will come and make a habitation with you; he will reside in you and live in you. If your heart is pure, you will see him, and he will sow in you, the good seed of reflections upon his actions and wonder at his majesty.¹⁸⁸

In this passage, Evagrius confirms that the Spirit of God dwells within us. He also advocates for the necessity of pure of the heart in order for the believer to experience God. From this passage one discovers that he is not a total stranger to the concept of the heart (καρδία). In general, however, he relies more on the mind (νοῦς) terminology.¹⁸⁹ He says, “The intelligible *temple* is the pure *nous*, which keeps safe within it the full manifold wisdom of God; the *temple of God* is he who is a seer of the blessed unity, and the altar of God is the contemplation of the Blessed Trinity.”¹⁹⁰ Origen, on the other hand, is by far more biblically balanced in respect to the discourse of interiority and the usage of the concepts of the inner human being and the heart. His teachings on the inner prayer, and the spiritual experience in general, often involve terminology such as “the inner chamber of the heart.”¹⁹¹ It has already been discussed Origen’s usage of the interiorizing

ou, À celui qui est devenu digne de la science. Ed. and trans. Antoine Guillaumont and Claire Guillaumont. SC 356. Paris: Cerf, 1989; for French translation of *Praktikos* see *Practicus. Traité pratique ou le moine.* Ed. A. Guillaumont and C. Guillaumont. SC 170–71. (Paris: Cerf, 1971). There exist an online database Evagrius works (Greek and English) including, Evagrius Ponticus, *Kephalaia Gnostica*, online transl. by Luke Dysinger, O.S.B. http://www.ldysinger.com/Evagrius/02_Gno-Keph/00a_start.htm.

¹⁸⁸ Evagrius, *Admonition on Prayer*, in Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1987), 68.

¹⁸⁹ According to Columba Stewart, Evagrius was rather successful in blending various traditions and schools of thoughts into a unique spiritual system of his own. See Columba Stewart, O.S.B., “Evagrius Ponticus And The Eastern Monastic Tradition On Intellect And Passions” in *Modern Theology* 27:2 (April, 2011), 264; For the opposite opinion: “... he made no successful attempt to integrate into a single whole the various traditions by which he was formed...” see Evagrius Ponticus, *The Praktikos Chapters on Prayer*, translation with introduction and notes by John Eudes Bamberger OCSO, Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1981), lxxii.

¹⁹⁰ Evagrius, *Kephalaia Gnostica*, V.84; See for also Evagrius, *On Prayer*, 3 where he defines the prayer as a conversation of the mind with God (Ἡ προσευχὴ ὁμιλία ἐστὶ νοῦ πρὸς Θεόν); See Evagrius, *On Prayer*, 28.

¹⁹¹ Origen, *Treatise on Prayer*, XX.2, tr. Jay Eric George (London: SPCK, 1954). Cf. Matthew 6:6.

vocabulary of ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος above, and Origen will feature in conjunction with interiorizing terminology of the heart in the Anthropology chapter in Part Two, when his anthropological dualism and his somewhat ambivalent attitude toward the role of the body will be discussed.

1.3.2. The Heart in the Syriac Christian Tradition

The concept of the heart is certainly a dominant anthropological concept in the Syriac Christian tradition. The Syriac language is a Semitic language, and as a dialect (or a variation) of Aramaic it is closely related to Hebrew.¹⁹² This provides the Syriac Church Fathers both linguistic and conceptual benefit. While many of the Greek speaking fathers such as Evagrius were struggling to define spiritual life based on the Hellenic concepts of the soul, the Syriac speaking Fathers had the benefits of both worlds. On the one side they had naturally inherited a profound awareness and understanding of God's presence in the secret realm of the heart (including the spiritual reinterpretations of the Merkabah literature), and on the other side, the complexity of the Hellenic conceptions regarding the composition of the inner human being including the soul, the mind, the hegemonikon etc. Many of them before Ps. Macarius, successfully espoused their own biblically rooted spirituality with Hellenic philosophical and advanced rhetorical traditions. This fusion of traditions resulted in new a dynamic and passionate articulation of Christian spirituality and identified the heart as a realm of the most intimate human-divine encounter

The Persian Sage, or Aphrahat, (c. 280 – c. 345) Syriac Church Father who uses the concept of the heart extensively in his exhortations on prayer and spiritual life. He wrote twenty-three homilies,

¹⁹² For an excellent introduction to Syriac studies see Sebastian Brock, *An Introduction to Syriac Studies* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006).

also known as *Demonstrations*.¹⁹³ Among other concepts, in the homilies, Aphrahat discusses the heart as an interiorizing concept. In the twenty third homily, for example, one can read that the heart is the place of God's glorious presence. He says, "You dwell with the righteous, and [their] place is spacious for you. Your greatness slips into the small heart; you have made us temples and caused your glory to dwell there."¹⁹⁴ In this quote Aphrahat locates the presence of God's glory within the realm of the human heart. By telling us that the recipient of God's greatness is the small heart, he, in a sense, compares the realm of the heart with the physical organ of the heart. Further on, he compares the inner realm of the heart and prayer. In his *Demonstration 4*, commenting on Jesus Christ's words on prayer in Mathew 6:6. He says,

Why, my beloved, did our Saviour teach us saying: 'Pray to your Father in secret, with the door shut'? I will show you, as far as I am capable. He said 'Pray to your Father with the door closed'. Our Lord's words thus tell us 'Pray in secret in your heart and shut the door'. What is the door He says we must shut, if not your mouth? For there is the temple in which Christ dwells, just as the Apostle said: *You are the temple of the Lord* for Him to enter into your inner person, into this house, to cleanse it from everything that is unclean, while the door – that is to say, your mouth – is closed.¹⁹⁵

In this homily, again, it is evident how Aphrahat is linking the spiritual realm and the physical organs of the human being. The mouth is the door, while the heart is the chamber where the prayer should take place, in secret. The similarity of the interiorizing vocabulary of the heart between Aphrahat and Ps. Macarius is remarkable. This will be expanded in Part Two below. Aphrahat

¹⁹³ For an overview on Aphrahat and early Syriac spirituality, see Stephanie K. Skoyles Jarkins, *Aphrahat the Persian Sage and the Temple of God: A Study of Early Syriac Theological Anthropology* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press), 2008.

¹⁹⁴ Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 23.59. "Our hands have not made you, and our fingers have not grown weary over you. We reproduce you in our hearts and imitate you in our minds. Our reasoning has caught sight of you, and we have called you 'God'." Translation by Adam Letho, *The Demonstrations of Aphrahat, the Persian Sage*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 27 (Gorgias press, 2010), 522.

¹⁹⁵ Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 4.10, in Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1987), 14.

continues the NT notion that the human being, as a whole, is a temple of God's presence, a dwelling place of Christ. Further on, he positions this temple within the inner person which, in turn, is to be found in the realm of the heart. Commenting on the attaining of knowledge and understanding of God, he says,

Who has perceived the place of knowledge? Who has attained to the roots of wisdom? And who has insight into the place of understanding? The latter is hidden from the thoughts of every fleshly being, nor can the obstinate purchase it with gold. Its treasure is open and permitted to those who ask [for it]. Its light is greater than the sun, and its radiance is more comely and beautiful, than the moon. The innermost chambers of the intellect may touch it, and the perceptions of thought may attain to it, and fulness of mind may inherit it. Whoever has opened the door of his heart finds it, and whoever unfolds the wings of his intellect possesses it. It dwells in the man who is diligent, and is implanted in the heart of the sage, whose nerves are set firmly in their sources, and [so] in it [i.e., the heart] he possesses a hidden treasure. His thought flies, to all the heights, and his pondering descends to all the depths. She [i.e., Wisdom] depicts wonderous things in his heart, and the eyes of his perceptions take in the bounds of the seas. All things created are enclosed within his thought, and he becomes vast so as to receive still more. He becomes the great temple of his Creator. Indeed, the King of the Heights enters and dwells in him, and lifts his intellect up to the heights, and causes his thought to fly to His Holy House.¹⁹⁶

Additionally, throughout his *Demonstration*, Aphrahat emphasizes the need for inner purity and the hidden prayer of the heart. Similarly aligned with apostle Paul's thought, Aphrahat stresses the need for purity of the heart in order to make it a worthy "place" of theophanic encounter with its Lord.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 14.35, in Alexander Golitzin, "The Place of the Presence of God: Aphrahat of Persia's Portrait of the Christian Holy Man. An Essay in Honor of Archimandrite Aimilianos of the Monastery of Simonos Petras, Mount Athos". Marquette University, January 28, 2003.

¹⁹⁷ "As I urged you above, the moment you start praying, raise your hands upwards, and lower your eyes downwards; enter inside your inner person and pray in secret to your Father in heaven. All this have I written to you on the subject of prayer how it is heard when it is pure, and not heard when it is not pure." Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 4:13, in Sebastian Brook, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and Spiritual Life*, 17.

Ephrem of Syria (c. 306 – c.373) is another Church Father of the Syriac *milieu*. His corpus that includes both prose and poetry, hymns of faith and discourses on prayer, is considerably bigger than Aphrahat's.¹⁹⁸ Like Aphrahat, Ephrem underlines the centrality of the *inner chamber* as a realm of the human-divine encounter. He says,

Petition that has been refined is the virgin of the *inner chamber*: if she passes the *door* of the mouth, she is like one astray. Truth is her bridal chamber, love her crown, stillness and silence are the trusty eunuchs at her door... Jonah prayed a prayer that had no sound: the herald was put to silence in the fish's belly; out of the dumb creature did his prayer creep forth, and God on high heard, for his silence served as cry... Hidden prayer is for the hidden ear of God, while faith is for the visible ear of humanity.¹⁹⁹

Not only is the heart the inner chamber of withdrawal where our inner man meets our Lord, but it is also a realm of stillness and silence. It is a realm where we settle before our God. God is a hidden God, who only reveals himself to us in the hidden “place” of our inner chamber and only when we offer secret prayers in silence. Ephrem's anthropology is profoundly Biblical; both body and soul are integral and important parts of the human being. The heart is the center of the human person and center of the spiritual life, but also a location of the intellect and the feelings, which makes Ephrem's interiorizing anthropology a holistic one, devoid of the classical conflict of the heart versus the mind.²⁰⁰

The *Book of Steps*, also known as the *Book of Ascent (Liber Graduum)* is a work from the Syriac Christian tradition worthy of mention in the context of the discourse of interiorization. It was

¹⁹⁸ For an excellent study of Ephrem's background and spirituality see Sebastian Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of Saint Ephrem* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1992).

¹⁹⁹ Ephrem, *Hymns on Faith*, XX.6.9.10, in Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 34.

²⁰⁰ See Sebastian Brook, “The Prayer of the Heart in Syriac Tradition”, *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 4:2 (1982), 131-142.

probably written (or composed) towards the end of the fourth century in Persia and it is comprised of thirty *Discourses*.²⁰¹ In *Discourse 12, On the Ministry of the Hidden and the Manifest Church*, the author focuses on the hidden versus the visible, and exterior versus the interior terminology. In very creative and astonishing ways, *Liber Graduum* lays foundations for his teaching on the existence of three churches: the perfect Church in the heavens, the visible church on earth, and the hidden church in the heart of man.

Likewise, that the body and heart in which our Lord dwells – also because the Spirit resides there – is in truth a temple and an altar, seeing that the Lord resides, as it is written: *Your bodies are temples of the Lord and Christ dwells in your inner person*. As for the church in heaven, all that is good takes its beginning from there, and from there light has shone out upon us in all directions. After its likeness the church on earth came into being, along with its priests and its altar; according to the pattern of its ministry the body ministers outwardly, while the heart acts as priest inwardly. Those who are diligent in this visible church become like that heavenly church as they follow after.²⁰²

In this striking metaphor God's glorious presence is interiorized in a unique way. Just as in the previous authors, the heart and the body are highlighted as God's dwelling place. In the *Book of Steps*, however, additionally, the heart is a resemblance of the church in the Heavens. The inner man of the heart is the Church where God resides. There is an altar, there are ministers, there is the presence, and everything is interiorized. The church of the heart, of course, must be aligned in accordance to the standards and the glory of the heavenly one because "[t]hese three churches and their ministries possess Life, but *one glory is greater than another*."²⁰³ The realm of the heart, then, according to the *Book of Steps*, is an interiorized Church, a hidden altar and temple of God's

²⁰¹ Sebastian Brook, "The Book of Steps" in *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, USA: Cistercian, 1987), 42–61.

²⁰² *Discourse, XII.2*. Book of Steps, *On the Ministry of the Hidden and the Manifest Church*, in Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1987), 48–49.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, XII.4.

glorious presence and accordingly, a place of continuous hidden prayer, in short, a locus of the divine-human encounter.

1.3.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the anthropological notion of the heart as a concept that has its roots in the Jewish theological thought and followed its usage in the Syriac Patristic tradition. We looked at the way in which the concept of the heart corresponds to the Hellenic concept of the inner human being, especially in contrasting the outer and the inner life of an individual and depicting the inner experience of the Divine. Further, we examined how the two concepts intertwine in the New Testament. In the theology of the Syriac Christian Fathers, we saw how the concept of the heart functions in a more holistic way than the concept of the inner human being. All this is especially evident in the works of Ps. Macarius, who, as part of the Syriac tradition, engages in a bold fusion of theological and philosophical traditions, forging his own, unique and very influential interiorizing anthropology.

CONCLUSION TO PART ONE

In Part One of this dissertation, we have investigated the phenomenon of interiority and have identified three phases in its development. By exploring the interiorizing concepts of *God's glorious presence*, the *inner human being*, and the concept of the *heart*, we have answered questions on the specific changes that contributed to the development of the discourse of interiority. The changes in the understanding of God's glorious presence were analyzed both regarding religious practice and religious literature. In doing this, we have argued that the initial change in the notion of inwardness was triggered by the development of the alternative places of

worship, the theological reinterpretation of the *presence* via imagery such as Yahweh's Chariot Throne, and the later expansion of the vast body apocalyptic Markabah literature. These changes, we claimed, were instrumental in the transition from an *institutional* understanding of the concept of the presence (in the Holy of Holies of Jerusalem's Temple), to what we defined as a second stage in the evolution of the phenomenon of interiority, namely the *personalized* or *personified* phase (in the Torah and the person of Jesus Christ). Building on Guy G. Stroumsa's theory about the simultaneous appearance of the interiorization phenomenon in both the Judaic religious system and the Hellenic philosophy after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 AD), we posited an earlier dating for the phenomenon of interiorization appearing — the period immediately after the destruction of the First Temple and the exile to Babylon (586 BC). Right at the dawn of Christianity, we have investigated the Christian appropriation of the Platonic metaphor of the *inner human being* in the works of the Apostle Paul as well as other patristic writers of the early Christian Church. This fascinating fusion of the Semitic concept of the *presence of God* with the Hellenic concept of the *inner human being*, we claimed, represents a creative theological endeavor; this was crucial for the further development of the discourse of interiority from the second to the third phase, which we defined as a *spiritualized*. We concluded our analysis with an investigation of the concept of the *heart* tracing its usage in both the Old and the New Testament and especially in the later Syriac Christian tradition to which Ps. Macarius belonged. In doing this, we have argued that the interiorization phenomenon is an integral part of Christian tradition, existed at the very beginning of the Christian movement rather than being result of the influence of later non-Christian philosophies. Having established the origins of the interiorization phenomenon, defined the phases in its development, examined the changes, or rather the various reinterpretations of the *presence*, the *inner human being*, and the *heart*, Part One of this dissertation has set the structure for our

further research in Part Two, namely Ps. Macarius' appropriation of the same three major interiorizing concepts (although in reverse order) and his rendering of the language of interiority.

PART II**PS. MACARIUS' INTERIORIZING THEOLOGY**

II.1. PSEUDO MACARIUS – STATUS QUAESTIONIS

Part Two of this dissertation offers an exegetical, textual, and theological analysis of the Macarian corpus. The main objective of this second part is to portray Ps. Macarius as a productive and highly creative contributor to the development of the language of interiority in the Eastern Christian Tradition. This part argues that that Ps. Macarius is an original author and a key contributor to the discourse of interiority, not so much by his invention and introduction of new interiorizing concepts, but rather by the span, intensity, and creativity of the usage of the already existent ones. Many of the Church Fathers before Ps. Macarius, such as Origen, the Cappadocians, the Syriac Fathers, and even Augustine in the West, have embraced and made good use of the interiorizing vocabulary in their writings. Ps. Macarius' preference for interiorization, however, is robust and intense; it is remarkably striking and consistent. In this respect, Ps. Macarius is an authority and a high point in the development of the discourse of interiority and a model representative of the third phase in the evolution of the interiorization phenomenon. By examining his rendering of the three interiorizing concepts introduced in Part I, namely, God's presence, the inner man, and the heart, we shall argue that his entire theological thought is being shaped, in a sense, by his understanding of the experience of the transformative presence of God in the depths of the organ of the heart. Before embarking on the analysis of Ps. Macarius work, we present a brief overview of his corpus, its suspected connection with Messalianism, and the main scholarly contributions on Ps. Macarius' spirituality.

The Macarian Corpus

The writings of Ps. Macarius are contained in three main Greek collections. Collection I (B)²⁰⁴, which is the largest and includes the *Great Letter*²⁰⁵ also called *Epistola Magna* as well as 63 homilies known as λόγοι. Collection II (H)²⁰⁶ comprises of 50 homilies; it is the most popular and widely translated²⁰⁷ over the centuries. Collection III²⁰⁸ contains 43 homilies; about half of the homilies in full or in part are included in the first two collections. In addition to these three, there exists Collection IV; this has not been separately edited since its content overlaps with sections of the three main collections. There is an additional set of seven homilies (HA), parts of which are also contained in the principal three collections.

Identity and Messalian links

The real identity of the author of the Macarian corpus remains unknown. In the manuscript tradition, some of his homilies were transmitted under the name of Macarius the Great, or Macarius of Egypt. Modern scholarship, however, maintains that the author of the corpus and Macarius the

²⁰⁴ Collection I (B) was edited by Heinz Berthold, in two volumes, *Makarios/Symeon: Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, 2 vols., (Berlin, 1973).

²⁰⁵ The *Great Letter* was separately edited by Jaeger Werner, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), and Reinhart Staats, *Makarios-Symeon. Epistola Magna: Eine messalianische Monchsregel und ihre Umschrift in Gregors von Nyssa "De instituto christiano"* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

²⁰⁶ Collection II (H) was edited in 1964 by Hermann Dörries, Erich Klostermann, Matthias Kroeger, *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, Patristische Texte und Studien 6 (Berlin, 1964).

²⁰⁷ The first translation of these homilies into English was by Thomas Haywood, but it was John Wesley who popularized them widely (this is true, at least, for several homilies for which he prepared translation). A more complete, modern translation has been produced by A. J. Mason, by G. Maloney, which is also the most popular version. A. J. Mason, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian* (London, 1912); George A. Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great letter*, (New York: Paulist press), 1992).

²⁰⁸ Collection III has been edited by E. Klostermann and H. Berthold, *Nue Homilien des Makarios/Symeon aus Typus III*, Texte und Untersuchungen (Berlin, 1961), and most recently by Vincent Desprez, *Pseudo-Macaire, Oeuvres Spirituelles I: Homélie propres à la Collection III*. Sources Chrétiennes 275.

Egyptian are two different individuals. It is more likely that Ps. Macarius was the abbot of a monastery who lived and wrote within the Syriac milieu towards the end of fourth or in the early fifth century. Despite his work being written in Greek, there are various hints in his corpus that reveal his Syriac background.²⁰⁹ His Syriac background, is very important in understanding Ps. Macarius' interiorizing theology as he shares in the spiritual interiorizing vocabulary of the inner experience of the heart common to the Syriac authors, such as St. Ephrem, Aphrahat, and the *Book of Steps*, whose interiorizing concept of the heart has been discussed in Part One. Because of his background and the close relation of his works with some Messalian teachings, Ps. Macarius was often associated with the deviant ascetic movement of Messalianism.²¹⁰ Almost all modern scholarly work on Ps. Macarius operates in the context of research on the Messalian controversy. There are striking similarities between the theological language used in the *Homilies* and the key vocabulary of the Messalian movement, condemned several times in the early fifth century and, most notably, at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Thus, the Macarian *Homilies* have often been

²⁰⁹ One of the most obvious hints is his usage of alternative terminology. Much of his imagery, and many of his phrases, do not appear in the Greek-speaking authors, while these are widely accepted in Syriac speaking Christianity. Additionally, the author's Geography (his mention of river and system of irrigation in Lower Mesopotamia) as well as his nomenclature for the months betray his Syriac background. On further inspection, the grammatical structure of many of his Bible quotations reveals what suggests a Syriac translation rather than quoting directly from Greek. Lastly, there is his reference to the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas whose usage was common among the Syriac writers before him. See George A. Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius: the Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 6–7; Plested, *Macarian Legacy*, 13-15; Arthur Voobus, *On The Historical Importance of the Legacy of Pseudo-Macarius: New Observations about its Syriac Provenance* (Stockholm: ETSE, 1972), 11-26; see also A. Baker, "Pseudo-Macarius and the Gospel of Thomas" in *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964): 215-25; G. Quispel, "The Syrian Thomas and the Syrian Macarius" in *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964): 226-235.

²¹⁰ The early Messalian movement, or rather spiritual tendencies, appeared in the 4th-5th centuries and in different forms, and movements have continued over the centuries. It is very difficult to singlehandedly define the Messalian movement. Fr. Meyendorff writes: "It is difficult and perhaps even impossible to give a single definition of Messalianism. "Messalians," also known as "Euchites" or "Enthusiasts," and were later designated by the Slavic term of "Bogomils," periodically appear in various regions between the Fourth Century and the end of the Middle Ages. The Western Cathars of Albigensians, were a branch of the same movement." John Meyendorff, "St. Basil, Messalianism and Byzantine Christianity" *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980): 226.

denounced as heavily influenced by Messalianism and even deemed an entirely Messalian work.²¹¹ The Syriac and Messalian connection was defended by Hermann Dörries, who argued, in his work *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon*,²¹² that the real author behind the *Homilies* is Symeon of Mesopotamia,²¹³ a suspected leader of the Messalians. However, recognizing the complexity of the issue, Dörries was hesitant to label the *Homilies* as essentially Messalian in their theology.²¹⁴

The Messalian movement, at least in its beginnings, was a spontaneous charismatic movement that originated from the already existing tension between the institutional and charismatic leadership in the Church. It is first mentioned in a brief comment by Ephrem the Syrian in his *Contra Haereses* (373).²¹⁵ The term Messalian comes from the Syriac word *msallyane*, which means ‘those who pray,’ as bequeathed to us by Epiphanius in his *Ancoratus* (374).²¹⁶ This spontaneous movement, however, spread rapidly among the monasteries, and what was considered a local Syrian issue, very soon turned into a global problem. Right from its beginnings, the movement

²¹¹ See John Meyendorff, "Messalianism or anti-Messalianism: A Fresh Look at the 'Macarian Problem,'" *Kyriakon: Johannes Quasten*, v.2, P. Granfield, ed. (1970): 585–90.

²¹² Hermann Dörries, *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978). See also Note 22 of introduction in Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 8.

²¹³ Symeon, one of the Messalian leaders mentioned by Theodoret, was listed as the author of the Macarian Homilies and letters in one of the most ancient Arab-Coptic TV manuscripts. “Dörries is the chief exponent of Symeon of Mesopotamia as being the author of the Homilies and other works attributed to Macarius of Egypt. He detects quite convincingly the Messalian elements in Macarius/Symeon’s writings.” Note 22 of introduction in Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 8; See also Hermann Dörries, *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978).

²¹⁴ See C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 14 note 4.

²¹⁵ “And the *msallyane* who are debauched and contemptible, stirred up, *izdallall*. Good is he who makes them return to his sheepfold.” Ephrem Syrus, *Contra Haereses*, Homily 22, quoted in Columba Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart: the Messalian Controversy in History, Text, and Language to AD 431* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1991), 15.

²¹⁶ Epiphanius (c.374) informs us that their name Messalian derives from the Syriac word for prayer (*msl; tsl*) which means “those who pray (εὐχόμενοι) (80.1.2).” Further on Epiphanius explains that they are “now called *Μασσαλιανοί*, of whom there is neither beginning nor end, neither head nor root, but who are completely unstable and anarchical and deceived, utterly without support of name or law (*θεσμοῦ*) or ordinance (*θέσεως*) or legislation (*νομοθεσίας*) (80.3.3). Quoted in Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 14.

was condemned by various ecclesiastical and civil authorities, including the local synods held at Antioch and Side during the 380ies and 390ies, the synod of Constantinople in 426 AD, the first official Imperial Legislation in 428 AD which was directed against the “Messalians, Euchites, or Enthusiasts,”²¹⁷ and most importantly at the Third Ecumenical Council in 431 AD which also condemned the so-called book of Messalianism, *the Ascetikon*.²¹⁸ L. Villecourt and George Marriott have suggested that some parts, or indeed the majority of the Messalian book of *Ascetikon*, the book that was brought by bishop Valerian of Iconium for condemnation during the Council of Ephesus in 431AD, has been preserved in the Second and most popular Collection of the Macarian corpus.²¹⁹ “[T]he Messalian *Ascetikon* is not lost as it had been supposed,” writes Marriott, “but is preserved – if not in its integrity, yet to a very large extent – in the fifty Homilies.”²²⁰ Fr. Andrew Louth in his early work, also identifies the entire Second Collection as a Messalian creation:

For, though the Macarian *Homilies* were (and are) read and valued in orthodox circles, they are the product of a sect called the Messalians, and the ascription of these homilies to Macarius was a device to keep them circulating among the orthodox.²²¹

Louth’s position here stands in continuity with an earlier argument made by Irénée Hausherr in the first volume of *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*,²²² where Hausherr posited the complete similarity between Ps. Macarius and the Messalians. Consequently, Hausherr, whose work continues to be influential, ultimately blames the entire Eastern Christian tradition for

²¹⁷ See *Codex of Theodosius*, 16.5.65.

²¹⁸ Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 14.

²¹⁹ L. Villecourt has “identified a part of all of the Macarian Homilies with the Messalian *Ascetikon*.” Hatzopoulos, *Two Outstanding Cases*, 32.

²²⁰ George I. Marriott, “The Messalians and the Discovery of their Ascetic Book” in *Harvard Theological Review* 19 (1926): 191–98.

²²¹ Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 114-116.

²²² See Hausherr’s two influential articles “Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale,” in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935): 114–38; and “L’erreur fondamentale et la logique du Messalianisme,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935): 328–60.

Messalianism. He says, “La grande hérésie spirituelle de l’Orient chrétien, c’est le messalianisme.”²²³

These claims naturally triggered new scholarly studies that were aimed at redeeming Ps. Macarius from the “heresy” with which he was posthumously labeled. The most prominent among these revisionist scholars is Columba Stewart whose book *Working the Earth of the Heart* sets standards for further textual and linguistic studies of the *Homilies*. Before going into detailed linguistic analysis of the Macarian Corpus, Stewart undertakes the task of reconstructing the history of the Messalian controversy, thus making a clear distinction between the Messalians and the author of the *Homilies*. Engaging with historical evidence he says that what we know about the Messalians is not, in fact, about them, but against them.²²⁴ Building upon earlier theories by Reinhart Staats, and rephrasing one of his statements, Stewart says,

The imagery and terminology associated with Messalianism is no more and no less than a dramatic manifestation of Syrian Christianity in Greek guise and can be considered utterly heterodox only from the viewpoint of the orthodoxy of a Greek-speaking imperial Church.²²⁵

With his detailed study of Ps. Macarius’ spiritual vocabulary Stewart has successfully demonstrated the Syrian background of the *Homilies*. This was signaled by several authors even before Stewart, but no one has actually undertaken to do such in-depth research. Much of Macarius’ vocabulary that jars in the ears of those accustomed to reading mainstream patristic authors mainly operating within the perimeters of the Hellenic language and philosophical thought,

²²³ Hausherr, “L’erreur fondamentale,” 328.

²²⁴ Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 6.

²²⁵ Ibid., 10. See R. Staats’, ‘Messalianerforschung und Ostkirchenkunde’ in Strothmann, *Makarios-Symposium über das Böse*, 53.

makes total sense when viewed from his Syriac background. He offers striking parallels of Macarius' widely used imagery with other Syriac texts.

A study of the classical background of vocabulary, its use in the Ps-Macarian writings, use in Greek Christian literature, in early Syriac literature, and in the *Liber Graduum* reveals the parallels between Ps-Macarian themes and those in Syriac literature are varied in kind and extent, illustrating not so much direct borrowing from specific texts as influence from a shared theological and linguistic background. This is especially demonstrated by the thematic parallels between Ps-Macarian texts and the *Liber Graduum*.²²⁶

Marcus Plested is another important scholar in recent Macarian scholarship who has challenged the notion of the Messalian character of the Ps. Macarian corpus. Plested too, engages in the task of redeeming Ps. Macarius from the accusations of Messalianism by taking a different approach. He has pointed out to the complexity of the issue and the lack of data which is not helpful in determining whether the Messalian movement was an organized movement or simply an “experiential tendency with little internal coherence.”²²⁷ In his opinion, due to the fact that the sources informing us of the Messalian movement “give us no exact information as to its nature, but only supply details of its formalization into heresy”,²²⁸ it is rather pointless to speak of the Messalianism of Ps. Macarius. Thus, in his monograph *The Macarian Legacy*, he offers a systematic examination of the Ps. Macarian legacy, placing Ps. Macarius within the context of broader Eastern Christian Tradition. To use his words, “How, therefore, are we to escape from this ‘swamp’? The answer, I submit, is to look beyond the Messalian controversy, and to examine the reception of the Macarian corpus within the wider Christian tradition.”²²⁹ In his study, he offers a parallel textual study of Ps. Macarius' relations to various patristic authors including Evagrius, the

²²⁶ Ibid., 57.

²²⁷ Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 27.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

Capadoccians, Mark the Monk, Diadochus of Photice, The *Asceticon* of Abba Isaiah, and Maximus the Confessor. His study is mainly in context of the popular dichotomy of heart versus mind types of spiritual tradition, placing the problem within the tensions of the priestly and prophetic or the institutional and the charismatic.²³⁰ Plested's focus, is on studying various theological topics such as: Anthropology, Cosmology, the Fall and its consequences, Christology, Incarnation, sacraments and spiritual life. In agreement with Stewart and Plested, in this thesis it will be maintained that Ps. Macarius is to be considered orthodox in his theology.

Ps. Macarius' Holistic Spirituality

Irénée Hausherr, whose works were mentioned above in the discussion of Ps. Macarius' and Messalianism, has suggested that the spirituality of the Ps. Macarian *Homilies* should be categorized as 'affective,' as opposed to the radically different spirituality of the Evagrian type, which he labeled as 'intellectual'.²³¹ Since his categorization, it has almost become the norm to speak about the 'mystical' or 'affective' spirituality of the 'heart' while juxtaposing it to the

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

²³¹ "According to Hausherr, Eastern Christian spirituality can be classified into six spiritual "currents" or "schools." The most "basic" or "primitive" is the spirituality of the New Testament and the Early Church, which was focused more on pragmatic spirituality and charity. The second is the so-called "intellectual school" of the Alexandrians and the inevitable Evagrius Ponticus, who according to Hausherr, is essentially Platonistic and thus focused on contemplation. The writings of Dyonisius Areopagita are briefly classified by Hausherr as mystical works in a category of their own. The fourth "current" is the affective and mystical "school" of the Messalians and Ps. Macarius, which is focused on the enthusiastic mystical and sensible perception of God's light and his presence in man. Hausherr does not differentiate between Messalianism and Macarian *Homilies*. The so-called "school of obedience," particularly as represented by Basil the Great, focuses more on obedience and morality, while the sixth "current" is associated with Gregory Palamas and the later Hesychast spirituality. In Hausherr's opinion, the sixth "school" is an actual combination of the Platonistic "intellectual" and the Messalian "affective" currents, whose "unfortunate" synthesis is largely responsible for the anti-intellectualism and para-mysticism that are still predominant features in the contemporary Orthodox Church." Dean Gjorcheski, *Dwelling Place of Soul and Mind: The Role of the Heart in the Macarian Homilies*, (Unpublished Master Thesis at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, Crestwood, New York, 2010), 14.

‘intellectual’ spirituality of the ‘mind.’²³² Sr. Juana Raasch seems to have adopted Hausherr’s arguments and continued to criticize the spirituality of the *Homilies* for placing excessive stress on the heart, experience and feelings. In Raasch’s judgement, Ps. Macarius’ spirituality is overly sensational, enthusiastic and individualistic, drawing connecting lines between the spirituality of the *Homilies* and the Messalian movement and even with the modern-day Pentecostal and Charismatic movements.²³³ Although dated, these theories continue to be influential especially in theological circles which operate within the ‘dualistic’ framework of sharp divergence between Christianity and Platonism. Such an approach of strict division between the affective and intellectual in the *Homilies*, however, fails to respect sufficiently Ps. Macarius’ theological anthropology. This approach is rather misleading, especially in the light of the effort of exploring the relationship between the soul and the body. Ps. Macarius’ approach is much more holistic and his theological conceptions much more complex.

More recently, scholars like the abovementioned Columba Stewart, Alexander Golitzin and Marcus Plested, have criticized the shortcomings of such a position. Columba Stewart, as shown above, alerted the scholarly assessment of Ps. Macarius’ Syriac heritage. Further on, Archbishop Golitzin suggested that advocating for such a rigid division between the intellectual (mind) and affective (heart) spirituality, or even Platonic versus Biblical, is not only a simplified interpretation of spirituality but it is also anachronistic. Golitzin states,

The contradiction on ‘mind’ and ‘heart’ reflects the Medieval Western opposition between ‘intellective and affective’ mysticism a little too much for my comfort. Evagrius is not an Eckhardt, nor is Ps. Macarius a Bernard of Clairvaux...Then,

²³² See Vladimir Lossky, *The vision of God*, (London: 1963), 114; See John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, (London: 1964): 137-8; See J. A. McGuckin, *The Prayer of the Heart in Patristic & Early Byzantine Tradition*. December 13, 2009.

²³³ Juana Raasch, “The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and Its Sources,” *Studia Monastica* 8:1 (1966): 7–33; 8:2 (1966) 183–213; 10:1 (1968): 7–55; 11:2 (1969): 269–314; and 12:1 (1970): 7–41.

too, the contrast implicit in this distinction between a ‘biblical’ and ‘Platonizing’ Christianity strikes me as very questionable. Plato and company were quite as much involved in first century Palestine as they were anywhere else in the Greco-Roman world, and the ‘Greeks’ thus had a say in the formation of both Christianity and rabbinic Judaism. I do not, in short, believe that Evagrius’ nous and Ps. Macarius’ *kardia* are all that different from each other.²³⁴

Marcus Plested has also argued against such a sharply polarized approach between the ‘heart’ and the ‘mind’. In his view, this already dated approach does not marry the detailed analysis of the Ps. Macarian corpus. Plested’s claim is that Ps. Macarius is not an odd mystic or an isolated example among the church fathers, but rather, a well-versed theologian with a creative approach. In a passage that has already been quoted in the context of Ps. Macarius’ exegesis, Plested states,

Much of his thought-world is fundamentally Hellenic in inspiration. He works within the type-antitype, noetic-sensible framework, more typical of the Hellenic than the pre-fifth-century Syriac tradition. His pattern of exegesis and Christology is that of the Alexandrine tradition. His understanding of the place of light in the spiritual life is, that of Evagrius, strongly marked by Origen. His anthropology is centred upon the heart, a Semitic insight, yet he also gives full reign to the *nous*, the ‘spiritual intellect’ and noetic contemplation.²³⁵

In accordance with Stewart’s, Golitzin’s and Plested’s assertions, in this dissertation it is maintained that Ps. Macarius’ spirituality and his entire approach to theology is inclusive and holistic. Properly used, the above-mentioned traditional labeling could safely represent that Ps. Macarius is both, an affective theologian of the heart and an intellectual theologian of the mind. By forging his own version of theological anthropology, a complex mixture of thoughts that seems congruent in both the world of highly developed Hellenic or Stoic rhetoric and philosophy, and the world of the traditional Semitic or Syriac theological rendering. Ps. Macarius fuses the bodily and spiritual part of human existence into an organic and synergetic relationship. His holistic and

²³⁴ Alexander Golitzin, “Hierarchy Versus Anarchy? Dionysius Areopagita, Symeon the New Theologian, Nicetas Stethatos, and Their Common Roots.” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly*, 38 (1994): 152–153.

²³⁵ Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 2.

creative approach is evident both in the correlation between the body and the soul, but also within the sub-concepts of the καρδία and the ἡγεμονικόν respectively, as will be seen shortly.

Legacy

Ps. Macarius is one of the most influential and enigmatic authors in Christian Spirituality. His Spiritual *Homilies* have had tremendous influence on key figures in the Christian tradition, including his near contemporaries Diadochus of Photice and Mark the Monk,²³⁶ also, later mystical writers such as Symeon the New Theologian²³⁷ and Gregory Palamas,²³⁸ and Orthodox spirituality in general. This influence extends to Western Protestant authors such as Wesley (and through him to the later Pentecostal/Charismatic movements).²³⁹ The *Homilies* have been widely read throughout the centuries and have always enjoyed a special status in monastic circles; they were especially appreciated on Mount Athos, where they are still used as recommended spiritual reading for novices preparing for tonsure.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ See chapters 5 and 6 of Marcus Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: The Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition* (Oxford: University Press, 2004); see chapter 4 of Columba Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart: The Messalian Controversy in History, Text, and Language to AD 431* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); see: Introduction to Edouard des Places, *Diadoque de Photice, "Oeuvres Spirituelles"* SC. No. 206 (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1955), and introduction to Georges de Durand, *Marc le Moine: Traités I, Introduction, Texte critique, Traduction, Notes et index*, SC. No. 445 (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1999).

²³⁷ See Hilarion Alfeyev, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²³⁸ See John Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*. (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1998).

²³⁹ "John Wesley, for example, was an enthusiastic reader of the *Homilies*, characteristically observing in his diary for 30 July 1736, 'I read Macarius and sang.'" Quoted in Kallistos Ware, "Personal Experience of the Holy Spirit According to the Greek Fathers," paper presented at the European Pentecostal/Charismatic Research Conference, Prague, 10–14 September 1997.

²⁴⁰ Athanasios Hatzopoulos, *Two Outstanding Cases in Byzantine Spirituality: The Macarian Homilies and Symeon the New Theologian* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1991), 25.

What follows, then, is a study of Ps. Macarius' interiorizing theology, including his interiorized exegetical approach, the span and intensity by which he applies the interiorizing vocabulary, and his particular usage of the three key interiorizing concepts discussed in Part One — the presence of God, the heart, and the inner human being. By examining his creative appropriation of the above-mentioned concepts and especially his insistence on the interiorization of every aspect of one's religious experience, Ps. Macarius will be portrayed as a sort of a summit and a model representative of the third phase of the development of the discourse of interiority. He will be portrayed as one of the most prolific and anthropologically balanced contributors to the discourse of interiorization with a distinctive style of interiorized exegesis and some original creative aspects regarding the language of interiority, including the necessity of experiencing the transformative presence of God located in the depths of the human heart.

II.2. INTERIORIZED EXEGESIS, SPAN, AND INTENSITY

This chapter investigates Ps. Macarius' approach to interpreting the Scriptures, and the range and intensity of application of his interiorizing vocabulary. Ps. Macarius' individual style of exegesis, and his understanding of the nature of fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies, we maintain, form the core of his interiorizing theology. Our claim is that the frequency, the scope, and passion with which Ps. Macarius employs this interiorizing vocabulary earn him a distinguished place in the discourse of interiority. Pursuant to these aims, following a brief overview on the importance of the Scriptures for the monastic communities and the ongoing debate of the allegory versus typology, this chapter will focus on defining Ps. Macarius' style of exegesis. Ps. Macarius' approach to scriptural interpretation will be identified and classified as *interiorized exegesis*. Further on, by organizing his interiorizing vocabulary into several groups, it will be argued, that the frequency of usage of this very vocabulary is crucial to understanding the nature of his overwhelmingly interiorized theology.

II.2.1. Importance of the Scriptures for the Monastic Communities

The interpretation of the Holy Scripture occupies a special place in the writings of Ps. Macarius. Although he uses secondary literature, his main and prodigious authority remains the Holy Scripture.²⁴¹ There are countless references to both the Old and the New Testament Scriptures in the Ps. Macarian Corpus. Each spiritual truth he seeks to convey, is underlined, and supported with a passage from the Bible. For Ps. Macarius, the Scriptures are holy (ἁγία), divine (θεία), and

²⁴¹ See A. Г. Дунаев, иеромонах Винсен Дэпрэ, *ПРП. МАКАРИЙ ЕГИПЕТСКИЙ (СИМЕОН МЕСОПОТАМСКИЙ): Духовные слова и послания СОБРАНИЕ I* (Издание пустыни Новая Фиваида Афонского Русского Пантелеимонова монастыря, Москва 2015), 64.

divinely inspired (θεόπνευστοι).²⁴² Being a monk himself, and most probably a monastery abbot, Ps. Macarius is aligned with the monastic approach of his time to the sacred scriptures. In many ways early monastic culture was a culture immersed in and shaped by Scripture. In the monastic communities “[t]he texts were read, heard, scrutinized, and ruminated upon by the monks chiefly for one purpose: to better understand how to pursue salvation and holiness.”²⁴³ This was a hermeneutics rooted in the quest for a meaningful application of the Gospel truths and their rendition into everyday life.²⁴⁴ This applies equally to Ps. Macarius. His manner of reading the Scripture was largely dictated by his overarching tendency to interiorize, spiritually reinterpret, and practically apply the Scriptures to the daily routine of living. With this application objective, and adhering to the monastic style of interpretation, Ps Macarius fully engaged in various exegetical methodologies including the literal, the typological and the allegorical, as classified by Burton-Christie.²⁴⁵ These definitions, however, are not all that straightforward. The debate about the appropriateness of the terms typology and allegory is probably one of the most heated in modern theology.²⁴⁶ Since Ps. Macarius uses both terms simultaneously, to avoid further confusion

²⁴² There are numerous references to the scriptures throughout the entire Ps. Macarian corpus. See for example Homily I.1; On the notion of the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures Ps. Macarius is in line with the Apostle Paul (and entire Christian tradition). See for example 2 Tim. 3:16. “All scripture is inspired by God (θεόπνευστος) and is useful for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness.”

²⁴³ Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 166.

²⁴⁴ For the importance and interpretation of Scriptures in the early monastic desert communities, see Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

²⁴⁵ Burton-Christie suggests categorizing the various styles of interpretation into three, namely exemplary, allegorical, and ethical. “Exemplary interpretation refers to the monks’ use of biblical exemplars as models for their own lives. Allegorical interpretation refers to the use of Scripture to point toward a ‘spiritual’ reality, whether the celestial world or the inner world of the soul. Ethical interpretation refers to the use of Scripture as an ethical, moral model, providing a guideline for action which was to be followed as closely as possible in practical, concrete terms.” Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 166.

²⁴⁶ See John J. O’Keefe and R. R. Reno, *Sanctified Vision: An Introduction to Early Christian Interpretation of the Bible*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 69-113.

in terminology, in the following few pages, the ongoing debate regarding the allegory and typology distinction should be clarified before returning to Ps. Macarius' distinct usage of these terms.

II.2.2. Allegory, Typology and Spiritual reading of the Scripture

The modern debate of *typology* versus *allegory* was initiated about 70 years ago with the lively exchange between the French catholic theologians Jean Daniélou²⁴⁷ and Henri de Lubac.²⁴⁸ The former maintained that, although both terms are forms of the so-called nonlinear scriptural interpretation, *typology* is based on historical events and native to Christian thought, whereas *allegory* is rooted in the Hellenistic philosophical system and thus, non-scriptural and unreliable as an exegetical tool. De Lubac, criticized Daniélou's theory and maintained that these two terms have been deployed as opposites only in recent years, whereas in the writings of the Fathers there was no such precise distinction between the two designations. Although it has been over seven decades since this topic was introduced, it seems the discussion is far from being resolved. Since then, authors like Hanson,²⁴⁹ Young²⁵⁰ and Louth,²⁵¹ have sided either with Daniélou or de Lubac, or have proposed a variation of the two approaches. In his detailed study on the history of the

²⁴⁷ Jean Daniélou, *Origen*, transl. Walter Mitchell (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1955), 139-199.

²⁴⁸ H. de Lubac, "'Typologie' et 'Allégorisme,'" in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 34 (1947): 180-226; See also "'Sens spirituel,'" *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 36 (1949): 542-76.

²⁴⁹ Building on Daniélou's theory, Hanson continued to maintain that *typology* was an acceptable exegetical tool, while *allegory* was not.

²⁵⁰ F. Young was hesitant to draw a definite line between the two, but she maintains that the term *typology*, although only recently coined for this purpose, is still "a useful term." F. M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis, and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 161, 191, 193, 198, 263-64.

²⁵¹ "What Daniélou calls 'typology' they [the fathers] call 'allegory' (this is particularly true of the Latin tradition), and we are all set to misunderstand them if we restrict the reference of the term 'allegory' to something opposed to typology." Andrew Louth, "Return to Allegory", 117.

problem, with focus on the writings of Origen, Peter Martens²⁵² defines three main inclinations. Firstly scholars who accept and build on Daniélou's theory,²⁵³ secondly, those who deny such an acute distinction, because, this second group maintains, *typology* as a term is of a recent construct and furthermore, does not belong to the era of the Fathers.²⁵⁴ Thirdly, scholars, who recognize the problem, but, cognizant of the benefits of such a distinction, take the middle ground.²⁵⁵ In conclusion Peter Martens contends that the modern, and mostly linguistically driven distinction often contradicts Origen's own definitions. The modern use of the terms, according to Martens, "failed to do justice to Origen's own definitions of *allegoria* and the *typos* family. While the scholarship takes over English terms that are derived from, echo, and often translate Origen's exegetical vocabulary, it also defines these terms in non-Origenian ways."²⁵⁶

²⁵² Peter W. Martens, "Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction: The Case of Origen," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, Volume 16, Number 3, Fall 2008, pp. 283-317.

²⁵³ M. Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. J. A. Hughes (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 69; F. M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 152–57, 161, 186; J. J. O'Keefe and R. R. Reno, *Sanctified Vision: An Introduction to Early Christian Interpretation of the Bible* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); M. Simonetti, "Allegory-Typology," in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, ed. A. Di Berardino, trans. A. Walford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); J. E. Alsup, "Typology," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman, et al., vol. 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1992); W. A. Bienert, "Allegorie/Allegorese: IV: Kirchen- geschichtlich," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. H. D. Betz, et al., 4th ed., vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); S. G. Hall, "Typologie," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 34 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2002); "Allegory" and "Typology" in D. E. Aune, *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003).

²⁵⁴ J. Trigg, "Allegory," in *EEC*, ed. E. Ferguson, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Garland, 1997) *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, ed. A. Hastings, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), entries for both "allegory" (G. Ward) and "typology" (A. Louth); E. A. Clark's *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 73–78

²⁵⁵ C. Kannengiesser, in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 226, 238–42, 251–55. K. Pollmann, "Typologie," in *DNP: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. H. Cancik, et al., vol. 12/1 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler: 2001); R. Suntrup, *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike: Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. H. Cancik, et al., vol. 15/3 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler: 2003).

²⁵⁶ Peter W. Martens, "Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction: The Case of Origen," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, Volume 16, Number 3, Fall 2008, pp. 283-317 (p.315).

What Martens claims about Origen, is also true for most of the early Church Fathers. The early Christian distinction was between *historia* and *theoria*, rather than between *typology* and *allegory*. Gregory of Nyssa, for example, in *The Life of Moses* narrates the story of Moses firstly in a literal or historical way, and then proceeds to offer a second, spiritual, or theoretical interpretation.²⁵⁷ Although, there are subtle differences especially in the different ways *allegoria* and *typos* can be used,²⁵⁸ the early Church Fathers employed the two terms interchangeably.²⁵⁹ That is precisely the case with the Ps. Macarian works. In his corpus, he seems to be using both the term *allegory* (ἀλληγορία)²⁶⁰ and the term *typos* (τύπος)²⁶¹ (and its derivatives) as synonyms, with the goal of revealing a hidden mystery beyond the obvious meaning of the words. In his first homily of the second collection, in a clearly *allegorical* text reinterpreting Ezekiel's vision of the chariot throne, Macarius uses the term *typos*. He says, “[t]he four animals that bore the chariot were a type (τύπος) of the leading characteristics of the soul.”²⁶² Moreover, in his *Great Letter*, Ps. Macarius uses both

²⁵⁷ “Those things which we have learned from the literal history of the man we have retraced in summary for you, although we have of necessity so amplified the account as to bring out its intention. Now we must adapt the life which we have called to mind to the aim we have proposed for our study so that we might gain some benefit for the virtuous life from the things mentioned. Let us now begin the account of his life.” Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, I.77. Translation, Introduction and notes by Abraham J. Malherbe and Everett Ferguson, (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 50-51.

²⁵⁸ 1) to help someone come to an ethical/moral change by drawing the connections between the story and his personal life, 2) to offer an interpretation to a text whose meaning is not plainly given, 3) to offer an explanation for the lack of visible/tangible fulfillment of the OT prophesies (*typos*). 4) as symbols.

²⁵⁹ “Allegory, in some sense, belongs not to medieval man but to man, or even to mind, in general. It is of the very nature of thought and language to represent what is immaterial in picturable terms.” (C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p.45 “Allegory has to do with words and things and events meaning ‘much more than that.’ Without being attentive to allegory, it is not possible to read the Bible.” “In its simplest form allegory is a device by which something – a person, a thing, an event, an animal – is made to refer to something in the moral or spiritual realm.” In Robert Louis Wilken, “In Defense of Allegory,” in *Modern Theology* 14:2 (April 1998): 197-212.

²⁶⁰ See *Homily*, I.1.13.14; I.2.11.2.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, II.1.3.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, II.1.3 (emphasis mine)

terms in the same sentence.²⁶³ Like most of his near contemporaries, he is not interested in differentiating between *allegory* and *typology*, therefore, this study will avoid labeling him ‘allegorist’ or ‘typologist.’ It seems that Ps. Macarius own preferred way of reading and interpreting the scriptures is spiritual²⁶⁴ and mystical.²⁶⁵ Therefore, to avoid further confusion, in respect of Ps. Macarius approach to interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, the term *spiritual* interpretation will be used, or more precisely, as will be elaborated in the subsequent pages, *interiorized* interpretation.

II.2.3. Ps. Macarius’ Interiorized Exegesis

Markus Plested in his book *The Macarian Legacy*, has placed Ps. Macarius’ pattern of exegesis (and Christology) within the Alexandrine tradition which, in turn, was highly influenced by Origen’s spiritual readings of the Scriptures.²⁶⁶ Plested, however, did not elaborate on his claim and the issue has remained understudied in modern scholarship. Building on Plested’s insight, in this subchapter we will determine the reasons, and methods behind Ps. Macarius’ exegetical premises. Here, it is argued that his style was shaped by the way he believed the Old and the New Testaments have found their fulfillment. The Old Testament, according to Ps. Macarius, has been fulfilled in Christ, however, not in a visible, but in an invisible, or internal, way. He claims that

²⁶³ (Epistola Magna, Jaeger Werner, p. 299, v.10-15) τὸ δὲ ἀποστῆναι οὐχὶ τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐγνώρισεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπιστῆσαι ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτοῦ ἀπέδειξεν, ὅθεν ἀλληγορῶν εἰς τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀλήθειαν τὰ τυπικὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὑποδεικνύς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπειθειαν πρὸς <τὴν> ἡμετέραν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Τινὲς γὰρ ἀκούσαντες παρεπίκραναν, ἀλλ’ οὐ πάντες οἱ ἐξεληθόντες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μωυσέως.

²⁶⁴ *Homily*, I.25.5; I.2.11.2.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I.61.2.1; I.28.1.1; I.10.2.1; I.2.2.2.

²⁶⁶ “He works within the type-antitype, noetic sensible framework, more typical of the Hellenic than the pre-fifth-century Syriac tradition. His pattern of exegesis and Christology is that of the Alexandrine tradition. His understanding of the place of light in the spiritual life is, like that of Evagrius, strongly marked by Origen. His anthropology is centered upon the heart, a Semitic insight, yet he also gives full reign to the νοῦς, the ‘spiritual intellect’, and to noetic contemplation.” Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 30-31.

almost everything that was said about Christ was not fulfilled in a visible or literal way. For Ps. Macarius, the symbolism was in Moses (OT), the personified fulfillment in Christ and the Church, but the true, ultimate, and transformational application happens only in the depths of the human heart through the continuous presence of God's glory. In other words, the New Testament and the Church represent personalized fulfillment of the OT Scriptures, while the individual engagement with the glory of God in the inner human being, represents the true and authentic interiorized practical application of that fulfillment. For Ps. Macarius, it was not only the Old Testament prophecies that were a type and a shadow (τύπος καὶ σκιά) of the real fulfillment in Christ, but the New Testament and the Church as well, in a sense, are a shadow of the true and spiritual (πνευματικῶς καὶ ἐξ ἀληθείας) fulfillment which occurs in the depths of the inner human being. Ps. Macarius' exegesis is in line with the patristic notion that the coming of Jesus Christ was the decisive event in history that effected changes in the approach to interpreting the Old Testament events and prophecies. In this notion, the Old Testament must be interpreted in the light of the incarnation of Jesus Christ as one person who is both fully human and fully divine.²⁶⁷ Irenaeus, for example, taught that the incarnation of Jesus Christ was *the* instrument of God's economy of recapitulation for the salvation of mankind and it is through that prism the OT Scriptures must be understood.²⁶⁸ In that respect, Ps. Macarius too, accepted the postulate that the coming of Jesus Christ was *the* Agent intended to reveal the "mystery hidden for generations."²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ For interpretation of the Old Testament in light of the Cross of Christ, see John Behr, *The Mystery of Christ: Life in Death* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006), especially chapters 1 and 2.

²⁶⁸ "There is thus only one God, the Father, as we have shown, and one Jesus Christ our Lord, who came according to the economy and who recapitulated all things in himself." Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*, 3.16.6.

²⁶⁹ *Homilies*, II.1.2 echoing Col. 1:26.

Ps. Macarius' interiorized exegesis operates within the visible-invisible framework, a shadow, a type or an icon as opposed to the visible fulfillment "in truth and spirit" (πνευματικῶς καὶ ἐξ ἀληθείας),²⁷⁰ which is typical of the Alexandrian allegorical pattern of exegesis, as mentioned above. For him, "everything visible is a shadow of the invisible."²⁷¹ And, "the visible world is a type and icon and pattern of the invisible and eternal divine world."²⁷² On the one side, for Ps. Macarius, the root of the visible is to be found in the invisible and divine realm,²⁷³ and on the other side, the visible, especially the Old Testament prophecies, indicate a deeper and hidden reality; there is much more to the words of the Scriptures than the mere, obvious meaning. Commenting on Ezekiel's vision of the Chariot Throne, he says that the prophesy as much as it was received in mystery and trance, was still "only signifying and foreshadowing something no less hidden, something divine and mysterious... For the prophet was viewing the mystery of the human soul that would receive the Lord and would become his throne of glory."²⁷⁴ As previously seen in Gregory of Nyssa, the Scriptures according to Ps. Macarius, should be understood and interpreted in two ways, namely, in a literal and in a spiritual way.²⁷⁵ The true meaning and the ultimate application of the Scriptures in our lives, is to be found in a deeper, mystical, and spiritual way that surpasses human understanding. "After all," says Ps. Macarius, "Scripture must be understood as mysteriously and deeply as possible."²⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that for Ps. Macarius, such a spiritual and interiorized interpretation is impossible without the aid of the Heavenly Spirit. It is

²⁷⁰ Ibid., I.24.8.

²⁷¹ Ibid., I.23.1.3 "σκιὰ γὰρ τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν ἀοράτων".

²⁷² Ibid., I.28.1.7 "ὁ κόσμος γὰρ ὁ φαινόμενος τύπος καὶ εἰκὼν καὶ ὑπόδειγμά ἐστι τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ αἰωνίου τῆς θεότητος κόσμου".

²⁷³ Ibid., I.41.3 "καὶ ἡ ρίζα παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ τὸ νοερὸν τυγχάνει".

²⁷⁴ Ibid., II.1.1-2.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., I.2.6.1 "Κατὰ δύο τρόπους νοεῖται τὸ νόημα τῆς γραφῆς." See also Ibid., I.2.11.2 "καὶ ἐπάγει ὁ ἀπόστολος πνευματικῶς ἀλληγορῶν τὴν γραφήν".

²⁷⁶ Ibid., I.2.2.2. "ὥς δὲ μυστικώτερον ἀκούειν χρὴ τῶν γραφῶν καὶ βαθύτερον."

not enough to merely possess philosophical wisdom. Only those who have merged their souls with the Holy Spirit can correctly interpret the Scripture in a deep and mysterious way.²⁷⁷ The indwelling presence of the Heavenly Spirit, according to Ps. Macarius, is crucial not only for a proper interpretation of the Scriptures, but also for a practical application of their spiritual truths in the lives of the believers.²⁷⁸

II.2.3.1. The Visible (un)Fulfillment of the Old Testament Prophecies

One of the biggest challenges for Ps. Macarius as he interprets the Scriptures is the unfulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies in a historical and visible sense of the word. His interiorized approach to exegesis, in part, seems to be a result of a genuine struggle to justify the Old Testament prophecies and promises with their (un)fulfillment in the New Testament. Ps. Macarius' biggest concern seems to be the way by which the Old Testament Scriptures were to be fulfilled. He observes that most of the prophecies, especially those concerning the promise of the Messiah, in the visible, have not come to pass. In that respect, Ps. Macarius' interiorizing effort is nothing short of the struggle of the Old Testament authors to interiorize God's glorious presence during exile and identity crisis, which was examined in detail in Part One. It has already been demonstrated how the ultimate vision of God's presence in the Temple was later replaced and reinterpreted in a spiritual and interiorized way, namely in the person of Jesus Christ (and the Torah). Continuing with the same struggle of visible unfulfillment versus fulfillment in the invisible, Ps. Macarius further advances his interiorizing exegesis. One of the most impressive texts where Ps. Macarius

²⁷⁷ Ibid., I.4.13.1. “Καὶ ὡσπερ ἵνα {ἐάν} ἡ παιδίον ἐκ μήτρας γεννώμενον ἐπίμωμον ἢ χωλὸν ἢ τυφλὸν ἀπὸ γενετῆς, ὡς τέρας καὶ σημεῖον ἐστὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, οὕτως εἰσὶν οἱ σοφοὶ οἱ θέλοντες ἐρμηνευταὶ εἶναι τῶν γραφῶν μὴ ἔχοντες τὸ οὐράνιον πνεῦμα· μηκέτι γὰρ κερασθέντες ἐν τῇ θεότητι ἐπίμωμοὶ εἰσι, μὴ ἔχοντες ὑγιῆ <τὰ> μέλη, ἀλλ’ ἐπιλήψιμον λόγον καὶ σαθρὸν παραδιδόντες.”

²⁷⁸ See Ibid., II. 50.3-4.

openly lays out the reasons behind his interiorized exegesis is his *Homily 24* of the first collection, which has not been translated into English yet. This text is crucial for our understanding of Ps. Macarius' highly interiorizing interpretation such that it requires a detailed textual analysis here. The text deserves to be quoted in full before we can analyze it.

1. On how all Scripture should be understood spiritually for the benefit of our souls, for which everything was written, and on how we should not think anything carnal or Jewish.
2. The apostle says: "All these things happened to them to serve as an example (τυπικῶς), and they were written down to instruct us, on whom the ends of the ages have come." [1 Cor. 10:11] If it was written for us, we ought to understand everything spiritually and nothing according to the Jewish way of thinking or according to the flesh, because the apostle says: "The law
3. is spiritual." [Rom. 7:14] If it was written about various wars, then mysteriously, it was written about the present invisible wars of the spirits of evil that are happening against our souls; or some historical narratives were told that are now mysteries in the soul, or many other words uttered in the Scriptures by the Holy Spirit (like about cities or
4. other events). All these were written about the mysteries that are presently taking place in the soul. At that time, it happened in the visible and in truth, but the Holy Spirit, taking clues from what was happening then in the visible, spoke about the things that are now taking place in the soul.
5. Therefore, everything that has been written, as it was already said, has been written spiritually for our benefit. Just as God, speaking in advance of Christ, promised to appoint Him as King of Israel and give Him "the throne of his father David" and to rebuild Jerusalem unto the ages of ages, "and His Kingdom", He says, shall have no "end", and He will reign from the end to the end [of the earth]. Simply said, God has promised to raise Him up as a Deliverer, King, and a Sovereign Ruler of the Jewish people. However, we now understand that in the visible
6. none of this has happened. For, neither has Christ visibly reigned in Jerusalem, nor has He rebuilt it [the city]. On the contrary, the proclaimed King was punished with the cross. The Scripture says, "His kingdom shall have no end", but He did not rule in the visible, neither did He redeem Israel, nor has He sat on the throne of David, but on the contrary, as it was said before, this expected King was spat upon, dishonored, bitten, and crucified.

7. What shall we say then? Is the prophesy ineffective and the word of God false? Look, in the visible, none of this has happened, but God has spoken spiritually and mystically through the saints.

8. Spiritually and in truth [everything] has happened and is happening. For the Redeemer, the Lord, the true King of Israel, has come, that is, the King of the soul that has fallen under the enemies and the terrible rulers of evil, and under the kingdom and the power of the darkness of sin because of the original transgression of humanity. Christ has come to redeem her [the soul], the King came announcing the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the fallen Tabernacle of David, that is, the very soul that fell

9. into the evil of passions. He came to gather all Israel, that is, all the thoughts of the pure nature of the soul scattered by the evil in this age, that is, to gather the saints of the heavenly Jerusalem. He came and sat on His throne, the human being, and He reigns over Jerusalem, the soul, into the ages of ages, “and His

10. kingdom shall have no end.” For every soul that He has redeemed from the power of darkness and transferred it into His kingdom, and sat in it (ἐκαθέσθη), and reigned over the true Jerusalem, the soul itself, and the true Israel, the human being itself, and which soul He has freed from sin unto the ages of ages, in that soul He reigns and dwells “and His kingdom shall have no end.”

11. The prophets were speaking about these mysteries, and they have prophesized about this redemption, and about this Kingdom, this Jerusalem, and this Throne, as we have proven from the very events, all the writings of the holy prophets were truly fulfilled. For Christ the King who truly came and redeemed Jerusalem, that is, the soul, from its enemies and from those that enslaved and oppressed it, and from those that tortured it in the evil of darkness, “has brought down the mighty from their thrones and exalted” the humble soul, and Christ reigned in it, and He has made it an everlasting throne for Himself, “and His kingdom shall have no end.” For He has redeemed the Israelite, whom He had made according to His own image. And so, the word of God was truly fulfilled.

12. But if in the visible, as we now understand, none of this has happened, and it is all secretly and truly taking place in the soul, where is the true word of God, and where were the words of the Spirit fulfilled? Is every promise (προαγγελθέντα) in vain, and are the prophets all liars? Be it not! Where then did Christ reign since He did not reign in the visible? It is clear that He made the pure soul a throne for Himself. And where did He gather and redeem Israel? It is clear that He delivered man from his terrible enemies and gathered the scattered.

13. Let us therefore implore God, our Lord Jesus Christ, the true King, that He also deliver us from our enemies and to reign in us, and rescue us from the kingdom of sin, to sit on the throne of our soul unto the ages of ages, to rebuild and recover, to renew our thoughts making us the a new and heavenly Jerusalem begetting us of

His Spirit, so that He can enter and dwell in us forever according to His promises. Because to all who truly believe and hope in Him, to those who ask from Him and wait on Him, He gives this deliverance now, and truly reigns in full sensation and active assurance unto the ages of ages.

14. Thus, having received from Christ Who presently reigns in us the pledge and the foretaste of the Kingdom, the illumination of Christ taking place in our soul, in the resurrection our bodies will rise with our soul which has now arisen from the deadness of the sinful passions. Our bodies will then be glorified together with the soul which has from now received the illumination of the true and indescribable light of Christ, and in that way, we will reign together with Him with unspeakable rest in the eternal repose.

15. Glory to His compassion and His infinite mercy, for He so loved the human race that He deemed us worthy of His Kingdom unto the ages of ages. Amen.²⁷⁹

As the title makes clear, Ps. Macarius wants the reader to know that this is a homily on a spiritual reading of the Scriptures and identifies the ultimate beneficiary as the human soul. He quotes the Apostle Paul who, in 1 Cor. 10:11, already spiritualizes the Exodus story. In this text, the apostle draws a spiritual link between Moses and the ancestors on the one hand, and the believers in the Christian community, on the other. He says, “they all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank from the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ.”²⁸⁰ Predominantly, chapter 10 of 1 Corinthians is an exhortation to a moral and ethical conduct worthy of the new calling in Jesus Christ. It is a sort of a warning, or an example (and here Paul uses the word type – τύπος) for the believers not to repeat the same failures of their ancestors who failed to enter the promised land. Ps. Macarius adopts the apostle’s spiritualization and concludes that since the Old Testament events happened for our benefit, we should adopt a new, spiritual rather than literal or carnal interpretation (or as he says, according to the Jewish way

²⁷⁹ The text is my translation into English of H. Berthold’s edition of Homily 24, in *Makarius/Symeon Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, GCS (Berlin: 1973), 234-237.

²⁸⁰ 1 Cor. 10:3-4.

of thinking). Specifically, when the Old Testament recounts about wars, for people in the present, those historical events should be interpreted allegorically and construed as spiritual principles about how to wage invisible and spiritual war against the evil spirits in our soul. It is critical to note here that Ps. Macarius, while developing Apostle Paul's spiritual reading of the Old Testament events, introduces the interiorized concept of the soul (*psyche*) as the ultimate 'place' of fulfillment. It is not simply that those events happened for our benefit as human beings, in general, rather they are beneficial for our souls. The concept of the soul, as will be seen in the chapter on Anthropology, for Ps. Macarius, is a highly interiorizing concept, which roughly speaking, is used as a synonym for the concept of the inner human being. In Ps. Macarius, the soul becomes a 'place' of a mystical fulfillment of the past events and prophecies. Everything that in the past happened in the visible and in truth, now, through the Holy Spirit, occurs in the realm of the human soul (verse 4).

As argued above, quite possibly the most important factor behind Ps. Macarius interiorized exegesis seems to be his struggle to justify the failure of the historical (literal) fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies regarding the Messiah. In Ps. Macarius' reading of the Scriptures, none of the prophecies about the coming of the Messiah, Jesus Christ had come to pass in the visible. In the visible, empirical world, Jesus Christ was not enthroned, He did not rebuild the city, nor did He rule over Israel unto the ages of ages. On the contrary, He was dishonored, humiliated, beaten and then crucified. In the Homily 24 cited above, Ps. Macarius asks what should be done about those historical facts; should the prophecies and the word of God be judged as false? His response is a strong negative. On the contrary, what the prophets really prophesized was about deep and secret mysteries. The prophecies, according to Ps. Macarius, were mystical right from the very

beginnings. They were intended to be fulfilled in the invisible rather than in the visible realm. Here, the Ps. Macarius' visible versus invisible framework of interpretation is valuable. Although in the visible none of the foretelling was fulfilled, spiritually and in truth, all predicted events have happened and are actively happening. The true enthronement of Jesus Christ is on the throne of one's pure soul. In this interiorized interpretation, the fallen city of Jerusalem and the fallen Tabernacle of David signify the fallen soul, which was set to be rebuilt, while the scattered Israel becomes a symbol of the scattered thoughts of the soul. Christ is the true King, Deliverer, Redeemer, and Restorer of the souls which were enslaved, oppressed, and tortured by evil. Although in the visible realm, none of these promises became a historical reality, in the invisible, spiritual, and secret world, everything that was said about Christ, even to the smallest promise, was to find its fulfillment inside the human heart.

II.2.3.2. The Church as a 'Shadow' of the Soul

The transition from the second to the third phase of the interiorization phenomenon (from personified to spiritualized and interiorized) in Ps. Macarius becomes clear as he moves forward interiorizing not only the Old Testament events and practices, but also the New Testament Church as a whole. In another remarkable homily of Collection I, homily 52, Ps. Macarius offers a fascinating interiorized reinterpretation of the Church and the Divine Liturgy. He says,

The whole visible arrangement of the Church of God came to pass for the sake of the living and intelligible beings of the rational soul that was made according to the image of God, and which is the living and true church of God... For the Church of Christ and Temple of God and true altar and living sacrifice is the man of God, through whom the things sanctified bodily obtained the invocation of the heavenly.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ *Homilies*, I.52.1.1. (Makarios/Symeon 138:1-8). Translation by Archbishop Golitzin in "Hierarchy versus Anarchy", 176-179.

While in the previous homily (I.24) the focus was on the soul as *the* “place” of spiritual fulfillment of the Messiah’s prophecies, in this text we read that the soul is also the true and mystical Church, Temple and altar of God. The human being, with an emphasis on the inner man, now becomes the locus of the sacred, mysterious, and liturgical human-divine encounter. The visible Church, the visible Temple and the visible altar are arranged as a shadow of the true and real one, human soul. Ps. Macarius here sets a linear, chronological development of the true divine revelation. He says “[f]or just as the worship and mode of life of the Law [were] a shadow of the present Church of Christ, just so is the present and visible Church a shadow (σκιά) of the rational true inner man.”²⁸² This, of course, is not to say that Ps. Macarius considers the Church, Liturgy, and the Sacraments as “mere symbol[s] in the sense of a transparency without any substance in itself,” as Archbishop Golitzin has shown us.²⁸³ The same energy of the Holy Spirit that is present in the true, inner Church of God which is the heart of man, operates also in the visible Church, the Liturgy and the Sacraments.²⁸⁴ At present, there seems to be no difference between these two ways of the living activity of the Holy Spirit except the eschatological one, namely, while the inner and true Church will continue to exist, the visible Church, the Liturgy and the Sacraments, in their present form, will eventually come to their end.

The living activity of the Holy Spirit is to be sought from God in living heart, because all visible things and all the [present] arrangements [of the Church] will pass away, but hearts alive in the spirit will abide.²⁸⁵

²⁸² Ibid., I.52.1.2. (Makarios/Symeon 138:9-11).

²⁸³ See Hiermonk Alexander Golitzin, “Hierarchy Versus Anarchy?”, 157-159.

²⁸⁴ “The Savior granted through the Apostles that the Comforter Spirit should be present and take part in all the liturgy of the Holy Church of God.” *Homilies*, I.52.1.4. (Makarios/Symeon 139:7-9).

²⁸⁵ Ibid., I.52.1.6. (Makarios/Symeon 139:27-29).

This passage proves that the accusations of the Messalianism of Ps. Macarius,²⁸⁶ in the sense of disregarding the structure of the Church, the liturgy, the sacraments, and the ascetic practices, are greatly exaggerated and unjustified. He says,

...God gave His Holy Spirit to the holy and catholic Church, and arranged that It [i.e., the Holy Spirit] be present in the holy altar and the water of the holy baptism, and the Savior granted through the Apostles that the Comforter Spirit would be present and take part in all [the] liturgy of the holy Church of God.²⁸⁷

This indicates that his exegesis and theology is largely interiorized, and in that sense rather individualized. He goes on to say,

And because visible things are type and a shadow of hidden ones, and the visible temple [a type] of the temple of the heart, and the priest [a type] of the grace of Christ, and all the rest of the sequence of the visible arrangement [a type] of the rational and hidden matters according to the inner man, we receive the manifest arrangement and administration of the Church as an illustration of [what is] at work in the soul by grace.²⁸⁸

The entire arrangement and administration of the Church as well as the order of the liturgical service is there as an illustration of the mystical work of the indwelling Trinity in the inner man of the heart.²⁸⁹ In this way, the soul is a microcosmos of the Church that is to continue in the eschaton and the visible Church a shadow and an icon of the true church of the heart.

To sum up, Ps. Macarius' understanding of the visible (un)fulfillment of the Old Testament Scriptures the following table will be offered. This schema outlines the three stages in Ps. Macarius understanding of the fulfillment, namely, the Old Testament period where everything was a type, a figure, and a shadow of the things to come. Second is the New Testament and Jesus Christ as the

²⁸⁶ See discussion in the general Introduction and Status Quaestionis section above.

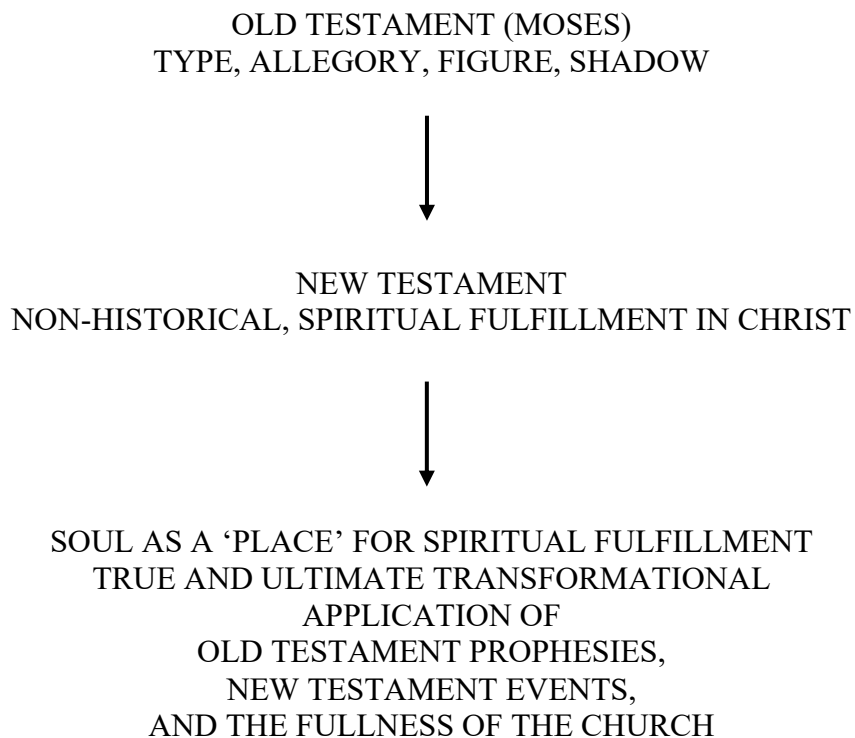
²⁸⁷ *Homilies*, I.52.1.4. (Makarios/Symeon 139:5-8).

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, I.52.2.1. (Makarios/Symeon 140:3-8).

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, I.52.2.2-6. (Makarios/Symeon 140:9-141:20).

Agent of the real fulfilment, which is not in the visible, nor in the Church as a temporary installment and a shadow of the soul. As third and final stage comes the ultimate transformational fulfilment which takes place in the soul of the believer.

As can be seen from the table below, Ps. Macarius' interiorized exegesis roughly corresponds to the three phases of the phenomenon of interiorization which were identified in Part I:



II.2.4. Span and Intensity of Usage

In the previous subchapter, Ps. Macarius' *Interiorized Exegesis*, the focus was on the ultimate fulfillment of the prophecies and the true spiritual application within the human soul. By examining Ps. Macarius' reading of the Scripture it has been determined that his understanding of the (un)fulfillment and the interiorized application of the Scriptures are factors that greatly contributed to his interiorizing theology. In this subchapter the emphasis will be on the frequency of usage of various interiorizing vocabulary and images in Ps. Macarius. This argument builds upon Columba Stewart's findings, who in his book *Working the Earth of the Heart* asserted that Ps. Macarius distinguished place among the Church Fathers regarding the usage of the language of mixing is "not by innovation, but by his extending the application and range of such images." He continues, "As is the case with the language of mixing, his use of dwelling metaphors has a literal quality which sets his work apart from the more cautious approach of his predecessors and contemporaries."²⁹⁰ While Stewart focused his claim on Ps. Macarius' range and usage of the vocabulary of mixing and blending, in this dissertation, as a contribution to the discussion of Ps. Macarius' distinguished place in the Eastern Christian tradition, Stewart's claim will be broadened and applied to Ps. Macarius' complete engagement within the discourse of interiority. Here it is argued that, not only Ps. Macarius' utilization of the notion of mixing and blending, but his entire interiorized vocabulary is marked by the intensity of usage as well as its widened span, and range of application. Ps. Macarius' entire approach to theology and every aspect of his spirituality is, so to speak, shaped by his understanding of the internal fulfillment in the soul, as he asserts that everything is fulfilled and found internally. The range and intensity in which he utilizes interiorizing vocabulary is rather remarkable. There is almost no segment in Ps. Macarius'

²⁹⁰ C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 204.

theology that is not molded by his interiorization. In a rather striking text found in the eighth homily of the Third Collection edited by Vincent Desprez, Ps. Macarius openly applies his interiorizing approach to every aspect of faith in God.

Previously, before the mystery of the Spirit of Christ was revealed, before his coming and appearance, all the adornment of justice was external: the law, the circumcision, the purification, the sacrifices, the offerings as well as all worship. But after the saving word of Christ was revealed, the word that is not written in ink, and after He gave the Holy Spirit to the hearts of men, everything is found inside (πάντα ἔσωθεν εὐρίσκεται), the worship from pure consciousness is interior, the sacrifices are interior (as the psalmist says “the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice”); in a word, the purity and the adornment of the soul are sought within (ἔνδον), and thus the external can be pure in truth, as the Lord says “Blind Pharisee, clean the inside of the cup and the dish, so that the outside may also be pure.” “For the One who made the inside also made the outside.”²⁹¹

In this rich passage, Ps. Macarius directs attention to the mystery of the pouring of the Holy Spirit into the heart of all men as the decisive moment that separates the Old Testament’s visible and external elements of the faith in God, from the New Testament’s spiritualized and interiorizing of the same elements of faith. With the coming of the Holy Spirit, Ps. Macarius’ relates everything is found internally or within (ἔσωθεν, ἔνδον). In the above text, he mentions justice, the Law, the circumcision, purification, the sacrifices, the offerings, and worship, all of which were previously exercised externally, now all is interiorized and spiritually applied in the depths of one’s soul. There are many more examples and aspects throughout the entire Ps. Macarian corpus, and in this subchapter, they will be divided and classified into several groups, which will comprehend Ps. Macarius’ wide range and frequency of interiorization references.

²⁹¹ The text is my translation into English of Vincent Desprez’s edition of Homily 8.1.5, page, 144 (43–58) in *Pseudo-Macarie, Homélie propres à la Collection III*, Oeuvres Spirituelles I, Sources Chrétiennes (LES ÉDITIONS DU CERF, 29, Bd de Latour-Maubourg, Paris, 1980).

II.2.4.1. Inner Covenant, Law, and Sacrifices

According to Ps. Macarius, after the coming of Jesus Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit, the Old Testament Law system and the sacrifices are interiorized. Our author follows the Pauline interiorization of the Law in a new, spiritual Covenant. By alluding to 2 Corinthians 3:3, Ps. Macarius says that the “divine grace writes on the ‘tables of the heart’ the laws of the Spirit and the heavenly mysteries.”²⁹² What was engraved in letters on stone in the Old Testament, now is inscribed internally; not in ink, but through the Spirit, in the depths of the human soul, and heart.

He writes,

To them the Law was given and written on stone tables, but to us, the spiritual laws written ‘upon fleshly tables of the heart’ (2 Cor. 3:3). For it says: ‘I will put my laws in their hearts and upon their minds will I write them’ (Heb 10:16). But all those things were done away with and served for a time. But now all are fulfilled truthfully in the inner man. *For the covenant is within* (ἔσωθεν).²⁹³

The former Law and the sacrifices and the justice were all external, only a “figure and a shadow of the truth.”²⁹⁴ The system by which the priest was expected to sacrifice and spill blood from doves, lambs, or other animals, is now replaced by the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ. He is the High Priest who entered the inner tabernacle and replaced the continual, annual service of the priest. All the sacrifices are fulfilled internally in the ultimate inner sacrifice of Jesus Christ. “For Christ was sacrificed and his blood, sprinkling us, made us grow wings. For he gave to us the wings of the Holy Spirit to fly unencumbered into the air of the Godhead.”²⁹⁵ Note that Christ’s sacrifice did not nullify the Old Testament system of sacrifice. On the contrary, it fulfilled it and internalized it for all believers. Through his sacrifice on the cross, Jesus Christ became our High Priest in front of God. As believers, we still need to come to God and offer a sacrifice. The only

²⁹² *Homilies*, II.15.20. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 116.)

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, II.47.3. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 233.) (*Emphasis mine*)

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, II.47.2. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 233.)

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, II.47.2. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 233); Sf. Leviticus, 14:4-24.

difference is that such sacrifice is now spiritualized and internalized. The sacrifice that we now offer is not a dove or a lamb, but our inner human being, our soul. Ps. Macarius says, “Similarly,” to what was happening during the Old Testament sacrificial system, “also our soul must approach the High Priest Christ to be slain by him and die its thoughts and wicked life which it was living, that is, to die to sin.”²⁹⁶ Under the New Covenant, believers still need to approach God with sacrifices, but instead of external offerings, they now need to offer their impure souls as sacrificial objects to be slain.

II.2.4.2. Inner Operation and Manifestation of the Spirit or the Divine Glory

Ps. Macarius’ theology is governed by the necessity of constant divine presence in the depths of the human soul, and a conscious experience of such presence. In the last chapter of this dissertation, we will discuss the nature of Ps. Macarius’ rendering of the concept of the experienced presence of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. Here, however, we will examine the inner presence of God’s glory and the inner operation of the Spirit with the goal of laying out the span and intensity of Ps. Macarius’ interiorizing language. To take a primary example, we turn to Ps. Macarius’ interiorization of one of the most central and iconic events in the history of the Jews: namely Moses’ encounter with God on Sinai:

The glory of Moses which he received on his countenance was a figure of the true glory. Just as the Jews were unable ‘to look steadfastly upon the face of Moses’ (2 Cr 3:7), so now Christians receive that glory of light in their souls, and the darkness, not bearing the splendor of the light, is blinded and is put to fight.²⁹⁷

Here again, Ps. Macarius operates within the framework of shadow or figure versus true fulfillment. The glory Moses received, Ps. Macarius reassures us, is an image and a symbol of the

²⁹⁶ Ibid., II.1.6. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 40).

²⁹⁷ Ibid., II.47.1. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 232)

true glory that is to be received by the believer in the depths of the soul. The glory of God, which manifests as light, and which was truly fulfilled in Christ the true Light, will now radiate and shine in the hearts of the believer fully and in truth. What was experienced by Moses and witnessed by the Jews externally, now is interiorized and experienced by every believer deemed worthy. Ps. Macarius' interiorization is not limited only to Old Testament events and imagery. Just as seen earlier in the example of picturing the visible Church as a shadow of the true church of the soul, Ps. Macarius interiorizes the event of the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ in front of his disciples. He says,

Just as when the Lord had ascended the mountain, He 'was transfigured' into His divine glory, so are there souls which even in the present time are illumined and glorified with Him, while on the last day their bodies as well will be glorified and flashing with light.²⁹⁸

The transfiguration of Jesus in Ps. Macarius' interiorized theology is a prototype for the inner transfiguration and illumination of the individual souls. The same transformational glory that was present at the time of Transfiguration on the Mount, is also present and operational in the micro transfiguration of the souls and bodies of the believers. Such presence of the Holy Spirit and the glory of God can manifest itself in various ways, including illumination, inner fire and inner light all of which are experienced in the depths of the human heart. Ps. Macarius says, "The heavenly fire of the Godhead which Christians receive interiorly in their hearts now in this life, that same fire which now interiorly directs their hearts, bursts forth upon the dissolution of the body... For that interior fire, inhabiting our hearts, emerges then and brings about the resurrection of the

²⁹⁸ Ibid., I.18.7.3. (Translation Golitzin, *A Testimony to Christian Transfiguration*). See also *Homilies*, I.13.3.1; II.4.13; 8.3; 15.38.

bodies.”²⁹⁹ Further on, the inner experience of God’s presence can also manifest into various inner signs and visions. He says,

To certain person the sign of the cross appeared as light and plunged itself deep into the inner man. At another time, a man, while praying, was thrown into a trance. He found himself standing in church before the altar... To others at times there appeared a splendid robe, such as not found anywhere in the whole world, not made by human hands. Sometimes indeed the very light itself, shining in the heart, opened up interiorly and in a profound way a hidden light, so that the whole person was completely drowned with that sweet contemplation.³⁰⁰

The most important claim in Ps. Macarius’ interiorizing theology is that all these experiences, or rather manifestations, are no longer a type, a shadow or an icon of divine presence. They are not to be understood or as a mere intellectual illumination and insight into the mysteries of God. On the contrary, they are the ultimate and real presence, the true fulfillment of the scriptural promises in the soul. While not denying that spiritual insights could come through external exercises and interpretation of the Scriptures, Ps. Macarius says that there exists “a divine light, shining essentially and substantially [ἐν οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὑποστάσει] in the hearts of the faithful...[the] divine and essential [οὐσιώδεις] light which is that which appears and shines in souls more than the light of the sun.”³⁰¹

II.2.4.3. Inner Struggle, Purity, and Worship

The spiritual struggle, the attaining of purity, and true worship in Ps. Macarius are also internalized. It is only through ascetic struggle that we draw close to God’s presence, and to draw near to God in Ps. Macarius means to descend to the deepest mysteries of the soul and heart, for

²⁹⁹ Ibid., II.11.1 (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 90). On the internal fire, see also *Homilies*, 25.9-10.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., II.8.3. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 81-82). Cf. *Homilies*, II.8.6; Cf. III.22.2; 25.3.

³⁰¹ Ibid., I.17.1.3. (Translation Golitzin, *A Testimony to Christian Transfiguration*).

the soul and heart of man are deemed the dwelling place of God.³⁰² This, of course, does not signify that Ps. Macarius rejects the exterior methods, disciplines and actions involved in the spiritual struggle. In Homily 21 of the second collection, he defines the spiritual struggle as engagement on two different fronts. “One battle takes place in the material affairs of this life by turning completely away from the earthly preoccupations and the attraction of worldly bonds and from sinful passions. The other takes place in the interior against the evil spirits themselves...”³⁰³ The true spiritual struggle to attain inner purity and become a dwelling place of the Lord in Ps. Macarius always involves exterior actions such as fasting, manual labor, almsgiving, exercising all the commandments.³⁰⁴ He says,

The person that wishes to come to the Lord and to be deemed of eternal life and to become dwelling place of Christ and to be filled with the Holy Spirit so that he may be able to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit...he ought to persevere constantly in prayer, always waiting in faith that expects his coming and his help...to push himself to every good work and to doing all the commandments of the Lord... to strive to show humility before every person and to consider himself the least and the worst...not to seek honor or praise or the glory of man...but to please him alone in the meekness of his heart...to be merciful, compassionate, and good according to his power. Above all, let him take the humility and conduct of the Lord, his meekness and conversation as his model by ever remembering him. Let him continue incessantly in prayers, always beseeching and believing that the Lord may come to dwell in him and may perfect and give him power to accomplish all his commands and that the Lord himself may become the dwelling place for his soul.³⁰⁵

Although Ps. Macarius does not discard the external struggles involving various spiritual disciplines, he always underlines that the ultimate spiritual struggle is happening within the depths of the human heart and against the evil powers that have taken control over the throne of our souls. He says, “there are principles, and authorities, and rulers of the world, and evil spirits, against

³⁰² See *Ibid.*, II.1.2; 19.1-2; 32.6.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, II.21.1. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 153).

³⁰⁴ This clearly distances Ps. Macarius from the Messalian movement that was mainly criticized for emphasizing the sole efficacy of prayer while avoiding manual labor. For different lists of Messalian beliefs see Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 244-279.

³⁰⁵ *Homilies*, II.19.1.2. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 146).

whom we must strive and fight. And where are they located, and where are they fighting? Inside, in the soul, in thoughts.”³⁰⁶ The external struggle is important so that one can stay sharp and focus on the other struggle that happens internally. “[I]f a person is held back by the material affairs of this world, meshed by various earthly bounds, and seduced by evil passions, he cannot even recognize that there is another struggle, a battle and a war going inside.”³⁰⁷ The spiritual struggle then, is a struggle that requires great inner attentiveness so that we can fight the inner passions. “For the love of God is not born simply nor automatically in us, but by many labors and great inner attentiveness and with the cooperation of Christ...”³⁰⁸ It is by cooperation with Christ and receiving the presence of God on the throne of our hearts that we attain real purity of heart. Such purity of the heart comes only through serious dedication to the struggles within the depths of the soul. Ps. Macarius says, “[b]e diligently attentive to how the law rightly cries out about the purity of the inner man... For there are certain persons who observe God’s law according to the law of the flesh. They observe only an exterior purity, while those under grace ardently seek to observe them interiorly...”³⁰⁹ Attaining exterior purity is not sufficient. The restoration of the former (Adam’s) purity is necessary for true worship of God,³¹⁰ and since the grace and the presence of God is internal, the worship is also internal, namely, in spirit and truth.³¹¹ “For the ancient worship is a shadow and image of the present worship.”³¹²

³⁰⁶ Ibid., I.50.4.4-6.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., II.21.4. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 154).

³⁰⁸ *Great Letter* in Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 263.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 254-255.

³¹⁰ *Homilies*, II.17.3. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 136). “Because of the fact that man had violated the command, the devil has covered the soul completely with a dark veil. But then grace comes and completely removes the veil so that the soul, now restored to its former proper purity, created pure and without blame, continually and without blemish, looks with its pure eyes on the glory of the true light and the true ‘sun of righteousness’ (Mathew 4:2), shining brilliantly in the depths of the heart.”

³¹¹ See Ibid., II.19.81 33.2.

³¹² Ibid., II.47.16. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 238).

II.2.4.4. Inner Sacraments: Circumcision and Baptism

In Ps. Macarius' interiorizing theology the rituals of Jewish circumcision and Christian baptism are also interiorized. The circumcision in the Old Testament was an act aimed at symbolizing the everlasting covenant between God and his people with a promise of multiplication of the number of the Jewish population and a land for them to inhabit.³¹³ It was one of the most distinctive marks of belonging to God. With the coming of Jesus Christ and his fulfillment of the Law and the circumcision,³¹⁴ and the establishing of the New Covenant, the Apostle Paul explained (to the Galatians) that under the new grace, the external act of circumcision does not have the same value any longer. "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision has any value."³¹⁵ Following the Apostle Paul, Ps. Macarius further interiorizes the act of circumcision. Using his shadow, type, and figure vocabulary, Ps. Macarius says, "Circumcision, in the shadow of the Law, shows the coming of the true circumcision of the heart."³¹⁶ The external act of circumcision is deemed obsolete, but the everlasting covenant continues to be fulfilled by receiving "the sign of circumcision inwardly in [our] heart."³¹⁷ The true circumcision after the coming of Christ is an inner and spiritual circumcision, that is to say, a circumcision of the heart administered by the "heavenly sword."³¹⁸

In Ps. Macarius' theology, circumcision as an Old Testament ritual is not the sole aspect to be interiorized. He goes even further by interiorizing the sacrament of Baptism. His interiorizing of

³¹³ See Genesis 17.

³¹⁴ See Romans 15:8; Luke 2:21.

³¹⁵ Galatians 5:6.

³¹⁶ *Homilies*, II.32.4. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 198).

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II.47.1. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 232). Cf. *Ibid.*, III.28.4.2.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I.10.2.3.

the New Testament Church within the depth of one's heart has already been discussed, as well as how he considered the Church as a shadow of the real internal Church of the heart. In a similar fashion, the mere outward form of the sacrament of Baptism becomes a figure of the true inner baptism. He says,

The Baptism of the Law is a shadow of the true things to come. For that baptism washed the body, but here a baptism of Fire and the Spirit purifies, and washes clean the polluted mind.³¹⁹

The external part of the sacrament of Baptism, says Ps. Macarius, is good for achieving external benefits such as a clean body. However, it is the baptism of Fire which happens interiorly in the depths of the heart, by the presence of the Heavenly Spirit, that makes us worthy to become the dwelling place of the Lord. This, of course, does not mean that Ps. Macarius disregards the validity of baptism. It betokens more his all-round interiorization approach and interiorization exegetical techniques, than his alleged Messalian inclinations. The Messalians taught that the sacrament of baptism was ineffective against the indwelling evil and therefore advocated for the sole efficacy of prayer.³²⁰ Ps. Macarius, by contrast, reaffirms the fullness of the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Holy Catholic Church, including in its sacraments. He says,

So for this reason God gave His Holy Spirit to the holy catholic Church, and arranged that It [i.e., the Holy Spirit] be present in the holy altar and the water of holy baptism, and the Savior granted through the Apostles that the Comforter Spirit would be present and take part in all [the] liturgy of the holy Church of God,... so that, from Baptism and the altar of the Eucharist of bread and from all the mystical worship which is in the Church, faithful hearts might be energized by the Holy Spirit with all power and with the virtues of heavenly fruits...³²¹

³¹⁹ Ibid., II.32.2. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 198).

³²⁰ For detailed exposition of the Messalian beliefs see Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 55-67.

³²¹ *Homilies*, I.52.1.4. (Makarios/Symeon 139:5-15, translation Golitzin, *Hierarchy Versus Anarchy*, 177.)

Ps. Macarius' theology is far from anti-sacramental and is clearly not Messalian. He confirms the fullness of the operation of the Divine Spirit in the sacraments and the wholeness of the Church as a place of mystical worship through which the believers experience the energizing presence of the Lord. Further on he says,

The Paraclete is bestowed to the apostles from the moment of baptism, and through them to the One and True Church of God. To each one that accepts baptism in accordance with the pure faith, the Paraclete comes and coexists with him in different ways and experiences.³²²

The Holy Spirit is given at baptism, and from that moment on, it coexists with the believer in the depths of his soul manifesting itself in different ways. Moreover, for Ps. Macarius “baptism is the perfect pledge and foretaste of the future inheritance.”³²³ It is through the power of baptism that Christ appears in our lives, restores in us the original status humanity had in Adam and once again becomes master over demons and passions.³²⁴ In a way, Baptism is the beginning of one's spiritual life. It is a necessary sacrament through which one receives and participates in the fullness of the presence of the Lord, but one must remain in the Lord so that he may keep the blessings, gifts and talents of the Holy Spirit.³²⁵ To reiterate, although Ps. Macarius' does not discard Baptism as a sacrament or the importance of the covenant of the circumcision, in their external forms, both baptism and circumcisions are mere shadows and figures of the real and true internal baptism and circumcision of the soul.

³²² *Great Letter*, in Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*, p. 236, lines 6–11.

³²³ *Homilies*, III.28.3.8–9.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, III.1.2.1. *πάλιν δὲ ἐπελθόντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ βαπτίσματος φθάνουσιν εἰς τὸ πρότερον μέτρον τοῦ Ἀδάμ, δεσπότηαι δαιμόνων καὶ παθῶν γίνονται. ὁ «ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς» «ὁ θάνατος» «ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας» Ἀδὰμ κατετέθη (lines 9-12).*

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, III.28.3.2-3.

II.2.4.5. Inner Structures.

By now it has become evident that, in Ps. Macarius' theology the entire spiritual life is to be found internally, specifically, in the depths of the human soul. Our next chapters will turn its attention to the complexity of the soul according to Ps. Macarius. Before doing so, however, we need to note briefly the inner structures, or the inner topography envisaged by our author in his interiorized spiritual imagery. Ps. Macarius says, "[f]or the soul itself was called the temple of God and his dwelling place and the bride of the King."³²⁶ The visible temple of God, the visible tabernacle, the visible church of God, are just a shadow of the real tabernacle, temple, and church in the hidden man of the heart.³²⁷ As a dwelling place for God, the inner human being is also a throne for God's glory, or rather the mobile Chariot Throne of the divine glory.³²⁸ Probably the most picturesque representation of the inner life is Ps. Macarius' inner topography of the soul. In Homily 19 of the third collection, Ps. Macarius compares the soul and the inner spiritual life to a city, which he calls a big, immaterial, noetic (intellectual) city of God (ἡ μεγάλη νοερὰ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ).³²⁹ He suggests the following comparison:

One city has wide roads, council-chambers, public buildings, streets, neighborhoods, and many other structures and suitable meeting places for the eminent citizens, those from the government and the entire society, and there sits the judge who judges and pronounces sentences over all criminals in the city: evildoers, thieves, witches, adulterers, and the treacherous ones. The judge in the city has a royal power, that is, the royal images and seals, and can condemn and execute the evildoers by virtue of his royal power. It is the same with the big, immaterial, noetic city of God, the soul with its citizens which are the thoughts. If through faith and virtuous life it [the soul] receives power from above, which is the sword of the Spirit, and the heavenly icon of Christ and the heavenly spiritual seals of light, it is then able to pronounce sentences, and destroy the enemies, evildoers,

³²⁶ *Homilies*, II.32.6. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 199).

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, I.52; I. 2. ii. 2; II, 12. 15; 27.4; 37.8.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, II.1.2-3. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 37-38).

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, III.19.1.

the treacherous ones, and the robbers, which are the evil spirits that live in it [soul].³³⁰

Moreover, says Ps. Macarius, in the inner human being there are reception rooms, bedrooms, doors, and antechambers, many offices, there are dragons, lions, and all the treasures of evil,³³¹ there are rough and uneven roads; but there is also God, the angels, the light of the apostles and the treasures of grace.³³² Everything is within. The entire life is to be found within the complex, noetic creature of God.

II.2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter we argued that Ps. Macarius exegesis is spiritual, profound, and mystical, and it belongs to the Alexandrian style of allegorical or typological interpretation. Ps. Macarius however, makes his exegetical approach even more idiosyncratic by making the inner human being the ultimate beneficiary of the Old Testament prophecies as well as the revelations concerning the New Testament Church. We argued and demonstrated here that Ps. Macarius' style of exegesis seems to emanate from his struggle to justify the visible (un)fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies regarding the Messiah. In so doing, we identified three phases in the Ps. Macarian system of interpretation that roughly correspond to the three phases of the development of the phenomenon of interiority (as shown in the table above). In the first phase, Moses and the Old

³³⁰ The text is my translation into English of Vincent Desprez's edition of Homily 19.1, page, 229 (1-20) in *Pseudo-Macarie, Homélie propres à la Collection III, Oeuvres Spirituelles I, Sources Chrétiennes* (LES ÉDITIONS DU CÉRIF, 29, Bd de Latour-Maubourg, Paris, 1980).

³³¹ "There are therefore, infinite depths to the human heart. There are found reception rooms, bedrooms, doors, and ante-chambers, many offices and exits. There is found the office of justice and of injustice. There is death and there is life. There takes place upright business as well as the contrary." *Homilies*, II.15.32. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 120).

³³² "And the heart itself is but a small vessel, yet there are also dragons and there are lions; there are poisonous beasts and all the treasures of evil. And there are rough and uneven roads; there are precipices. But there is also God, also the angels, the life and the kingdom, the light and the Apostles, the treasures of grace – there are all things." *Ibid.*, II.43.7. (Maloney, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 222).

Testament prophecies are mere symbols and a foreshadowing of the things to come. In the second phase, Jesus Christ, the incarnate presence of God's glory, is identified as the Agent of the real fulfillment, which is not in the world of the visible, nor in the Church as a temporary installment and shadow of the soul. The third phase for Ps. Macarius is the ultimate fulfillment of the presence of God in the depths of the human soul; it is there that the true throne of God is to be found. Because Ps. Macarius is interiorizing the entire spiritual experience and religious practice, both the Old Testament prophecies and the New Testament life of the Church, and because of the span and intensity by which he is insisting on interiorization, we defined his style of interpretation as *interiorized exegesis*. His consistency in offering this type of interiorized exegesis is the hallmark of his theology that secures for him a distinctive place among the Church Fathers with regard to the discourse of interiority. Having defined his style of exegesis and the span and intensity of his discourse of interiority, the focus of this dissertation will now be turned to investigating Ps. Macarius idiosyncratic rendering of the three interiorizing concepts used to trace and define the development of the phenomenon of interiority, namely the presence of God, the concept of the inner human being and the concept of the heart.

II.3. INTERIORIZED ANTHROPOLOGY: THE SOUL AND THE BODY

Chapter Three of the second part of this dissertation focuses on Ps. Macarius' anthropology. Ps. Macarius' anthropological presuppositions play a foundational role in the development of his language of interiority. Here, we will revisit the concepts of the *inner human being* and the *heart*, which in Part One were identified (along with the concept of the *presence of God*) as foundational in the development of the discourse of interiority. Building on the anthropological findings of scholars such as Columba Stewart, Marcus Plested, Archbishop Alexander Golitzin, and Metropolitan Kallistos Ware, this chapter argues that Ps. Macarius' particular rendering of the above-mentioned concepts, and his effort to creatively interweave them, produces one of the most holistic and balanced interiorized anthropologies in Late Antiquity.³³³ Moreover, it will be demonstrated that this blending already started in the New Testament anthropology with Apostle Paul; further, in the case of Ps. Macarius, it develops into a unique concept of an inner realm. This inner realm provides a solid foundation upon which he develops the notion of an inner human-divine meeting place with a concurrent existence in both the spiritual and the physical realm. By assigning a corresponding role to both the noetic and the material part of the human being, he brings the inner and the outer (i.e., the soul and the body; ἔσω and ἔξω ἄνθρωπος) into an intimate organic and synergetic relationship. Furthermore, by using the same analogy, it will be demonstrated that, just as the physical body is a house of the soul, the leading part of the body — the physical organ of the heart — is a house of the leading part of the soul — the ἡγεμονικόν. It

³³³ See Marcus Plested, "The Spiritual Senses, Monastic and Theological" in *Knowing Bodies, Passionate Souls: Sense Perceptions in Byzantium*, edited by Susan Ashbrook Harvey and Margaret Mullett, (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2017), 301-312, p. 306; Archbishop Golitzin, See also Bishop Kallistos Ware, "How Do We Enter the Heart?" in *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and the Christian East*, ed. James S. Cutsinger, (Word of Wisdom Inc, 2004), 2-23; See Golitzin, "A Testimony to Christian Transfiguration" 129-156, and *The Place of the Presence of God: Aphrahat of Persia's Portrait of the Christian Holy Man. An Essay in Honor of Archimandrite Aimilianos of the Monastery of Simonos Petras, Mount Athos*, 1-27.

will be shown that, by drawing an analog correlation between the concept of the ἡγεμονικόν and the physical organ of the heart, Ps. Macarius distinctively emphasizes the importance of such union as a locus for the human-divine encounter. In that sense, the salvific transformation that begins in the leading part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν) is being spread to all the organs of the body through the dispersing properties of the leading part of the body (the heart), thus ultimately becoming a deifying transformation of the entire human being, both body and soul. In doing so, Ps. Macarius will be portrayed as a profoundly eclectic writer as well as a remarkable synthesizer capable of exploiting the valuable aspects of Judaic culture, Christian theological thought, various concepts from the Hellenic and Stoic philosophy, and contemporary medical findings.

With this in mind, in the current chapter, we will engage into a detailed study of Ps. Macarius' particular usage of the concepts of the soul and body, drawing conclusions regarding the contribution of his anthropological postulations to the development of the discourse of interiority. Following the pattern of Ps. Macarius' bipartite anthropology, namely soul and body, the core of the argument will be developed in two main sections. The first section will explore with Ps. Macarius' understanding of the human soul, which he also calls the inner man. The focus of the discussion will be on the nature, the role, and the parts of the soul, as well as the importance of its leading faculty, the ἡγεμονικόν. The second section will discuss Ps. Macarius' concept of the physical body, which he also calls the outer man. The focus of the discussion will be on the nature of the physical body, as well as on its central leading organ, the heart (καρδία). Additionally, in this chapter we include a third section in which we will investigate the doctrine of the spiritual senses. This, in turn, will help us get a better grasp of the nature of Ps. Macarius' holistic, analog, and synergic anthropology.

II.3.1. Inner and Outer – Ps. Macarius’ Holistic, Bipartite Anthropology

Following Origen, Ps. Macarius’ anthropology is essentially bipartite. The human being (ἄνθρωπος) is composed simply of a physical body (σῶμα) and an immaterial soul (ψυχή).³³⁴ Although there is a graduation in respect of the nature and capacity of the two components, Ps. Macarius treats the human being as a composite unity. Like Origen, Ps. Macarius speaks of ‘two people’ in the human being, one according to the bodily existence, and the other one according to the existence of the soul. While developing an argument regarding the nature of the ‘tree of knowledge’ in paradise, he says the following:

Just like in each of us there are two people (καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν δύο εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι): one is bodily (τοῦ σώματος), and the other one is spiritual (or of the soul, τῆς ψυχῆς), - the visible man (ὁ φαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος) delighted in the visible paradise, and the man that is hidden in the heart (ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος, 1 Pet. 3:4) delighted in the invisible intellectual paradise of the holy angels (τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων νοερὸν).³³⁵

Ps. Macarius does not engage in a discussion regarding the twofold process of creation which we found in Origen.³³⁶ While keeping some clear echoes from Origen’s anthropology,³³⁷ Ps. Macarius,

³³⁴ See *Homilies*, III.27.6.1.

³³⁵ The text is my translation into English of H. Berthold’s edition of Homily 2.3.2-3, page 5 (23-26) in *Makarius/Symeon Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B 2-29)*, GCS (Berlin: 1973). *Homilies*, I.2.3.2-3.

³³⁶ See details in subchapter ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος in Origen in Part I of this thesis. Origen, *Hom. In Gen.* I,13; *Dial. Her.* 10.16-24,17; *Com. Joh.* 20.22; *Contra Cel.* 4:37; *Com. Mat.* 14.16. For an overview of Origen’s double creation see, Anders Lund Jacobsen, “Genesis 1-3” as Source for the Anthropology of Origen,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 62 (2008): 213-232; See also, Philo, *Leg. All.* I.31, 53, 88.

³³⁷ In III.26.7.2, Ps. Macarius distinguishes between the creation of the soul (make, ποιέω) and the modeling of the body (form, πλάσσω), which resembles the Alexandrian tradition of the twofold creation, where the verb ποιέω is used in connection with the creation of the inner man (the soul) and πλάσσω/πλάττω in connection with the creation of the exterior man (the body). For references see footnote above. See also H. Crouzel, *Théologie de l’image du Dieu chez Origène* (Paris: Aubier, 1956). Placid Solari, O.S.B., “Christ as Virtue in Didimus the Blind” in *Purity of Heart in Early Ascetic and Monastic Literature: Essays in Honor of Juana Raasch, O.S.B.*, Ed. Harriet A. Luckman and Linda Kulzer, O.S.B. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 67-88, page 74; *Homilies*, III.26.7.2, “Μέγα τοίνυν καὶ θαυμαστόν τι καὶ θεῖον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή. καὶ ὡς φαίνεται καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος διαπλάσεως ἐδημιούργησεν αὐτήν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ εἰπεῖν· «ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν» παρὰ θεοῦ ἡ ψυχή πεποιήται καὶ οὕτω λαβὼν «χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς» ἔπλασε τὸ σῶμα «καὶ ἐνεφύσησε» διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἦν ἔκτισε ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι.”

nevertheless, departs from Origen's anthropological dualism. While Origen maintains an ambivalent attitude towards the role of the body (sometimes as impediment and other times as an instrument to contemplation),³³⁸ Ps. Macarius considers the body much more than a mere instrument; it is an integral and crucially important part in the process of acquiring God's presence. While still operating within the traditional dualistic framework, his theological thought differs from the classic dualistic dichotomy of the body versus the soul. Ps. Macarius does not consider that the soul has a morally superior status over the inferior and corrupted body, nor does he speak of the body and the bodily functions in a repulsive way as Origen does.³³⁹ For Ps. Macarius, both the body and soul are victims of corruption and decay and both body and soul share in the eternal salvation.

After he [Adam] abandoned the word of God and listened to the word of the evil one, submitted to his authority and ate from the tree, he died. For, speaking through the serpent, the "death, which is a carnal thought" (φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός) mingled with the fruit and entered into him, as it is written, and thus the tares of passion were sown by the enemy in the soul and in the body (ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ σώματι). For as the antitype of the Body of Christ - the Bread of the Eucharist - is sanctified through word, and for those who reverently partake in it, it is life itself and the Body of the Lord, and so the sanctified soul and body (ἀγιαζομένη ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα) are brought to the Lord, in the same way Adam's body received death through the word of disobedience. As the man dies because of the word of the evil one, so now

³³⁸ See Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coackley, "Introduction" in *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-19, page 7; Columba Stewart, O.S.B., "Introduction", in *Purity of Heart in Early Ascetic and Monastic Literature: Essays in Honor of Juana Raasch, O.S.B.*, Ed. Harriet A. Luckman and Linda Kulzer, O.S.B. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 1-15, page 3-7.

³³⁹ In Origen's opinion, the Apostle Paul believes that the body is corrupted and has only a secondary role in the spiritual growth and knowledge of God; it was created to be used as a vessel and an instrument of salvation. In the present state of corruption, however, it serves as a prison for the soul. Origen's position on the body often is in line with the classical Hellenistic repulsive philosophy regarding the material creation. He considers the needs of the body including the desire for food, the mere process of digestion, the processes of conception, birth and raising of offspring etc., to be shameful and embarrassing. In his opinion, the noble and rational soul has been unwillingly subjected to the body, only in hope that one day it will be set free. He concludes, "The hope is, namely, one day to be at rest from these bodily and corruptible matters." See Origen, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 7.4.10-13. For more detailed examination and references see chapter I.2.2. of this thesis: *The Inner Man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in Origen*.

through the word of God, again he comes to life through the renewal of the mind (νοῦς).³⁴⁰

According to Ps. Macarius, then, *both* body and soul are subjects to corruption and death. Death entered the human being through a manipulated carnal thought that transgressed from the bodily into the spiritual realm. What is important here is that, just as both body and soul were affected by death, *both* body and soul will be sanctified and renewed again, through reverently partaking in the Eucharist (bodily participation), and through the renewal of the mind (intellectual participation).³⁴¹ Both the body and the soul are being revitalized through the sanctifying power of the word of God; the soul directly through the renewal of its mind while the body indirectly through the mediating participation in the sanctified Bread of the Eucharist. Ps. Macarius does not consider the body to be exclusively corruptive and thus unsalvageable or less important in the process of salvation. Both soul and body play essential roles in the process of the spiritual ascent, albeit in respect of their natural properties assigned at creation. The soul (or the ‘inner man’), which was created in the image and likeness of God, possesses the capacity to receive the divine presence of the Spirit and the perfect Icon of God, while the body (or the ‘outer man’), which was created from the elements of the earth possesses the ability to communicate with everything that is earthly and physical. On the one hand the soul is immortal, but it still needs to receive the continuous presence of the foreign divine transformational grace (that is Jesus Christ, the perfect Icon of God),³⁴² or it will fall into an eternal death. On the other hand, the body is mortal but capable of receiving the gift of eternity through the same transformational grace and by means of

³⁴⁰ The text is my translation into English of H. Berthold’s edition of Homily 2.3.2-3, page 6 (5-15) in *Makarius/Symeon Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B 2-29)*, GCS (Berlin: 1973). *Homilies*, I.2.3.4-6.

³⁴¹ For Apostle Paul’s usage of the concept of renewal of mind, see subchapter I.2.1. of this thesis: *The Inner Man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in Apostle Paul*.

³⁴² See Dean Georcheski, “Divine Origin or Divine Becoming”, 227-235, or subchapter II.4.3. of this thesis: *The Concept of διπλοῦς – Continuous Inner Presence*.

the dispersing properties of the organ of the heart. Just as the soul needs nourishment from the continuous presence of the Spirit by Whom it was created, the body needs a continuous nourishment from the elements of the earth from which it was created.³⁴³ In that respect, Ps. Macarius says, the soul is the indispensable (ἀναγκαῖος)³⁴⁴ part of humanity and it is assigned with the power of propulsion (κινέω) over the bodily members.³⁴⁵ Due to its capacity to receive and mingle with the life-giving divine force and energize it throughout the entire human being, the soul, in its untransformed fallen state, has also the capacity to mingle with sin and corruption and disperse it to the entire human being.

The reign of darkness, the evil prince, after humanity at the beginning was taken captive, surrounded and clothed the soul as if it were a human form with the vestiture of the power of darkness... So likewise, he clothed the soul and all its substance with sin. The evil prince corrupted it completely, not sparing any of its members from its slavery, not its thoughts, neither the mind nor the body, but he clothed it with the purple of darkness. Just as the whole body suffers and not merely one part alone, so also neither the soul was subjected to the passions of evil and sin. The prince of evil thus clothed the whole soul, which is the chief (ἀναγκαῖος) member and part of humanity, with his own wickedness, that is with sin. And so the entire body fell a victim to passions and corruption.³⁴⁶

Ps. Macarius refers to the soul as a mistress (κυρία) of the body with the power to lead the entire human being.³⁴⁷ It can either follow the lead of the Holy Spirit and place the entire human being on the path of renewal or follow the path of the carnal thoughts and habits that dominate our beings

³⁴³ *Homilies*, II.1.10. “And God, who made your body, did not give it life from its very own nature nor from the body itself, nor from the food, drink, clothing, and footwear that he gave the body, but he arranged it that your body, created naked, should be able to live by means of such extrinsic things as food, drink, and clothing. (If the body were to attempt to exist only by its own constituted nature without accepting these exterior helps, it would deteriorate and perish). In a similar way, it is so with the human soul. It does not have by nature the divine light, even though it has been created according to the image of God. For, indeed, God ordered the soul in his economy of salvation according to his good pleasure that it would enjoy eternal life. It would not be because of the soul’s very own nature but because of his Divinity, of his very Spirit, of his light, that the soul would receive its spiritual meat and drink and heavenly clothing which are truly the life of the soul.” See also *Homilies*, II.15.20; I.8.4.1.

³⁴⁴ Maloney translates ἀναγκαῖος as ‘chief part of humanity’.

³⁴⁵ *Homilies*, I.IV.2.2.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II.2.1.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I.3.4.3-4

after the Fall. Again, this does not ascribe a soteriologically and eschatologically dominant position of the soul over the body. In Ps. Macarius spirituality, there is no salvation and true spiritual transformation through contemplation alone, but the renewal of the mind must be accompanied with a great bodily struggle to fulfill all the commandments. Only when the soul leads the body in accordance with the transformational presence of the Spirit in its mind, the original balance and purity in the human being will be restored. Instead of placing the body and the soul in opposition to each other, Ps. Macarius often talks about the two elements as complementary to one another. Even though they have different capacities in accordance with their natural properties at creation, both the body and the soul are two aspects of the same existence empowered by the transformational power of the presence of the Image of God in us.

This strong symbiotic unity can be seen most clearly in a passage, I.18.7.1-3, that discusses the phrase ‘created in the image and likeness’, of God. In the form of a question and answer, Ps. Macarius offers a short exposition where he establishes the relation between the soul and the body. Comparing God to a sculpturer who first molds a model of the subject he wishes to create so that he can fill it with the molten material, Ps. Macarius relates that God first molded a model of the ‘outer man’ from the elements of the earth, “and in that image he crafted the inner man, which is also called soul and mind”.³⁴⁸ With this, Ps. Macarius asserts that the body is not simply an addition to the soul. It is not a mere lifeless shell with the sole purpose of containing the soul in the physical world. On the contrary, the body was modeled as an image of and a perfect fit for the soul. The

³⁴⁸ In this text, Ps. Macarius seems to be reversing the order within the philosophical discourse of creation by balancing it with the Biblical report in Genesis 2:7, where first the body was formed and from the elements of the earth, and only then, the spirit of life was breathed in. “οὕτως ὁ θεὸς λαβὼν «χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς» ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἕξω ἀνθρώπου καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τούτου ἐποίησε τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, ὃς καλεῖται ψυχὴ καὶ νοῦς.” *Homilies*, I.18.7.2. But see also *Homilies*, III. 26.7.2 where he claims the soul to have been created before modeling the body.

life-driving force, however, comes from the leading faculty of the inner man who was created in the image and likeness of the source of life, the life-giving God. In that respect, Ps. Macarius says, the “body is a likeness to the soul and the soul is an image of the Spirit.”³⁴⁹ There is a certain hierarchy here. It is the soul that unites with God, and through this organic connection of both the inner and the outer man, the body also unites with God. This union of God with man is a union with the entire human being, not simply with the spiritual part of our existence. It is precisely this symbiotic approach by which Ps. Macarius assigns crucial importance to both the body and the soul in the process of salvation that serves as basis for Ps. Macarius’ concept of an inner space of human divine encounter with concurrent existence in both the ‘spiritual’ and the ‘physical’ realm. This synergic existence goes beyond a metaphor or a simple analogy. The bodily members are an extension and a presence of the spiritual members in the physical world. This will be revisited in the subchapter of the Spiritual Senses.

II.3.2. The Soul: ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος

This subchapter investigates Ps. Macarius’ definition of the soul, its form, and its parts, but most importantly, its leading faculty – the ἡγεμονικόν. Here, it will be argued that, Ps. Macarius’ adaptation and detailed elaboration of the Stoic concept of the leading faculty of the soul, the ἡγεμονικόν, contributed greatly to his development of the notion of an inner space, an interior realm for divine-human encounter with a concurrent existence in both the spiritual and the physical world.

³⁴⁹ “τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὁμοίωμα τυγχάνει τῆς ψυχῆς, ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ εἰκὼν τοῦ πνεύματος ὑπάρχει.” *Homilies*, II.30.3.

The Greek term ψυχή is usually translated as *soul* (or transliterated as *psyche*). It is a notion which denotes *the* principle and the driving force of human life. In the earliest records, in the Iliad, for example, the term was associated with the human breath which departs the human being at death. In a philosophical sense, the term *psyche* eventually developed to “denote the essential human ‘self’: not only the life-principle, and thus the principle of growth and motion, but also the seat of feeling, thought, and decision.”³⁵⁰ Across the vast spectrum of Hellenic heritage, there is a great diversity in teachings on the concept of the soul regarding its origin, mortality, its parts, its ethical and moral properties. In general, the Hellenic tradition ascribes to the soul divine and thus incorruptible properties; it is intellectual, immortal, and superior to the material body (Plato, Plotinus). In the Septuagint, the term "soul" corresponds to the Old Testament Hebrew word נֶפֶשׁ, which like the term ψυχή in the Iliad, is associated with the breath of life that departs the body at death. In the Old Testament it is never ascribed as “immortal soul” in the sense of a substance separate and independent from the body.³⁵¹

At the dawn of the early Christian community, extraordinary efforts of contextualization of concepts that traditionally developed within different milieus are evident. One of these, as discussed in Part One, was Plato’s interiorizing metaphor of the inner man (the soul), which has become an integral part of the anthropologies of many influential thinkers throughout the centuries. Ps. Macarius is no exception. He adopts the concept of the inner man and develops it in a specific way particular to his interiorizing and experiential theological approach. He makes the concept of the inner man a central and integral part of his theological anthropology. Like Paul and Origen

³⁵⁰ Richard A. Norris, “Soul,” in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 1097.

³⁵¹ See Hiermonk Cornelius Zaitzev, “Ancient Philosophical Ideas of the Soul (Plato-Aristotelian Tradition and Stoicism) as a Source of Patristic Thought.” In *Studia Humanitatis* V.3 (2014): 4.

after him, Ps. Macarius draws a connection between the soul and the inner man on the one hand, and between the body and the outer man on the other hand. The inner man *is* the soul, while the outer man *is* the body. Speaking of the necessity to guard both the body and the soul against sin, he relates the following:

For as we seek to protect the outer man (τὸν ἔξω ἄνθρωπον), which is the body (τὸ σῶμα), as the temple of God, from visible sins ... we should also make great efforts to protect the inner man (τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον), which is the soul (ἡ ψυχή), from every defilement of filthy thoughts³⁵²

Ps. Macarius deploys these terms interchangeably throughout his entire corpus. For Ps. Macarius to speak of the inner man is to speak of the soul, and conversely, to speak of the outer man is to speak of the body. While his usage of the soul and the inner man is rather clear, it should be mentioned that Ps. Macarius is also terminologically very flexible. Depending on the message he is trying to convey, he often employs various anthropological terms interchangeably. The soul, the inner man, for example, is often used synonymously with the mind, the thoughts, the leading part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν), and even the heart.³⁵³ On the other side, when he engages in detailed description of the properties or functions of the constitutive elements of the twofold human being, he differentiates between separate terms. In this subchapter, those particularities will be addressed.

³⁵² The text is my translation into English of the *Great Letter* 3.6, page 235 in Α. Γ. Дунаев, иеромонах Винсен Дэпрэ, *ΠΡΠ. ΜΑΚΑΡΙΪ ΕΓΙΠΕΤΣΚΙΪ (ΣΙΜΕΟΝ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΣΚΙΪ): Δуховные слова и послания СОБРАНИЕ I* (Издание пустыни Новая Фиваида Афонского Русского Пантелеимонова монастыря, Москва 2015). “ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν ἔξω ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἀπὸ τῶν φανερῶν ἀμαρτημάτων σπουδάζομεν φυλάττειν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος· Ὁ φθείρας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, περὶ τοῦ σώματος λέγων, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός, οὕτως καὶ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή, σπουδαστέον καὶ διαγωνιστέον ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ ῥυπαρῶν λογισμῶν φυλάττειν...”

³⁵³ See for example *Homilies*, I.4.29.4; II.32.2; III.24.5; III.25.3.1.

II.3.2.1. The Nature and Form of the Soul

The soul of the *Homilies* is an intellectual creation, made in the image and likeness of God; it is beautiful, unique, and admirable.³⁵⁴ Ps. Macarius' anthropology is traditionally Biblical – there is a sharp distinction between God as creator and the soul as a creation.

Listen. This is God; the soul is not God. This is the Lord; that is servant. This is Creator; that is creature. This is Maker; that the thing made... There is nothing common to God's nature and that of the soul. By means of this infinite and ineffable and incomprehensible love and compassion, it pleased him to make his indwelling in this made thing, this intellectual creature (κτίσμα νοερὸν), this precious and extraordinary work... to be his wisdom and communion, his very own inhabitation, his own pure bride.³⁵⁵

The only way by which the soul's nature shares in the Divine is by God's grace by the indwelling presence of the His glory. In respect to its nature (φύσις), the soul is an immaterial, intellectual (noetic), and invisible spirit (πνεῦμα ἀόρατον) which is in contrast to the material and visible essence (ὑπόστασις) of the body. Although the soul is a spirit (πνεῦμα), Ps. Macarius also classifies it as a *subtle body* like the bodies of the angels and the demons, who are also created as invisible spirits with the capacity to serve the invisible God.

For each of these is a body, each according to his own nature, namely an angel, a human soul, and a demon. Although they are subtle (λεπτὰ) in substance, form and figure according to the subtlety of their nature, so too are their bodies subtle.³⁵⁶

In Ps. Macarius' anthropology the entire creation, regardless of whether it is visible or invisible, intellectual, or material, is created as a body.³⁵⁷ The substance (ὑπόστασις) of the material bodies is heavy and solid (παχεῖα), while the substance of the spiritual bodies is thin, subtle (λεπτή). According to its own nature and form, the subtle body of the soul is somewhat between the body

³⁵⁴ Ibid., II.1.7.

³⁵⁵ See Ibid., II.49.4 and III.26.8.1-2.

³⁵⁶ See Ibid., II.4.9 (I.49.2.7-8).

³⁵⁷ This concept is probably Stoic in nature. But, see Origen, *De Principiis* 2.2.1; Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 34.

of the angels and the physical body. There seems to be a gradation here. The body of the angels is most subtle and thin in nature, then there exists the body of the souls which lies in-between, and finally the body of the physical human being, which is the thickest.³⁵⁸ The angels, whose existence is limited to the spiritual realm remain only in their subtle spiritual bodies, while the souls, whose existence is simultaneous in both the spiritual and the material realm, join with their physical bodies.

And so the soul, which is subtle, is aided by the eye by which it sees, by the ear through which it hears, likewise the tongue by which it can communicate in words, the hand, and in a word, the whole body. The soul has blended (συγκέκραται) with these and through them accomplishes all of its actions or performs all of its works.³⁵⁹

The language of mixing and blending is very pronounced in Ps. Macarius' theology.³⁶⁰ He ascribes the soul mixing and blending properties by which it can simultaneously exist in both the material and the noetic world.³⁶¹ The soul as a subtle body can perfectly mingle both with the heavy, solid form and image of the physical body, and with the thinner and subtle bodies of the angels, or giving due regard to the Fall, with Satan and his demons. In respect to its moral and ethical properties, the soul as a creation is neutral, it is not of the darkness, of Evil.³⁶² By the grace of God, it can

³⁵⁸ *Homilies*, II.7.7. “[The soul] has a form and image like that of an angel. For as angels have an image and form and as the outer man has his image, so also the inner man has an image that is similar both to that of the angel and that of the exterior man.”

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II.4.9.

³⁶⁰ See Stewart, *Working the earth*, 169-233.

³⁶¹ The same is true for the physical body. The body too has mixing and blending properties by which it can simultaneously exist in the material and the noetic world. See the following subchapter of the Body/Heart.

³⁶² Ps. Macarius distinguishes between two states of the soul, the one before the Fall and the one after. Some properties were lost with the transgression of the first man. They can, however, be renewed with the acquisition of the perfect Man – Jesus Christ.

become divine, or remain in a fallen state, depending on whom it allows to sit on the throne of its heart.³⁶³

II.3.2.2. The Incomprehensibility of the Soul

The soul of the *Homilies* is at once simple and complex. Akin to all other intellectual creatures, namely the angels and demons, it was created innocent and simple (ἀκέραιοι καὶ ἀπλούστατοι).³⁶⁴ Simplicity, as a characteristic of the soul, has to do with the soul's moral and spiritual virtues, rather than with its composition or constituents. The soul was created innocent, perfect and simple, according to the image and likeness of God, Who Himself is simple, perfect and pure. Following the traditional patristic notion of the goodness of all creation Ps. Macarius asserts that the soul was created with no evil in its nature.³⁶⁵ All the intellectual creatures, including the soul, were created good. The fall away from the initial innocence and goodness is due to the capacity of free will. Although the soul has retained its noetic image (νοερὰν εἰκόνα) with which it was fashioned at creation, without the continuous presence of the Divine Image (εἰκόνα θεϊκὴν) within the inner man, it remains susceptible to Evil and is largely covered by the dark veil of passions.³⁶⁶ It is only by freely receiving the transformational presence of God that the soul is revived to its original primordial purity.

That is to say, there is no part of the soul that is covered with darkness but is totally covered with spiritual eyes of the light. For the soul has no imperfect part but is in every part on all sides facing forward and covered with the beauty of the ineffable glory of the light of Christ, who mounts and rides upon the soul.³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Homilies, II.1.7, “The soul is neither of the nature of the Godhead, nor of the nature of the darkness of evil, but an intellectual, comely, great, wonderful, and beautiful creature, the image and likeness of God.”

³⁶⁴ Ibid., II.16.1.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., III.26.7.2. “ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῆς κακίαν οὐκ ἐνέθηκεν, οὐκ ἦδει κακίαν ἢ φύσις αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν ἀρετῶν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐποίησεν αὐτήν”

³⁶⁶ Ibid., III.26.5.1-3; III.26.4.4.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., II.1.2.

The soul of the *Homilies* is also a complex being of great depths,³⁶⁸ created with the purpose of becoming a place where God can dwell. Not only does the soul benefit from the continuous divine presence, God Himself is also delighted to call it a place for His own habitation. The ‘inner man’ is called a ‘precious vessel of God’ (θεοῦ τίμιον σκεῦος),³⁶⁹ a ‘home for God’ (κατοικητήριον θεοῦ),³⁷⁰ and a ‘big, intellectual city of God’ (ἡ μεγάλη νοερὰ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ).³⁷¹ As it was fashioned with the capacity to receive God, to mix and blend with the Heavenly Spirit, the soul, by the grace of God, shares with Him certain divine characteristics.

Where is the invisible God? Is He on the earth or in the Heavens? Is He under the sea or under the earth? Who can touch Him or see Him? No creation is capable of that. He has allowed to be grasped by the soul through love and faith, his creation that He loves. Likewise, who is able to see and touch the soul? What is the soul like? It doesn’t manifest itself. Man, himself doesn’t know it until the Lord reveals it to him. For, where is it not through its thoughts? Just as the Wisdom tells us: “who searches the depths and the hearts?” And again, the psalmist says: “Deep calls unto deep.” Only God is able to gather its thoughts and to grasp it in its will. *For the soul grasps God (as we spoke earlier) through its love because the Lord willingly made it possible to be grasped by the faithful soul, and God grasps the soul in Himself and directs and guides all its thoughts, and He separates the alien spirit of this world that has mingled with the soul.*³⁷²

For the author of the *Homilies*, the soul shares in God’s mystery. Just as God is incomprehensible and indescribable, so is the soul.³⁷³ Just as no creation is able to see, touch or understand the essence of God, also no creation is capable of understanding the essence of the soul, not even the

³⁶⁸ Ibid., III.15.5; II.41.1; I.18.1.1; I.8.1.3; II.50.4.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., I.3.3.5.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., III.26.4.3.

³⁷¹ Ibid., III.19.1. See also the concept of the soul as a city of God in Gregory of Nyssa’s 12 homily in, *Homilies on the Song of Songs*, translated with an introduction and notes by Richard A. Norris Jr. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 367.

³⁷² The text is my translation into English of Vincent Desprez’s edition of Homily III.18.1.1-2., page, 219-221 (5-22) in *Pseudo-Macarie, Homélie propres à la Collection III, Oeuvres Spirituelles I, Sources Chrétiennes* (LES ÉDITIONS DU CERF, 29, Bd de Latour-Maubourg, Paris, 1980).

³⁷³ See *Homilies*, I.18.7.1; See also *Homilies*, III.15.5.

very soul itself, except through a divine revelation.³⁷⁴ Only God can grasp the soul, and by His willing decision, the soul is also able to grasp the unknowable God, not through knowledge, worldly wisdom, philosophy or science,³⁷⁵ but only through faith and love. The soul, therefore, shares in God's complexity and incomprehensibility, just as it shares in His simplicity (as we have seen above). It is a complex being, a big creature with great depths, also called a big intellectual (noetic) city of God.³⁷⁶ God Himself has made the soul as a beautiful, honorable, great and precious vessel (σκεῦος), created to surpass all other creatures (ὕπερ πάντα τὰ κτίσματα ὄν), and He prepared it in such manner that it is an honorable place for His own habitation.³⁷⁷

II.3.2.3. The Inner Parts of the Soul

As mentioned above, Ps. Macarius often uses the mind, the thoughts, the soul and even the heart as synonyms when he wants to direct attention to the inner reality, in general. To receive God in the heart in that general sense, is to receive Him in one's soul, thoughts or mind as God's presence will manifest in fullness in the entire human body. At other times, when he aims at assigning properties or functions of the constitutive elements of the 'inner man', he clearly differentiates between the parts of the human being. The question that naturally arises here is, what are the different parts of the soul, and how they are related to each other. In a question-answer style (a style he often uses) regarding the difference between the mind and the soul, Ps. Macarius relates the following,

³⁷⁴ Cf. Ibid., III.26.4.4.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., III. 22.1.1-3.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., II.41.1; II.50.4; I.8.2.1; I.21.13; III.4.3.4; III.19.1. Compare with the infinite depths of human heart, Ibid., II.15.32; II.41.1.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., III.26.4.3.

Question: Is the mind different from the soul?

Answer: As the members of the body (τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος) are many parts, yet they designate one man, so also the members of the soul (μέλη ψυχῆς) are many: the mind (νοῦς), the conscience (συνείδησις), the will (θέλημα), ‘thoughts of accusing and excusing’ (λογισμοὶ κατηγοροῦντες καὶ ἀπολογούμενοι) (Rom. 2:15), yet all these are bound together in one principle (εἰς ἓνα λογισμόν εἰσιν ἀποδεδεμένα) even though there are many members. The soul, however, is one – the inner human being (μία δὲ ἐστὶ ψυχὴ ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος).³⁷⁸

In this passage Ps. Macarius presents his view of the structure of the soul in respect to its members. The inner human being, according to him, is one principle (λογισμός), consisting of several different parts, analogous to the parts of the body. In that respect, Ps. Macarius says, yes, there is a difference between the two: the mind is smaller and a part or member of the larger complex creation of the soul. Although Ps. Macarius merely numbers the mind among the other members of the soul, it does appear that the mind has been assigned a leading role in the hierarchy of the parts of the soul. On at least two occasions Ps. Macarius speaks of the mind’s leading role among the members of the soul. This, of course, resembles the Platonic notion of the ruling mind, in which the mind is given the role of *the* leading faculty that contemplates the divine, and balances between different parts of the soul.³⁷⁹ Ps. Macarius says,

For the enemy, when Adam fell, used such cunning and diligence that he wounded and darkened the interior man, the mind that directs man, since it looks upon God (τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν τὸν ὁρῶντα θεόν).³⁸⁰

In this passage, Ps. Macarius ascribes to the mind powers of ruling (directing) because of its

³⁷⁸ Ibid., II.7.8. The same section appears in his Collection I, and although the wording is slightly different, there is no change in the meaning. Cf. *Homilies* I.4.25.

³⁷⁹ In *Phaedrus*, Plato isolates the mind as the sole charioteer of the chariot of the soul with the capacity to balance between the spirited and appetitive parts of the soul. “Only the mind, the soul’s charioteer (ψυχῆς κυβερνήτη μόνῳ θεατῇ νῶ), can behold it, and all true knowledge is knowledge thereof. Now even as the mind of a god is nourished by reason and knowledge, so also is it with every soul that has a care to receive her proper food...” Plato, “Phaedrus” (247c-d) in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, translated with introduction and commentary by R. Hackforth. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), 499–500.

³⁸⁰ *Homilies*, II.20.4 (same I.12.2.2). See also *Homilies*, II.46.6.

capacity to contemplate upon God. In another passage, he assigns the ruling mind the role of a fearless sentinel of the thoughts, a doorkeeper at the gate of the soul and the heart (τὰς πύλας τῆς καρδίας/ψυχῆς) that keeps the ‘inner man’ safe from imposter evil thoughts entering the city of the soul (ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς πόλις).³⁸¹ The key factor of the mind’s ability to do so, however, is to stay empowered by the commandments of God and by putting its entire trust in His guidance. Ps. Macarius, then, uses the concept of the mind in two different ways: first, as one of the many members of the soul, and second as *the* governing part in the hierarchy of the inner human being. When Ps. Macarius is interested in explaining the nature of the mind especially in comparison to God, he treats the mind as equal to the other members of the soul. In such a setting, the mind is but a member of the larger creation of the soul (together with the conscience, the will and the thought of accusing and excusing). None of the members of the soul, including the mind, have divine, uncorrupted properties and all of them need to be submitted equally to the transformational presence of God. However, when he is interested in depicting the actual role of the mind within the hierarchy of the soul, Ps. Macarius assigns to the mind an overseeing role over the other members of the soul. In that respect, the mind becomes the eye of the soul and the gatherer of thoughts.

II.3.2.4. The Leading Faculty of the Soul – τὸ ἡγεμονικόν

Essentially a Stoic concept, the ἡγεμονικόν is creatively incorporated and contextualized in Ps. Macarius’ teaching on the soul.³⁸² The notion of the ruling or leading faculty of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν) in Ps. Macarius denotes the innermost driving and controlling force of the soul.

³⁸¹ Ibid., I.25.1.17.

³⁸² For an excellent overview of the Stoic teaching of the soul and its ἡγεμονικόν, see A. A. Long, “Stoic Psychology” in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, & M. Schofield (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 560-584.

Archbishop Golitzin called attention to Ps. Macarius' usage of the mind (νοῦς) as *the* ruling force of the soul. He has highlighted Ps. Macarius' combination of Ezekiel's chariot throne with Plato's charioteer. Commenting on Homily II.40.5,³⁸³ he has asserted that the notion of the mind as a charioteer of the soul in Ps. Macarius was taken straight from Plato's *Phaedrus*.³⁸⁴ In this, Archbishop Golitzin has equated the mind (νοῦς) in Ps. Macarius with the leading faculty of the soul. He however did not elaborate on the parts of the ἡγεμονικόν and on the mind's double role in the hierarchy of the soul. On the other hand, Marcus Plested has acknowledged that for Ps. Macarius there are four leading faculties of the soul, but he did not elaborate on the parts of the ἡγεμονικόν either.³⁸⁵ Expanding upon their assertions, what follows is a detailed study on the concept of ἡγεμονικόν in Ps. Macarius. Here it will be argued that, although the mind enjoys a leading role in the hierarchy of the soul, it is also merely a member of the ἡγεμονικόν. This will help draw a connecting line between the leading faculty of the soul and the leading faculty of the body and show Ps. Macarius' creatively eclectic style in interweaving different philosophies and even contemporary medical findings.

The soul in the Ps. Macarian corpus, then, consists of many members, energies and laws of virtue. The leading characteristics of the soul, however, are four, and they compose the central leading faculty called the ἡγεμονικόν.³⁸⁶ This governing faculty is the most inner realm of the inner human

³⁸³ "Take the example of men who harness horses and drive chariots and race them against each other... For the mind is a charioteer and harnesses the chariot of the soul as it holds the reins of the thoughts. And so it competes against the chariot of Satan, which he also has harnessed against the soul."

³⁸⁴ Plato, "Phaedrus" (247c-d), p. 499-500. See footnote 47 above. Golitzin, "A Testimony to Christianity as Transfiguration", 7 (note 73).

³⁸⁵ Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 34.

³⁸⁶ "For in fashioning it, God made it such as not to put any evil in its nature but made it according to the image and the virtues of the Spirit. He put into it the laws of virtues, as well as discernment, knowledge, prudence, faith, love, and the rest of the virtues (νόμους ἀρετῶν, διάκρισιν, γνῶσιν, φρόνησιν, πίστιν, ἀγάπην καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρετάς) according to the image of the Spirit. For even now, in knowledge

being. It is the realm where God has built His Throne and a place He has chosen for his habitation. It is the place of human-divine encounter. “For it is through these [four members of the governing faculty],” says Ps. Macarius, “that the chariot of the soul is directed, and it is in these that God resides.”³⁸⁷ Further on, the entire spiritual activity happens within and through the members of the ἡγεμονικόν. All the members of the governing faculty are to be engaged in an intense and perpetual spiritual struggle, and to be aided by bodily discipline, so that the inner human being can become a partaker in the Divine Glory. Ps. Macarius says,

Therefore, whoever wishes to become a partaker of the divine glory and to see, as in a mirror, the form of Christ in his governing faculty (ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ ἑαυτοῦ), must, with unquenchable love and inexhaustible desire, with all his heart and strength, by night and day, seek the help of God which powerfully comes from him, in which help it is impossible to share unless, as I said before, a person abstains from the pleasure of the world, from the desires of the opposing power, which is foreign to the light and is an activity of evil, having no likeness to good activity and is completely alien to it.³⁸⁸

Ps. Macarius, then, identifies four members of the ἡγεμονικόν. Although he is consistent with the number of the members, he is less consistent with naming them individually. There exist three listings throughout his corpus. Out of the four leading members of the ἡγεμονικόν, only the mind and the will are constant. The conscience and the thoughts in some of the lists are replaced by the reason and the power of love respectively. The following table shows variations in naming of the individual members of the ἡγεμονικόν.

and prudence and love and faith, the Lord is found and manifested to the soul. He placed in it reasoning, thoughts, will, and a ruling mind.” *Homilies*, II.46.5-6.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II.1.3.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II.25.3; See also *Ibid.*, I.25.1.17.

FOUR MEMBERS of the ἡγεμονικόν

List 1 II.1.3.	νοῦς mind	θέλημα will	συνείδησις conscience	ἡ ἀγαπητικὴ δύναμις power of love
List 2 II.7.8 (identical with I.49.1)	νοῦς mind	θέλημα will	συνείδησις conscience	λογισμοὶ κατηγοροῦντες καὶ ἀπολογούμενοι thoughts of accusing and excusing
List 3 II.46.6 (identical with III.26.7.3)	νοῦν ἡγεμῶν leading mind	θέλημα will	διάνοια reason	λογισμοὶ thoughts

Here, a passage (List 1) which will help show Ps. Macarius synthesizing and creative approach is relevant. Reinterpreting the Old Testament imagery of Yahweh's mobile Chariot Throne recorded in Ezekiel (Ez. 1), Ps. Macarius says,

The four animals that bore the chariot were a type of the leading characteristics (ἡγεμονικῶν λογισμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς) of the soul. For as the eagle rules over all the other birds and the lion is king of the wild beasts, and the bull over the tamed animals and man rules over all creatures, so the soul has certain dominant powers (οἱ βασιλικώτεροι λογισμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς) that are superior to others. I am speaking of the faculties of the will (τὸ θέλημα), conscience (ἡ συνείδησις), the mind (ὁ νοῦς) and the power of loving (ἡ ἀγαπητικὴ δύναμις). For it is through such that the chariot of the soul is directed, and it is in these that God resides.³⁸⁹

What is evident in this passage is Ps. Macarius attempt to contextualize or rather fuse together the Stoic notion of the ἡγεμονικόν with the prophetic image of the chariot throne and the Old Testament discourse of God's glorious presence. In the Stoic anthropology, the mind which is the governing faculty of the soul has four members that he must bring together. Iamblichus,³⁹⁰ one of the leading Syrian Neoplatonic-Stoic thinkers, and a near-contemporary to Ps. Macarius, says the following, "Just as an apple possesses in the same body sweetness and fragrance, so too the mind

³⁸⁹ *Homilies*, II.1.3.

³⁹⁰ "Iamblichus (ca. 242 – ca.325) was a Syrian Neoplatonist and disciple of Prophyry of Tyre, the editor of Plotinus' works." *Iamblichus*, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy first published on August 27, 2019, online access, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/iamblichus/>

combines in the same body [the mind's *pneuma*] impression, assent, impulse, reason.”³⁹¹ Ps. Macarius’ ingenuity here is impressive. He adopts the Stoic notion of ἡγεμονικόν, replaces the four faculties of the mind (in Iamblichus) with faculties of his own Syriac Christian anthropology, employs Plato’s metaphor of the mind as the charioteer of the soul, and finally brings everything together in the reinterpretation and interiorization of Ezekiel’s vision of Yahweh’s chariot throne of glory. In doing this, the νοῦς loses the absolute leading role in the hierarchy of the soul. Ps. Macarius dethrones and demotes the mind from its absolute divine leading role it enjoys in the general Hellenic anthropology. Although allowing the mind to retain its leading attributes, he submits its role under God who is identified as the one and only true lawful Charioteer of the throne of the heart. Just as the four animals were directed by Yahweh’s upon His Chariot Throne, in the same way the four leading properties (ἡγεμονικοὶ λογισμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς) of the chariot of the soul are directed by the same God of glory. The goal of the spiritual transformation of the soul is for God himself to become the ἡγεμονικόν of the soul, through the real and tangible presence in the depths of the inner man. Ps. Macarius says,

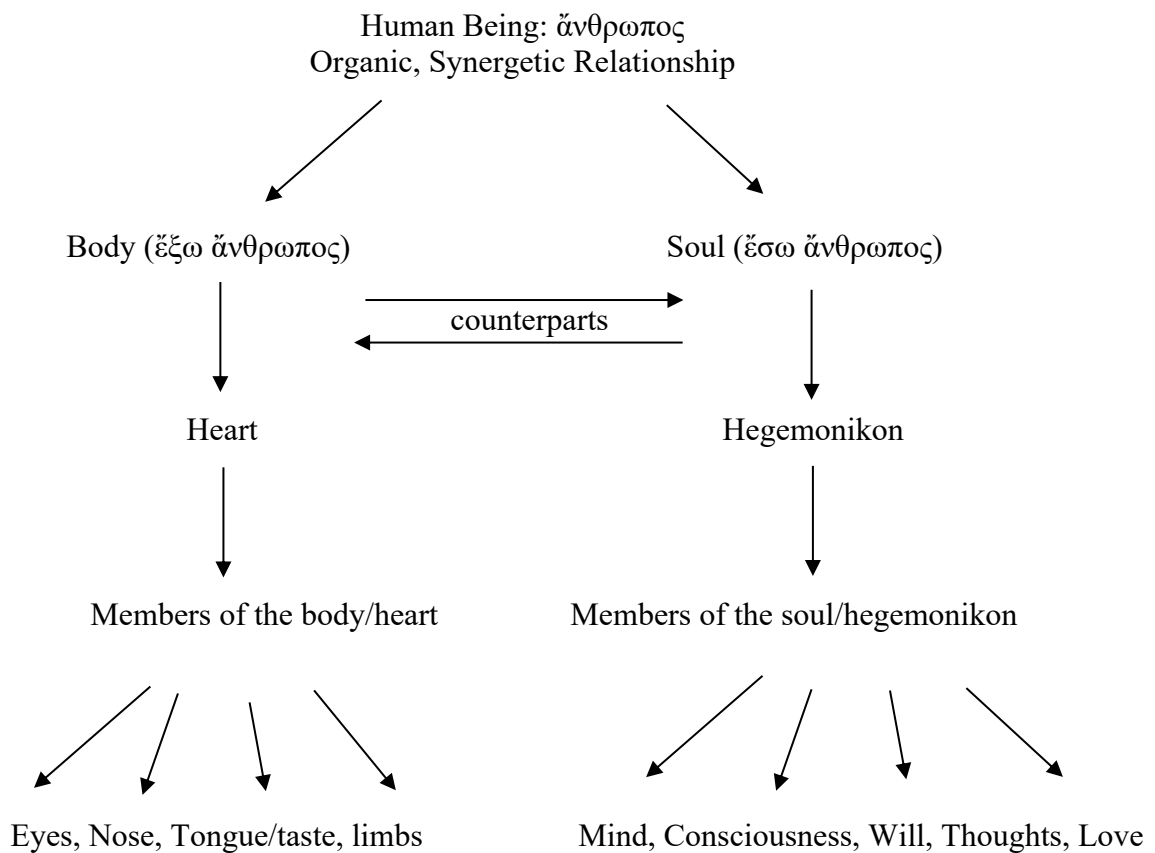
God attracts toward Him the soul that seeks Him through its will and love, in order to be ruled, governed (βασιλευθῆναι καὶ ἡγεμονευθῆναι) and guided by His will. And the Lord Himself desires to be sought for, to be loved, believed in, and drawn by the love and the faith of the soul, so that He can come to dwell in it, and rule and govern (βασιλεῦσαι καὶ ἡγεμονεῦσαι) all of its thoughts and lead it to the wholeness of His will.³⁹²

Ps. Macarius concept of the continuous and transformational presence of God in the depths of the inner human being will be revisited in the last chapter, Interiorized Presence. The following table outlines Ps. Macarius’ holistic anthropology and his vision of the intimate, organic and synergic relationship between the counterparts of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν) and the body (καρδία). It shows Ps.

³⁹¹ See *ap.* Stob. I.368.12-20, quoted in A. A. Long, “Stoic Psychology,” 573.

³⁹² *Homilies*, III.26.4.2.

Macarius' specific way in utilizing the interiorizing concepts of the inner human being and the heart, the relation of which creates a solid base for the development of the notion of an 'inner human-divine meeting place' with a concurrent existence in both the 'spiritual' and the 'physical' realm. This will be argued in the remaining part of this chapter, in which we will examine Ps. Macarius' teaching on the body (ἔξω ἄνθρωπος) and its leading organ – the heart (καρδία). In doing so, furthermore, it will be demonstrated that Ps. Macarius builds an analog relationship between the organ of the heart and the ἡγεμονικόν. By using the same analogy, it will be shown that, just as the physical body houses the soul, the leading part of the body — the physical organ of the heart — houses of the leading part of the soul — the ἡγεμονικόν.



II.3.3. The Body: ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος

In Ps. Macarius' anthropology, the body is simply called the outer human being (ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος) and is the counterpart to the soul, which is called the inner human being (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος).³⁹³ In contrast, in Greek philosophy, there exists a sharp distinction between the body and the soul;³⁹⁴ some of the patristic authors such as Origen demonstrated a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the body, as shown above, Ps. Macarius advocates for an intimate synergic relationship between the two. In Ps. Macarius' corpus, the body has a crucial role in the ascetic practice and obtaining eternal salvation. The person who wishes to become the dwelling place of Christ and inherit eternal salvation, besides fervent prayer, must also engage in a physical struggle by fulfilling all the commandments.³⁹⁵ In Ps. Macarius' anthropology, the body is not limited to this life alone, it is equally important in the world to come. Due to its material nature, the body is subject to decay, but that same body will be refashioned into a renewed spiritual body. Building upon Apostle Paul's notion of the renewal of the bodies and intellects, Ps. Macarius says,

... even if the house of the body is destroyed, they [Christians] do not fear, for they have the heavenly house of the Spirit and the incorruptible glory, which glory in the day of the resurrection will build up and glorify the house of the body, as the Apostle says: "He that raised Christ from the dead shall raise up also your mortal bodies through his Spirit that dwells in you" (Rom 8:11).³⁹⁶

³⁹³ *Homilies*, I.1.3.6. (quoted above)

³⁹⁴ In the classical Hellenistic dualistic philosophy, 'the self' was identified with the soul (ψυχή) rather than the body (σῶμα). In Plato's dualism, for example, the body is temporal, corporal, and changeable and thus it has no kinship with the divine realm in the way the eternal, incorporeal and unchangeable soul does. On the other hand, the attitude toward the body is radically different in the writings of the church fathers of the Late Antiquity. The incarnation of Jesus Christ was seen as *the central* moment in the revelation of the invisible God as well as a crucial instrument for salvation and the eification of man. See Karen Jo Torjesen, "Body" in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, Volume 1 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1997), 186–187.

³⁹⁵ See *Homilies*, II.19.1-2; II.17.4.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, II.5.7.

Upon separation from the body, the soul is given a temporary dwelling place, which is “the heavenly house of the Spirit and the incorruptible glory”, but ultimately, the soul’s habitation remains the same house of the body, which is now glorified by the presence of the Lord and will be resurrected on the last day.³⁹⁷ At the day of resurrection, and consequently in eternity, both body and soul will reign together.³⁹⁸

The important role of the body as a constitutive element of the human being, both now and in the eschaton, can also be seen in Ps. Macarius’ interiorization of the Moses account. In his comment on the NT account on the event on the Mountain of Transfiguration, he reflects on Christ’s transformation into divine glory and into divine light.³⁹⁹ This transfiguration event is interpreted by Ps. Macarius as a paradigm for divine inner transformation of both the soul and the body of the believer.

For as the body of the Lord was glorified when he climbed the mount and was transfigured into the divine glory and into infinite light, so also the bodies of the saints are glorified and shine like lightning. Just as the interior glory of Christ covered his body and shone completely, in the same way also in the saints the interior power of Christ in them in that day will be poured out exteriorly upon their bodies.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ See *Ibid.*, II.5.7. “Therefore, even if the house of the body is destroyed, they do not fear, for they have the heavenly house of the Spirit and the incorruptible glory, which glory in the day of the resurrecting will build up and glorify the house of the body, as the Apostle says: ‘He that raised Christ from the dead shall raise up also your moral bodies through his Spirit that dwells in you’ (Rom 8:11)” See also *Homilies*, II.36.1.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, II.2.5.

³⁹⁹ On Ps. Macarius’ interiorization of Moses account, see Andrei Orlov and Alexander Golitzin, “Many Lamps are Lightened from the One”: Paradigms of the Transformational Vizion in Macarian Homilies”, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 55 (2001): 281-298. Archbishop Golitzin, building on an earlier assertion by Nicholas Sed of Evagrius’ providing the ‘first interiorization’ of Moses’ ascent at Sinai, claims that Ps. Macarius, in a similar manner, reinterprets “the motifs of tabernacle, temple, and of the ascent to heaven for initiation into its mysteries.” Nicholas Sed, “La Shekinta” 240-242 quoted in Golitzin, “A Testimony to Christianity as Transfiguration.”, 7.

⁴⁰⁰ *Homilies*, II.15.38.

In the Ps. Macarian homilies, this inner transfiguration is juxtaposed to Moses' reception of the external luminosity. What Moses is portrayed to have experienced on Sinai was an outward bestowing (outpouring) of the divine glory. Moses' experience was a figure of the real inner illumination that was to come.⁴⁰¹ Christ's transfiguration on the mountain, on the other hand, is internal and substantial. It comes from within Himself. Jesus Christ's interior glory, which is really Yahweh's interiorized glory manifested in the person of Christ, transfigured His physical body from within and made it radiant. In this interiorizing paradigm the bodies of the believers are being transformed through the divine glory that must come and dwell in them internally, in the depths of their hearts.⁴⁰²

II.3.3.1. The Body as a House and a Dwelling Place of the Soul

The body in the Ps. Macarian corpus is designated as *the* place of soul's habitation. In Ps. Macarius' anthropology the material body is described as a house (οἶκος) of the immaterial intellectual soul.⁴⁰³ As has been seen earlier, although the soul is created in the image and likeness of God, the body was modeled by God as a perfect fit and a house for the soul. This house of the

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., II.12.14. "For Moses, when he climbed the mountain, fasted for forty days. He went up as a man; he descended, carrying God with him. And look, we see this verified in us. After the space of a very few days, unless our bodies are sustained by nourishment, they would die. But Moses after fasting forty days descended even stronger than all the others. For he was nourished by God and his body was sustained by another, heavenly food. Indeed, the Word of God was his food, *and he had a glory shining on his countenance. All this, which happened to him was a figure of something else. For that glory now shines splendidly from within the hearts of Christians.* At the resurrection their bodies, as they rise, will be covered with another vesture, one that is divine, and they will be nourished with a heavenly food." (emphasis is mine).

⁴⁰² Andrei Orlov and Alexander Golitzin propose three paradigms of luminous transformation, the third one being the transfiguration on Mt. Tabor which is radically different than the other two. "In this new concept of the transformational vision, Macarius, however, sets a significant distinction between Christ's Transfiguration and human luminous transformation. In contrast to the Lord's metamorphosis, the bodies of mortals cannot be completely 'transfigured into the divine glory' but rather simply become glorified." See, Andrei Orlov and Alexander Golitzin, "Many Lamps are Lightened from the One", 6.

⁴⁰³ See *Homilies*, II.5.7 (I.48.5.9); II.31.2.

body, however, does not strictly define the soul in a limiting sense, due to the soul's noetic and complex nature.

Where is the soul [located] then? It is entirely inside the body, and entirely outside of the body; it apprehends the future and reasons about the things that are to happen. Through its body the soul is on the earth, while through its reasoning faculty (διάνοια) it is in the heavens if it is worthy and faithful. Similar as in the case of a sinner, who, with his body is on the earth while outside he commits evil deeds in far places. But the worthy soul, which is on the earth with its body, through its thoughts, dwells in the heavens, and the Lord Who is in the heavens, places His image in the body of the soul.⁴⁰⁴

In a manner of speaking, the material body is smaller than the soul. Even though the body contains the soul entirely, the soul, due to its intellectual nature has the capacity to relate both with the divine and the material world. “Let no one imagine that the soul is small because it dwells and is found entirely in a small body,”⁴⁰⁵ says Ps. Macarius. On the one hand, through its different noetic parts, especially through its thoughts and its faculty of reasoning, the worthy soul has access to the heavenly realms.⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, through its intimate and organic relationship with the parts of the body, it has access and communicates with the material world. Owing to such synergic relationship and continuity that passes from the intellectual to the material, the body is enlightened, renewed, and deified, as the soul is being enlightened, renewed and deified by the continuous

⁴⁰⁴ The text is my translation into English of Vincent Desprez's edition of Homily 18.2.1. page, 222 (3-11) in *Pseudo-Macarie, Homélie propres à la Collection III, Oeuvres Spirituelles I, Sources Chrétiennes* (LES ÉDITIONS DU CERF, 29, Bd de Latour-Maubourg, Paris, 1980). *Homilies*, III.18.2.1; See also *Ibid*, III.15.5. (Page 176, verses 53-66) “The same is with the soul. No one is able to grasp its thoughts or to prevent the streams of its mind, or to stop it, or to understand the source of the thoughts of its reasoning faculty (τὴν πηγὴν τῶν λογισμῶν τῆς διανοίας), or to know from where they come and where they go to. In fact, where is [the soul] not found? It lives here [through its body] and through its mind and its reasoning faculty is in other far places. If therefore, the earthly things that we hold in our hands are so difficult to grasp, how much more is the one who is born from above and has received the heavenly Spirit of the Lord and mingles with Him in his ‘inner man’; to what degree his soul is incomprehensible? The soul is wherever it wishes to be. If it remains here, the heavenly divine Spirit comes to guide it through the heavenly realms and to teach it.”

⁴⁰⁵ *Homilies*, III.26.4.3.

⁴⁰⁶ By the same token, the soul of the sinner, which is covered by the veil of darkness, misuses its abilities and instead of ascending to the divine realm, it wanders around the earth and commits evil deeds in far places.

presence of God. Although the soul can get out of its body through its thoughts and reasoning faculty and ascend even to the divine realms, it still must return and gather itself in its designated place of dwelling. The reason for this is twofold: first, its existence is synergically tied to its body and the soul can only fully exist in its body, for apart from the body it has no capacity to exist in the material world, and second, since God has willed to make the physical body a place of His habitation, He brings the heavenly realm to the depths of the heart where the soul is best nourished, healed, and guided. This is especially true of the souls that have not yet achieved perfection, for when the thoughts wander wildly and aimlessly around, they need to be gathered into their natural home, together with all the other parts of the soul where they can be properly guided by the deifying presence of the Living God. “Only God, and no one else, is able hold the soul in place, to rule over it, and gather (συναγαγεῖν) its thoughts.”⁴⁰⁷

II.3.3.2. The Leading Faculty of the Body – ἡ καρδιά

In the Ps. Macarian corpus, the concept of the heart plays the role of *the* leading organ of the body. Just as the intellectual soul has a leading organ called the ‘ruling faculty’ of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν), so the material body has a leading organ called – the heart (καρδιά). Furthermore, just as the intellectual soul, especially the ἡγεμονικόν is a creation with great depths, inner complexity and is composed of different parts, the material body, especially the heart, too is a creation with great depths, inner complexity and composed of different parts.⁴⁰⁸ In a passage where Ps. Macarius

⁴⁰⁷ See *Homilies*, III.18.2.2.

⁴⁰⁸ As we have already discussed above, especially in Part One, the concept of the heart is one of the most central anthropological concepts in the Semitic cultures. It was used to express *the self*, the entirety of humans’ existence, including the reason, desires, emotions, intellectual and volitional aspect of life. In the Hellenic philosophy on the other hand, the same aspects of human existence are denoted by utilizing the concepts of the *soul*, the *mind*, the *hegemonicon* etc. In his holistic anthropology, Ps. Macarius is making use of the best of the two worlds, creating a bold fusion that surpasses mere metaphor and creates a physical

elaborates the complexity of the spiritual struggle of the inner human being, he makes an analogue comparison between the members of the human body, more particularly, the organ of the eye and the organ of the heart. He says the following,

There is the example of the eye, little in comparison to all members of the body and the pupil itself is small, yet it is a great vessel. For it sees only in one flash the sky, stars, sun, moon, cities, and other creatures. Likewise, these things are seen in one flash, they are formed and imaged in the small pupil of the eye. So it is with the mind towards the heart. And the heart is but a small vessel, yet there are also dragons and lions; there are poisonous beasts and all the treasures of evil. And there are rough and uneven roads; there are precipices. But there is also God, also the angels, the life and the kingdom, the light and the Apostles, the treasures of grace – there are all things.⁴⁰⁹

Just as the small physical organ of the eye is given the capacity to perceive the material things from the material world, to process and channel them to the inner human being, so the small physical organ of the heart has the capacity to accommodate and process the affairs of the ἡγεμονικόν (the mind). In that respect, the organ of the heart, even though small in appearance, is a vessel with a great complexity and depths, capable of accommodating the complex and deep creation of the soul.

There are, therefore, infinite depths to the human heart. There are found reception rooms, bedrooms, doors, and ante-chambers, many offices and exits. There is found the office of justice and of injustice. There is death and there is life. There takes place upright business as well as the contrary.⁴¹⁰

In this passage Ps. Macarius depicts the realm of the heart as a highly developed structure, or rather, a governing city district with all the necessary chambers, offices, and many doors and rooms where the core of life happens. Ps. Macarius' detailed description of the heart as a complex

inner space for human-divine encounter; See Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 40-55; See also Grundmann, “καρδία” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Ed. Gerhard Kittel, Vol. III (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), 605–620; Sebastian Brock, “The Prayer of the Heart in Syriac Tradition,” in *Sobornost* vol. 4 no. 2 (1982): 131–42.

⁴⁰⁹ *Homilies*, II.43.7.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II.15.32; See also II.41.1.

structure and a city, corresponds to his description of the soul as a “big, immaterial, noetic city of God, with the same depth, offices, chambers and other structures”⁴¹¹ as discussed above. For the intellectual leading faculty to be properly accommodated in the realm of the heart, the heart must be equally profound.

Since the heart accommodates the soul, especially its ἡγεμονικόν (which due to its intellectual nature already is the throne of God’s reign and an image of His Spirit),⁴¹² the heart too becomes a throne of God and place of His habitation. It is this harmony between the heart and the ἡγεμονικόν, that Ps. Macarius designates as the locus of the human-divine encounter. Due to this complex and organic unity with the ἡγεμονικόν, the heart is being ascribed additional attributes such as an altar of the Holy Spirit, and a Bridal Chamber of God.⁴¹³ The properly nurtured and cultivated heart⁴¹⁴ is able to contain the heavenly treasure, and moreover, it is deemed worthy to receive the heavenly Treasurer Himself, the Lord Jesus Christ.⁴¹⁵ “In such a heart”, says Ps. Macarius, “both God and the whole heavenly Church find rest.”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹¹ Ibid., III.19.1.

⁴¹² See *Homilies*, II.30. “τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὁμοίωμα τυγχάνει τῆς ψυχῆς, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ εἰκὼν τοῦ πνεύματος ὑπάρχει.”

⁴¹³ See Ibid., I.7.18.3. “The human body is a temple of God, and if anyone destroys it, the Lord destroys the one who destroyed it. And the human heart is an altar of the Holy Spirit, and unless the altar is pure and holy, [with] desire and hate and wrath and anger outside, the Lord forsakes the altar and departs. Let us hallow the altar with the temple of the Lord so that our lamp may shine and let us go into his bridal chamber.”

⁴¹⁴ The heart in the Ps. Macarian corpus is depicted as an inner field, or rather soil that needs to be cultivated. In the sense of a dynamic inner spiritual struggle, the heart is also called a hidden *workshop* of the heart (ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ τῆς καρδίας ἐργαστηρίῳ. See *Homilies* II.26.21; 47.6; I.2.5.4.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., I.3.2.8. “τοιαύτη καρδία ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καταξιοῦται γενέσθαι καὶ οἰκητήριον πνεύματος. τοιαύτη καρδία ἀπεκδέχεται τὸν ἔνδοξον καὶ ἐπουράνιον θησαυρὸν ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσι. τοιαύτη καρδία αὐτὸν τὸν θησαυροφύλακα Χριστὸν ἀπεκδέχεται καὶ ἔνδυμα δόξης ἄφθαρτον ἐνδιδύσκειται καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀφάρτοις δείπνοις ἀνακλίνεται μετὰ τῶν τελείων καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν πρωτοτόκων ἐκκλησίᾳ λειτουργεῖ καὶ προσκυνεῖ τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ.”

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., II.15.45.

II.3.3.3. The Heart as a Dispersive Agent of the Divine Grace

As the leading part of the body, the heart has directing and governing properties. In one of the key passages regarding the role of the physical heart, Ps. Macarius says,

For the heart directs and governs all the other organs of the body. And when grace pastures the heart, it rules over all the members and the thoughts. For there, in the heart, the mind abides as well as the thoughts of the soul and all its hopes. This is how grace penetrates throughout all parts of the body.⁴¹⁷

The heart, then, enjoys chief position among the organs of the human body. It has the role of a central organ that directs all the other physical members of the body. The main reason for this distinguished status, as Ps. Macarius states clearly, is the very presence of the leading part of the ἡγεμονικόν. Just as the body is the house of the soul, the heart is the house of the ἡγεμονικόν. By housing the leading part of the soul who by nature can receive the presence of God's glory, the heart, if properly guided, is able to disperse the divine grace to all the members of the body. In a manner of speaking, the heart in Ps. Macarius is like a control panel, through which Grace is distributed to all the organs of the body.

Ps. Macarius' theory of locating the leading part of the soul, the ἡγεμονικόν, in the physical organ of the heart seems to have been influenced by contemporary medicine. Galen, one of the most influential medical authors of the second century, in his work *On the Doctrines of Plato and Hippocrates (De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis, PHP)*, advocated for placing the ἡγεμονικόν in the physical organ of the heart.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ *Homilies*, II.15.20. “ἡ γὰρ καρδία ἡγεμονεύει καὶ βασιλεύει ὅλου τοῦ σωματικοῦ ὀργάνου, καὶ ἐπὶν κατάσχη τὰς νομὰς τῆς καρδίας ἢ χάρις, βασιλεύει ὅλων τῶν μελῶν καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς καὶ ὅλοι οἱ λογισμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἡ προσδοκία αὐτῆς, διὸ καὶ διέρχεται ἡ χάρις εἰς ὅλα τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος.”

⁴¹⁸ On the Stoic location of the ἡγεμονικόν in the heart see, Long, A. A., 1999, “Stoic Psychology”, in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld & M. Schofield (Bibliography/Section B) (Cambridge, 1999); Julia Annas, *Hellenistic Philosophy of mind*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Walter Burkert,

The soul is *pneuma* connate with us, extending as continuum through the whole body as long as the free-flowing breath of life is present in the body. Now the parts of the soul that have been assigned to the several parts [of the body], that of them which extends to the trachea is the voice; that to the eyes, sight; that to the tongue, taste; that to the entire flesh, touch; and that which extends to the testicles, possessing another such *logos*, is seminal. *That part where all these meets is in the heart, being the governing element (hegemonikon) of the soul.* This being so, there is agreement about all other parts, but about the governing part of the soul there is disagreement, some placing it in one region, others in another... Thus, the place seems to elude us, since we have neither a clear perception [of it], as we have had with the others, nor sure sign from which this matter might be inferred; otherwise, disagreement among physicians and philosophers would not have grown so great (emphasis mine).⁴¹⁹

Galen, seems to have built upon the popular Stoic teaching of the soul, especially Chrysippus⁴²⁰, who following Praxagoras, disregarded the new theories of the independent functions of the nervous system,⁴²¹ and reverted to a more primitive view on the soul, where the nervous system was identified with the arteries and the veins and located in the heart instead of the brain.⁴²² Many patristic authors, without theologically acclaiming them, seem to have referred to them and utilized them as contemporary medical theories. The use of medicinal knowledge for theology was

“Towards Plato and Paul: The ‘Inner’ Human Being”, in *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture: Essays in Honor of Hans Dieter Betz*, Edited by Adela Yarbro Collins, (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press: 1998); Kevin Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory: Mind, Soul and Body in the 4th Century*, (Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009); George H. van Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context: The image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Christianity* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

⁴¹⁹ See Galen, *On the Doctrines of Plato and Hippocrates (PHP)* 287-89K, 170, trans. de Lacy (1984), quoted in Julia Annas, *Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 61-62.

⁴²⁰ “Thanks to extensive quotations by Galen in his work *On the Doctrines of Plato and Hippocrates (PHP)* we can read excerpts of what Chrysippus wrote in two of his lost works, *On the Soul* and *On Emotions*.” Long, A. A., 1999, “Stoic Psychology”, 562-563.

⁴²¹ “Among Hellenistic physicians the use made of *pneuma* was complicated by Herophilus’ and Erasistratus’ remarkable discoveries concerning the nerves. They succeeded in isolating the nerves from the cardio-vascular system and connecting them with the brain” Long, A. A., 1999, “Stoic Psychology”, 568.

⁴²² See Galen, *PHP* I.6.13; I.7.1; II.5.71, quoted in Long, A. A., 1999, “Stoic Psychology”, 567-568. See, Julia Annas, *Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind*, 68-69.

common in Origen, Gregory of Nyssa,⁴²³ and especially his brother Basil of Caesarea who had particular interest in medicine.⁴²⁴ Above all, this is true for Ps. Macarius, who clearly built upon the notion of the central importance of the organ of the heart and fused it with the interiorized notion of the presence of God, giving the heart the central place of the interiorized theophany. This exceptionally important role that Ps. Macarius ascribed to the physical heart and its indwelling counterpart — the *hegemonikon* — as a realm of human–divine encounter, is one of his most influential ideas, which was adopted and further developed in the later Eastern Orthodox spirituality. Despite Ps. Macarius’ influence on later Byzantine authors being largely neglected, his interiorized notion of the presence of God in the physical heart has had tremendous influence. For example, “Maximus the Confessor,” as Marcus Plested has shown, “used the Macarian understanding of the place of the heart to balance the primacy of the intellect found in Evagrius. This gives his anthropology a far more holistic quality. He has grounded Evagrian spirituality in the earth of a Macarian heart.”⁴²⁵ Further on, in one of the patristic texts on prayer ascribed to St. Symeon the New Theologian, one reads that true prayer is in a way conditioned by the drawing of

⁴²³ See Gregory of Nyssa, *Song of Songs, Homily 3*, where the heart receives the ‘fragrant presence of Christ’ through the *hegemonikon* and distributes to the rest of the body. “‘As to me,’ she says, ‘the bundle that I hang from my neck upon the breast and by which I give my body a sweet smell is not one of the other perfumed herbs, but the Lord himself, become myrrh, lies in the bundle of my conscience dwelling in my very heart.’ For the experts in these matters say that the location of the heart is between the breasts. The bride says that she keeps her receptacle there in the place where goodness is treasured up. But they also say that the heart is a source of the heat within us. From it warmth is shared out through the arteries to the whole body, and by its means the body’s limbs become warm and alive, secretly heated by the heart’s fire. When then, she has accepted the sweet scent of the Lord with her ruling part and has made of the heart a container for such incense, she accustoms all the several pursuits of her life, like the limbs of some body, to simmer with the Spirit that spreads from her heart, and no lawlessness chills the love of God in any members of her body.” Gregory of Nyssa, *Homilies on the Song of Songs*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Richard A. Norris, Jr. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 104-105. Even though Gregory does not deny the connection between the *hegemonikon* and the physical organ of the heart, he is careful to underline that the central importance of the heart comes from the indwelling of the *hegemonikon* in the heart, not vice versa. See Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Creation of Man*, Homily 12 (PG 44, 156C-164D).

⁴²⁴ See Kevin Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory: Mind, Soul and Body in the 4th Century*, 48, 186-187.

⁴²⁵ Marcus Plested, *Macarian Legacy*, 242.

the intellect into the place of the heart. In this text that offers practical advice of the position of the body during prayer, prayer itself becomes much more than a mere intellectual activity, and more importantly, the entire activity is interiorized, everything happens within the space of the heart.

This shows striking parallels with the realm of the heart as described in Ps. Macarius.

Then sit down in a quiet cell, in a corner by yourself, and do what I tell you. Close the door and withdraw your intellect from everything worthless and transient. Rest your beard on your chest, and focus your physical gaze, together with the whole of your intellect, upon the center of your belly or your navel. Restrain the drawing-in of breath through your nostrils, so as not to breathe easily, and search inside yourself with your intellect so as to find the place of the heart, where all the powers of the soul reside. To start with, you will find there, darkness and an impenetrable density. Later, when you persist and practice this task day and night, you will find, as though miraculously, an unceasing joy. For as soon as the intellect attains the place of the heart, at once it sees things of which it previously knew nothing. It sees the open space within the heart, and it beholds itself entirely luminous and full of discrimination.⁴²⁶

The concept of the drawing the mind into the physical organ of the heart, accompanied with specific bodily positions, was also adopted and further developed by the Hesychastic movement.

St. Gregory Palamas, directly quoting from Ps. Macarius', writes the following,

Thus, our heart is the place of the rational faculty, the first rational organ of the body. Consequently, when we seek to keep watch over and correct our reason by a rigorous sobriety, with what are we to keep watch, if we do not gather together our mind, which has been dissipated abroad by the senses, and lead it back again into the interior, to the selfsame heart which is the seat of the thoughts? This is why . . . Macarius immediately goes on to say, "It is there one must look to see if grace has inscribed the laws of the Spirit." Where but in the heart, the controlling organ, the throne of grace, where the mind and all the thoughts of the soul are to be found?⁴²⁷

In St. Symeon the New Theologian and St. Gregory Palamas' texts we witness that Ps. Macarius' interiorizing theology has come a long way in becoming the accepted basis for later Eastern monastic spirituality.

⁴²⁶ St. Symeon The New Theologian, "The Three Methods of Prayer," in *Philocalia* vol. 4, trans. and ed. by G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, and K. Ware. (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 72–3.

⁴²⁷ *Triads* I.2.3; Gregory Palamas, *The Triads*, trans. Nicholas Gendle, (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 43.

II.3.4. The Spiritual Senses

The doctrine of the spiritual (or divine) sense (θεία αἴσθησις) is clearly an interiorizing concept that Ps. Macarius inherited from Origen. In *Contra Celsum*, Origen quotes a non-Septuagint Greek translation of Proverbs 2:5, thus paving the way for the ‘doctrine’ of the spiritual senses.⁴²⁸ Since then, Origen’s use of sensory language has made tremendous influence on Christian spirituality and shaped what would later become a tradition of the spiritual senses.⁴²⁹ In his influential essay “Le début d’une doctrine de cinq sens spirituels chez Origène”, K. Rahner defines the doctrine of the spiritual senses by setting two main criteria. First, there must be evidence of a “non-metaphorical” use of the sensory language; second, all five senses must be used in the spiritual perception of the immaterial realities.⁴³⁰ K. Rahner’s theory builds upon previous methodological tools regarding the doctrine of the spiritual senses developed by A. Poulain’s who, although he himself did not study Origen’s works, insisted on an analogical correlation between the spiritual

⁴²⁸ “There is, as scripture calls it, a certain generic divine sense which only the man who is blessed finds on this earth. Thus, Solomon says (Prov. 2:5): ‘Thou shalt find a divine sense’. There are many forms of this sense: a sight which can see things superior to corporeal beings, the cherubim or seraphim being obvious instances, and a hearing which can receive impressions of sounds that have no objective existence in the air, and a taste which feeds on living bread that has come down from heaven and gives life to the world (John 6:33). So, also there is a sense of smell which smells spiritual things, as Pau speaks of ‘a sweet savour of Christ unto God’ (2 Cor. 2:15) and a sense of touch in accordance with which John says that he has handled with his hands ‘of the Word of life’ (1 John 1:1).” Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I.48 (PG II.749AB) transl. by H. Chadwich; See also, VII.34 (PG III1469B).

⁴²⁹ See Mark J. Mcinroy, “Origen of Alexandria” in *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity*, edited by Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley, (Cambridge: University Press, 2012), 22; Marcus Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 134-140; 236-237; Marcus Plested, “The Spiritual Senses, Monastic and Theological”, in *Knowing Bodies, Passionate Souls: Sense Perceptions in Byzantium*, edited by Susan Ashbrook Harvey and Margaret Mullett, (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2017), 301-312.

⁴³⁰ See Karl Rahner, “Le début d’une doctrine de cinq sens spirituels chez Origène”, *RAM*, 13 (1932):113-145, 114.

and corporeal counterparts and established the single most important element of defining such sensory language, which is the notion of the presence of God.⁴³¹

Without getting into a theoretical analysis of the nature of metaphor or critically assessing K. Rahner's utilization of such terminology, on the basis of the above-mentioned criteria (the usage of all five senses, the analogue relationship between the spiritual and corporeal counterparts, and the concept of the presence of God), we maintain that Ps. Macarius has much to say about spiritual senses. To use Marcus Plested's words, "[f]or a truly robust and unapologetically embodied understanding of the spiritual senses we must turn to Macarius."⁴³² The passages in the Homilies that refer to the spiritual senses reaffirm Ps. Macarius' truly holistic anthropology are based on a synergic and intimate relationship of the body and the soul; thus, as shall be seen in the following chapter, it is rightly positioned for accommodating the continuous and transformational presence of God in the depths of the human being. Although Ps. Macarius states that there exist five spiritual senses, on occasions he uses them in a way that is rather different than Origen's. In one of his homilies, he combines the five senses with five moral virtues. He says,

The five rational senses of the soul, [consciousness, knowledge, discernment, patience, and mercy, (Αἱ γὰρ πέντε αἰσθήσεις τῆς ψυχῆς, σύνεσις, γνῶσις, διάκρισις, ὑπομονή, ἔλεος)] if they have received grace from above and the sanctification of the Spirit, truly they are the prudent virgins.⁴³³

⁴³¹ "Does the soul possess intellectual spiritual senses, having some resemblance to the bodily senses, so that in an analogous manner and in diverse ways, she is able to perceive the *presence* of pure spirits (*la presence des purs esprits*), and the presence of God in Particular." A. Poulain, *Des Graces d'Oraison*, (Paris: G. Beauchene, 1922), p. 93, English translation, L. L. Yorke Smith from the 6th edition as *The Graces of Interior Prayer* and corrected to accord the 10th French edition (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1950), 88.

⁴³² Marcus Plested, "The Spiritual Senses, Monastic and Theological", 306.

⁴³³ *Homilies*, I.49.2.3. The same quotation in II.4.7 omits listing the senses, instead, just states that there are five of them.

In other texts yet, Ps. Macarius draws closer to the classical, Origenist way of referring to the senses.

[T]he soul, which is subtle, is aided by the eye by which it sees, by the ear through which it hears, likewise the tongue by which it can communicate in words, the hand, and, in a word, the whole body. The soul blends with these and through them accomplishes all its actions or performs all of its works.⁴³⁴

This passage clearly underlines Ps. Macarius' reciprocity between the inner and the outer man of the human being. It is not the activity of the physical senses that defines the spiritual ones, but the converse; it is through the activity of the spiritual senses of the soul, which is mingled with the body and the bodily senses, that everything else comes in place. Out of the five, Ps. Macarius really focuses on the senses of sight and taste.⁴³⁵ The sense of the taste, for example, is used as a means for grasping Christian faith. He says, "Christianity is similar to tasting deeply of the truth, eating and drinking of truth."⁴³⁶ Further on, the vision of God in the depths of the human heart can be truly experienced by the spiritual sense of sight.⁴³⁷ In this manner, the members of the ἡγεμονικόν, namely, the leading faculties of the soul including the mind and the faculty of discerning, become the eyes of the soul (ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς).⁴³⁸ Besides the inner sight and the inner taste, Ps. Macarius applies this sensory language to listening and talking. Just as under the Old Testament, the Scriptures were read with the eyes of the body, after the outpouring of the Spirit, Christians read with the eyes of the soul, talk with a new inner language (τῇ ἔσωθεν γλώσση καινῇ λαλοῦσι) and listen with their inner ears (τοῖς ἔσωθεν ὠσὶν ἀκούουσιν).⁴³⁹ Finally, it should be mentioned that even though there are multiple spiritual senses, the soul's organ of sense (αἰσθητήριον) is

⁴³⁴ Ibid., II.4.9.

⁴³⁵ Marcus Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 138.

⁴³⁶ *Homilies*, II.27.7.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., I.58.1.1.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., I.4.25.1; I.18.6.9; I.44.2.3; I.49.1.1 (II.4.1); III.16.6.1. Cf. I.3.1.8 and I.3.3.1. where the soul itself could be observed with its spiritual eyes.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., III.15.2.

one.⁴⁴⁰ Due to the original transgression, the soul's organ of sense was blinded, it lost the spiritual tasting and was covered with darkness. The organ of the spiritual sense has died out to God.⁴⁴¹ The incarnation of Christ was *the* event by which the senses were revitalized, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost was *the* event that enabled the uncovering of the spiritual eyes to the disciples, and through them that same benefit became available to all Christians.⁴⁴²

II.3.5. Conclusion

We have now completed our analysis of the concept of the inner human being (ἔσω ἄνθρωπος), which in Ps. Macarius functions as a synonym for the soul and have seen how he distinguishes between different parts of the soul and designates a leading faculty of the soul, which he also calls the ἡγεμονικόν. Although in general the ἡγεμονικόν of the Homilies is often associated and equated with the human mind (νοῦς), we have seen how, when used in the context of one's spiritual struggle towards perfection, the ἡγεμονικόν consists of several members, one of which is the νοῦς. In this respect, the mind becomes simply one of the four members of the ἡγεμονικόν which ultimate goal is to surrender its leading role to God as the single ruler of the throne of the soul. Turning to the notion of the heart (καρδία), which Ps. Macarius designates as the leading organ of the 'outer human being', i.e. the body (ἔξω ἄνθρωπος), we distinguished three aspects which together create the interiorizing concept of the heart as the location of God's glorious presence in man. By bringing the physical and noetic aspects of human existence into an intimate, organic, and synergic relationship with each other, as well as by stressing the complementary and analog relationship between the members of the body and the members of the soul, Ps. Macarius sees the

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., I.58.3.3.

⁴⁴¹ While Adam's organ of spiritual senses died out immediately after the transgression, his body died 930 years later.

⁴⁴² *Homilies*, I.63.1.5.

leading organ of the — the physical heart — as a counterpart and an abode of the leading organ of the soul — the ἡγεμονικόν. Consequently, as the ἡγεμονικόν itself is the dwelling place of God's glorious presence, the physical heart (the leading part of the body) that houses the ἡγεμονικόν (the leading part of the soul) becomes the locus of the human-divine encounter. It is precisely in this hierarchical unity, we have maintained, that Ps. Macarius pictures the process of the divine grace penetrating all members of the human being. God, with His dwelling presence, empowers the ἡγεμονικόν, which in turn, with its dwelling presence, empowers the members of the physical body through the dispersing properties of the heart. In achieving this theological synthesis, Ps. Macarius utilizes and synthesizes the best insights of the Judaic culture, Christian theological thought, various concepts from the Hellenistic-Stoic philosophies, and the contemporary medical findings. We maintain that this provides Ps. Macarius with a distinctive and easily recognizable place in the Eastern Christian tradition. Ps. Macarius' assertion of the heart as a place of God's dwelling, prepares the way for the last chapter of this dissertation, in which we will investigate Ps. Macarius' interiorized rendering of the concept of God's glorious presence.

II.4. INTERIORIZED PRESENCE: EXPERIENCING THE CONTINUOUS AND TRANSFORMATIONAL INNER PRESENCE OF THE DIVINE GLORY

Having defined the role of the heart as a place of God's habitation by investigating the two interiorizing concepts of the inner man and the heart, we now turn to Ps. Macarius' rendering of the concept of the presence of God. In this chapter we argue that at the core of our author's theology lies his postulation of the necessity for a continuous transformational presence of God in the depths of the inner human being. This presence, for Ps. Macarius, is identical with the presence of Yahweh among his people in the Old Testament (which we designated as the first stage of interiorization) and the presence of God in Jesus Christ and the Church (in the second stage of interiorization). Building on Columba Stewart's detailed study of the metaphors of mixing, blending, and indwelling (both of God and evil) in the human heart,⁴⁴³ we shall portray Ps. Macarius' interiorizing spirituality as exceptionally dynamic, ascetical, and experiential. Thus, instead of an author guilty of Messalianism, Ps. Macarius will be presented as an influential theologian of the Eastern Orthodox Church who distinctively advocates for experiencing the inner presence with full assurance and feeling of sensation.

To achieve this aim, the present chapter will discuss the ontological transformation of the entire human being as the ultimate goal in Ps. Macarius' discourse of interiorization. Following Archbishop Golitzin's research, who linked Ps. Macarius' interiorized reinterpretation of *Ezekiel's Chariot Throne* with the Jewish Merkabah tradition,⁴⁴⁴ this chapter will investigate Ps. Macarius' interiorized presence of God as a localized Holy of Holies of human hearts. We shall argue that in Ps. Macarius' interiorized reinterpretation of the divine presence, Yahweh's throne is no longer

⁴⁴³ See Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 169-240.

⁴⁴⁴ See Golitzin, "A Testimony of Christianity as Transfiguration."

one, but many. There are as many thrones as there are human hearts who are sanctified, and that God's presence is no longer *among* the people, but *in* the people themselves. This last point, we argue, underlines Ps. Macarius as a distinctive, and in many ways unique representative of the third stage of the discourse of interiority in the Eastern Christian Tradition.

In the concluding sections of the chapter, we will bring into focus the concept of the double man (*διπλοῦς*) in Ps. Macarius. This concept has only been briefly mentioned by other scholars. Here, however, it will be explored as an important notion in the understanding of the continuous inner presence of God's glory by acquiring of the perfect Image and Icon of God in us. This, we argue, is Ps. Macarius' way of laying out the traditional Eastern Orthodox teaching on deification (*theosis*). Finally, by mapping out Ps. Macarius' stages of spiritual progress, we will note his method of inverted spiritual growth in which ascending to God is accomplished by descending into the depths of the human heart. This will lead to the ultimate goal of Ps. Macarius' interiorizing spirituality, which is uniting with the presence of God in the inner human being, growing into perfection, and becoming divinized.

II.4.1. Ezekiel's Divine Charioteer

In Part One of this dissertation, we analyzed the importance of the concept of the presence of God for the Israelites during times of exile. Our claim there was that Ezekiel's inaugural prophesy was the first written Old Testament source in which we witness the movement from the institutionalized and 'petrified' toward a more decentralized concept of the indwelling of Divine Glory. We examined the OT references to Yahweh's visitation to his people in Babylon via his mobile chariot throne where this was interpreted as a visitation of His glorious presence, the

fullness of which was manifested in the Holy of Holies. We also discussed how Ezekiel's vision of the chariot throne, over the centuries, inspired a wide-ranging body of apocalyptic Merkabah literature that has since then engaged in mystical reinterpretations of Ezekiel's *visio Dei*.⁴⁴⁵ In this subchapter, we will revisit Ezekiel's vision of the chariot throne as reinterpreted and interiorized notion of the presence of God in the Ps. Macarian corpus.

Scholars have often associated Ps. Macarius' reinterpretation of Ezekiel's vision of the Chariot Throne with the mystical rendering of the so called Merkabah tradition. In his work *Major Trends*, for example, Gershom Scholem pointed out to Ps. Macarius' reinterpretation on Ezekiel's *visio Dei*, which he called "a mystical reinterpretation of the *Merkavah* tradition."⁴⁴⁶ Commenting on Scholem's observation, Archbishop Alexander Golitzin has warned of the lack of Ps. Macarian studies which acknowledges Scholem's point, which he believes is valid.⁴⁴⁷ Archbishop Golitzin has since dedicated his effort and further elaborated on Ps. Macarius' reinterpretation of Ezekiel's chariot throne as well as his connections with the apocalyptic mysticism, the later Rabbinic Literature, and other pseudepigraphical materials.⁴⁴⁸ While the mystical use of Ezekiel in early monastic literature is not unique, Archbishop Golitzin relates, "Macarius provides the clearest example I know of an 'adjusted,' Christian, *merkavah* mysticism."⁴⁴⁹ Building upon these findings,

⁴⁴⁵ See discussion in subchapter I.1.3. *The Chariot Throne and the Apocalyptic Merkabah Literature*, of this dissertation.

⁴⁴⁶ Scholem, *Major Trends*, 79.

⁴⁴⁷ See Bishop Golitzin, "Earthly Angels and Heavenly Man", 147.

⁴⁴⁸ "This is not to say that Macarius' monks were reading RABBINIC literature. They did not need to, since they -- or, certainly, other Christian ascetics -- were busy at the time and thereafter translating and copying earlier apocalyptic and other pseudepigraphical materials for themselves." Golitzin, *A Testimony to Christianity as Transfiguration*, 6-7.

⁴⁴⁹ Golitzin, "Heavenly Mysteries: Themes from Apocalyptic Literature in the Macarian Homilies and Selected Other Fourth-Century Ascetical Writers" in *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity*, ed. By Robert J. Daly, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2009), 187.

we shall now turn our attention to Ps. Macarius' reinterpretation of Ezekiel's vision as demonstrating one of the key aspects of his interiorization, namely necessity for the transformational presence of God in the depths of the human heart. Such presence, as interiorized by Ps. Macarius is really a recapitulation and realignment of the original order in the creation of the human being.

Ps. Macarius' interiorized reinterpretation is recorded in the first homily of the most popular second collection. It is also briefly commented on in Homily 33.2 of the same collection and revisited in Homily 29.2.1-6. of the still untranslated first collection. From the very outset, Ps. Macarius summarizes the Old Testament event as a divine, glorious, and mysterious vision that goes beyond the capacity of human understanding. He narrates,

When Ezekiel the prophet beheld the divinely, glorious vision, he described it in human terms but in a way full of mysteries that completely surpass the powers of the human mind. He saw in a plain a chariot of Cherubim, for spiritual animals. Each one had four faces. On one side each had the face of a lion, on another side that of an eagle, while on the third side each had the face of a bull. On the fourth side each had the face of a human being. To each of the faces were attached wings so that one could not discern any front or posterior parts. Their backs were full of eyes and likewise their breasts were covered with eyes so that there was no place that was not completely covered with eyes. And there were three wheels for each face, a wheel within a wheel. And in the wheels, there was inserted a spirit. And Ezekiel saw what appeared to be the likeness of a man and under his feet there was an artistic setting in sapphire. And the Cherubim and the animals pulled the chariot on which sat the Lord. In whichever direction he wished to go, he merely pointed his face in that direction. He was under the cherubim as it were the hand of a man carrying and balancing it.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁵⁰ *Homilies*, II.1.1.

In a similar fashion with other mystical interpretations of Ezekiel's vision,⁴⁵¹ Ps. Macarius depicts the chariot throne⁴⁵² as a divine mobile vehicle that carries the presence of the Lord. In Ps. Macarius' rendering, however, this true and certain revelation that was offered to Ezekiel in a vision and a trance, "was only signifying and foreshadowing something no less hidden, something divine and mysterious,"⁴⁵³ whose real meaning was to be revealed after the coming of Jesus Christ. Ps. Macarius confirms the validity of Ezekiel's vision and experience. What Ezekiel saw was the true glory of God. There are however, many more layers to this *visio Dei*, for in Ezekiel's vision, Ps. Macarius says, there is "'a mystery hidden for generations' but that 'has been revealed only in our time, the end of ages,' when Christ appeared."⁴⁵⁴

As a contribution to the scholarship on Ps. Macarius' interiorized reinterpretation of Ezekiel's *visio Dei*, this chapter seeks to introduce a twofold nuance on the hidden and ultimate meaning of the chariot throne as well as on the pattern by which God is present among his people. For Ps. Macarius, after the major interiorizing events, namely the coming of Christ and the pouring of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of man,⁴⁵⁵ it is the human soul (or heart) that becomes the true mobile throne of God's glorious presence. He says,

For the prophet was viewing the mystery of the human soul that would receive its Lord and would become his throne of glory. For the soul that is deemed to be judged worthy to participate in the light of the Holy Spirit by becoming his throne and

⁴⁵¹ See Origen, *Homilies 1-14 on Ezekiel*, in "Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation, no. 62, ed. Dennis D. McManus, John Dillon (New York: The New Man Press, 2010). For Gregory of Nyssa see Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Soul and The Resurrection*, in NPNF, Series II, vol. IV. December 13, 2009. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf205.html>.

⁴⁵² While the vision implies a divine vehicle like a chariot throne, the book of Ezekiel does not use the word chariot specifically. See discussion in I.1.3. of this thesis.

⁴⁵³ *Homilies*, II.1.2.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, III.8.1.5.

habitation, and is covered with the beauty of ineffable glory of the Spirit, becomes all light, all face, all eye.⁴⁵⁶

The mobile chariot throne of Ezekiel's vision, serving God as a vehicle, by which He was present wherever his people might be, even into exile in Babylon, after the coming of Christ and through the operation of the Spirit, is identified with the souls of men. Every true believer is given the opportunity to become a chariot throne of God's glorious presence. In this manner, Yahweh's chariot throne is no longer one, but many. It is not a single vehicle or a single throne, but multiple vehicles, and multiple thrones. Consequently, God's presence is no longer *among* his people, but *in* his people. The mysterious throne of the soul in this discourse, not only becomes a vehicle of God's glory but has been deemed worthy to participate in his glory and become a place of his habitation. Further on, Ps. Macarius' reinterpretation of Ezekiel's chariot throne reveals the ontological, transformational, and soteriological role of God's presence in us. By participating in the light and operation of God's glory and by becoming a place for God's habitation, the soul itself undergoes ontological and soteriological transformations. He says,

[O]ur Lord himself ... said to *those who have taken on themselves such faith and zeal*: 'We shall come, I and my Father, and *make our abode with him*'; and again, 'he who loves me will be loved by my Father, and *I shall manifest myself to him*.' [Jn 14:21 and 23]. Thus, just as *he is seated on his own throne, so he will also take up his rest in our hearts*. As it is written in Ezekiel that *God is seated while borne up by the intelligible and spiritual living creatures* [i.e., the *hayyot* or cherubim], who are full of eyes throughout all their members in front and back [cf. Ezk 1:18]; so, too, *the soul, which has been made worthy by faith, and with much prayer, and by zeal in all the commandments receives within herself the Great King, Christ, and, becoming his intelligible temple and throne, becomes all light and all eye, and all heaven* and unspeakable beauty through *the divine power which mingles itself with her substance* and, by means of this fellowship, *turns her into heaven* and divine beauty. Therefore, blessed is that soul which has adopted such zeal for Christ that, from this very moment and while still in the flesh, *she attains to those heavenly good things*, whose body is made worthy of *becoming a temple and dwelling place* [*naos kai katoiketerion*] *of the Heavenly King*. [It is] as the Apostle says "*Your bodies are the temples of the Holy Spirit that is in you*" [I Cor 6:19]; and again,

⁴⁵⁶ *Homilies*, II.1.2.

while exhorting his faithful listeners to strive zealously to be made worthy of this great rank through faith, he says: ‘Glorify God in our bodies!’ [I Cor 6:20]. *Such a soul*, like the worthy bride of a worthy bridegroom, rejoicing together with the Lord in the house of its body through the mystical fellowship of the Spirit, *rejoices without ceasing*, as was said by the prophet: ‘In the way that a bridegroom rejoices with a bride, so does the Lord rejoice with you.’ [Isa 62:5] ... [T]he soul which has been made worthy, through faith and virtue, to receive the Master and King who built her in the house of her body, and to become his pure and holy bride through the ineffable and mystical fellowship of the Spirit, *possesses there*, hidden away, all ‘*treasures of knowledge*’ [cf. Col 2:3] stored up *in the house of her body*. There, treasured up, are *the heavenly and shining robes* of the Spirit. There, filling everything, is the fragrance of the Holy Spirit. There *the festivals of the holy angels and powers* are always being celebrated, because *the Master and King, Christ, dwells within*. Simply put, such a soul is always being *filled with every kind of spiritual joy and heavenly delight*. She has the [company of] the heavenly Bridegroom dwelling in the house of her body [and] uninterruptedly present with it. Truly blessed is that soul which has been *made worthy here-below of such great good things!*⁴⁵⁷

This passage is important as it reveals that, for Ps. Macarius, the presence of God on the throne of the soul is not only true and real, but also a presence of the fullness of the Godhead. In the passage, Ps. Macarius mentions the three persons of the Trinity, namely the Father and the Son who make their abode in the soul, as well as the Holy Spirit Who is equally present by the energy of his mystical fellowship. Consequently, the soul itself goes through an ontological transformation as it mingles (ἀνακρνάω) with the Divine Power on a level of substance (ὑπόστασις). In this way, the soul is made a suitable place for God’s habitation. The soul thus becomes, all light, all eyes (like the many eyed seraphim in the prophetic vision), temple and throne of God. Simply put, the soul is being turned into heaven and into divine beauty. In this passage, one more time, Ps. Macarius’ holistic anthropology is evident. This substantial transformation is not merely intellectual, but physical too. All the treasures and benefits that come as a result of mystical fellowship with the

⁴⁵⁷ *Homilies*, I. 29.2.1-6. Translated by Bishop Golitzin from H. Berthold, ed., *Makarios/Symeon. Reden und Briefe: Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, GCS (Berlin:1973), Vol.I, 262:25-264:19, in Alexander Golitzin, *Making the Inside like the Outside: Toward a Monastic Sitz im Leben for the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel*, 12-13.

Divine power are kept in the house of the soul – the body.⁴⁵⁸ In order undergo this transformation, the soul needs to embark on a spiritual journey that requires considerable prayer, tremendous zeal, as well as following all the Commandments.

II.4.2. The Concept of διπλοῦς ἄνθρωπος – Continuous Inner Presence⁴⁵⁹

The concept of διπλοῦς ἄνθρωπος (twofold man, double man, or double soul) is yet another example of Ps. Macarius' interiorization of the presence of God. To the best of our knowledge, the concept of διπλοῦς has not received more serious treatment as a theological interiorizing concept. It has been briefly mentioned by Desprez,⁴⁶⁰ C. Stewart,⁴⁶¹ and M. Plested.⁴⁶² Their comments, however, are mostly in the context of the Messalian controversy. In this subchapter, it will be studied through the lenses of Ps. Macarius' overarching interiorizing tendency in which the need for a continuous transforming inner presence is imperative.

⁴⁵⁸ As previously discussed by the examination of Jesus Christ's Transfiguration event on the mountain, the grace that is received internally, transforms the body and the entire human being through the dispersing properties of the physical organ of the heart. Also, detailed treatment has been devoted to this aspect in the subchapters Parts of the Soul and the leading faculty of the soul – τὸ ἡγεμονικόν as an interiorized concept of the four animals of the chariot throne. See subchapter II.3.3. The Body: ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος, in this thesis.

⁴⁵⁹ This subchapter, somewhat modified and in part, was presented in a paper at the Eighteenth International Patristic Conference held in Oxford 2019, and later published in the proceedings. See Dean Georgheski, "Divine Origin or Divine Becoming: The Concept of διπλοῦς in Pseudo-Macarius' Homilies and Plotinus' Enneads" in *Studia Patristica CXXII* vol. 20, ed. Markus Vinzent (Leuven: Peeters, 2021), 227-235.

⁴⁶⁰ See Desprez, *Pseudo Macarie*, 162-163.

⁴⁶¹ See Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 67; note 138 on p.196-197; 279. Stewart's comments on the concept of *diploous*, or rather faith as a second soul, are mostly in context of the Messalian controversy.

⁴⁶² See Plested, *The Macarian Legacy*, 225-226. M. Plested's comments on the concept of *diploous* are mostly in context of Ps. Macarius' influence on Maximus the Confessors later theology. See also M. Plested, "The Spiritual Senses, Monastic and Theological", 307.

The adjective ‘double’ (διπλοῦς) specifically, appears only three times in the Ps. Macarian *Homilies*, two of which are identical.⁴⁶³ The conceptions behind the idea of the double man, however, are evident throughout the Ps. Macarian corpus. Ps. Macarius is not unique in attempting to explicate the twofold spiritual reality experienced by Christian believers. The Apostle Paul who first introduced the metaphor of the ‘inner man’ in Christianity,⁴⁶⁴ provided the framework for further theological discussions distinguishing the inner spiritual struggle from the outward practice. Building upon the Apostle Paul’s heritage, Origen, too, in his *Dialogue with Heraclides*, addresses the complexity of such a spiritual dichotomy.⁴⁶⁵ Later on, Ephrem the Syrian in his *Rhythm The Eightieth*,⁴⁶⁶ a passage that resembles Ps. Macarius’ notion of the twofold man⁴⁶⁷, discusses the acquisition of a second soul, which, suggests that other Christian authors within the Syriac milieu were familiar with the concept of the double soul. The teaching on the need to acquire a second soul, however, was later deemed heretical. In his list of Messalian heresies, among others, St. John of Damascus numbers “the acquiring of the two souls” as one of their key heretical teachings. According to the Damascene, the Messalians preached “that a man must

⁴⁶³ *Homilies*, III.10.3.4, II.15.22 and I.32.8.7 (TLG search). The last two verses are contained in an overlapping material of the first and the third collection.

⁴⁶⁴ See earlier discussion in Part I of this dissertation, I.2.1. The Inner Man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in Apostle Paul.

⁴⁶⁵ Even though Origen did not use the adjective διπλοῦς, he writes of the two different human beings and two different spiritual realities. “Scripture says that the human being is two human beings (Δύο ἄνθρώπους ἢ γραφή λέγει εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον).” *Dialogue with Heraclides*, 11. See also, *Dialogue with Heraclides*, 16: “There are, therefore, two human beings in each of us” (Δύο οὖν καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι), in Origen, *Treatise on the Passover and Dialogue of Origen with Heraclides and his fellow Bishops on the Father, the Son, and the Soul*, Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation 54, translated and annotated by Robert J. Daly, edited by Walter J. Burghardt, Thomas Comerford Lawler, and John J. Dillon (Mahwah, New Jersey, 1992); See *Homilies*, I.2.3.2-3.

⁴⁶⁶ In Ephrem’s quotation, one’s faith is a second soul. “Inquire and hearken discriminatingly that faith is a second soul; and as the body standeth by the soul, the life of the soul also hangeth on faith, and if it deny it or be divided, it becometh a corpse. That mortal body then dependeth upon the soul, and the soul is dependent upon faith, and faith also itself dependeth upon the Godhead...” *Rhythm* 80.1; Saint Ephrem the Syrian, *Rhythms*, Translated by The Rev. J.B. Morris, M.A. (Oxford, 1847), 360.

⁴⁶⁷ See *Homilies*, II.15.22 and I.32.8.7.

acquire two souls, one which is common to people, and one which is heavenly.”⁴⁶⁸ There exist several anti-Messalian lists, but the condemnation of the teaching on the two souls appears only in John of Damascus’ list. Stewart and Desprez, offer sound assessments that this accusation is based on text from the Ps. Macarian *Homilies*, more precisely, III.10.3.4 and H.52.5. The concept of διπλοῦς then, remains investigated mainly as an example of Messalian vocabulary in the *Homilies*⁴⁶⁹ In this dissertation however, as mentioned above, it will be examined within Ps. Macarius’ framework of interiorization of the continuous transformational presence of God.

In the second collection, II.15.22 (the exact same text appears in I.32.7), Macarius says the following

Therefore, if a man loves God, then God Himself fights his love with Him. If you believe in Him, then He applies to you the heavenly faith, and man becomes double.⁴⁷⁰

Everyone who loves God and believes in Him, Ps. Macarius says, receives a sort of a heavenly boost, which he calls a heavenly faith, by means of which one becomes double. Ps. Macarius does not go into details to explain what διπλοῦς means, nor does he elaborate on the nature and correlation between one’s own faith and the infused “heavenly faith,” the application of which is

⁴⁶⁸ See St. John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* 80 §16 (ed. Kotter IV, 43 l.34-35, PG 94, 732); for translation in English see Appendix 2 in Columba Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart: The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to AD 431*, (Oxford, 1991), 244-279 (279).

⁴⁶⁹ Stewart’s conclusion is that, “The connection between the lists, especially that of John of Damascus and the Ps.-Macarian writings establishes that this terminology is not a polemical invention of anti-Messalians. However it may have been misunderstood, this is a distinctive and coherent argot developed in ascetical circles and employed, if not coined, by the author of the Ps.-Macarian texts,” *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 68.

⁴⁷⁰ Εἰ οὖν ἀγαπᾷ τις τὸν θεόν, καὶ αὐτὸς συγκιρνᾷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην. εἰ πιστεύεις εἰς αὐτόν, προστιθεῖ σοι τὴν ἐπουράνιον πίστιν, καὶ γίνεται διπλοῦς ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

necessary for one to become double.⁴⁷¹ This is elaborated on in another key passage from the third collection of the *Homilies*,

You will discover that those who have renounced the world [i.e. entered a monastery] have a sick soul and a sick intelligence... Their mind (νοῦς) and their inner man (ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) must be strengthened, so that they have a courageous heart, courageous thought and be willing to enter struggle. All of this is achieved in the inner man; in the movements of the soul, so that we have a living heart (ζῶσαν καρδίαν). There are many who have the outward appearance, but their mind is soft, aimlessly wondering. They should acquire a new heart (καρδίαν καινήν), a heavenly mind in their inner man (νοῦν ἐπουράνιον ἐν τῷ ἔσω ἄνθρωπῳ), a divine soul in their soul (ψυχὴν θεϊαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ), a body in the body (σῶμα ἐν σώματι), so that man can become double (διπλοῦς)... This is because man, besides his own nature, has something that is foreign to it (ξένα τιὰ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ), a heavenly gift (ἐπουράνια) and becomes double (διπλοῦς).⁴⁷²

Ps. Macarius is a monastic writer, and as a spiritual director, he urges his monks for a genuine and substantial transformation within their inner man as opposed to a superficial change in the outward appearance. This substantial transformation involves acquiring a new heart, a heavenly mind in the inner man, a heavenly soul in our soul, and a [heavenly] body in our body so that man can become double (διπλοῦς). In the process of becoming twofold, then, not only one's soul becomes twofold, but all the elements that constitute the human being are “doubled”, or, as it were, empowered by the energy of the members of the New Heavenly Man. Most importantly, these heavenly properties do not belong to our being naturally, says Ps. Macarius, but are foreign and a divine addition to our nature. Ps. Macarius' concept of διπλοῦς is essentially soteriological and profoundly existential in the sense of one's ontological need for a conscious experience of, and a continuous coexistence with, the presence of the Glory of God. It is conditioned by the Incarnation

⁴⁷¹ Note that here, Macarius does not explicitly mention the word *soul*, indicating, as we will see later, that the term *diplous* refers to more than just a “second soul.”

⁴⁷² The text is my translation into English of Vincent Desprez's edition of *Homily 10.3.4*, page, 162 (33-48) in *Pseudo-Macarie, Homélie propre à la Collection III, Oeuvres Spirituelles I, Sources Chrétiennes* (LES ÉDITIONS DU CERF, 29, Bd de Latour-Maubourg, Paris, 1980).

of Jesus Christ, Who, by mingling with human nature, has become the New, Heavenly Man and the perfect Image of God's glory. Macarius says,

In the same way God, who transcends all limitations and far exceeds the grasp of our human understanding, through his goodness has diminished himself and has taken the members of our human body. He withdrew himself from the inaccessible glory and through his compassion and love for mankind he transformed his nature (Phil 2:6), taking upon himself a body. He mingles (ἀναμίγνυται) himself totally with the body and thus takes to himself holy souls acceptable and faithful. He becomes "one Spirit" (1 Cor 6:17) with them according to Paul's statement – a soul, if I may so put it, in a soul, substance in substance, so that the soul may live in newness of immortal life and become a participator of eternal glory...⁴⁷³

It is important to distinguish carefully between the two different mingling processes that take place according to Ps. Macarius. The first one is the initial mingling of God with the human nature in the person of Jesus Christ by which God became Man, acquiring not only the members of a full human being but also a unique soul (ψυχή) and a unique substance (ὑπόστασις). The second mingling is particular to each soul willing to participate in the eternal glory, in the process by which the perfect and heavenly Soul of Jesus Christ, becomes our soul, and His heavenly Substance becomes our substance (ψυχή ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰς ψυχήν καὶ ὑπόστασις εἰς ὑπόστασιν). In other words, the long-lost image and likeness of God in us, together with our fallen members, both bodily and those of the soul, are being blended with, and thus empowered by the grace of the perfect Heavenly Image of God.⁴⁷⁴

The ability to unite our soul with Christ as a second soul appears to be intrinsic to human nature. It is primordial. According to Ps. Macarius, Adam and Eve were originally gifted with a continuous presence of the divine 'driving substance' (κινητικὴν ὑπόστασιν).⁴⁷⁵ They were not only created

⁴⁷³ *Homilies*, II.4.10 (same I.49.2.9).

⁴⁷⁴ See *Ibid.*, I.4.30.8. "ἡ ἐπουράνιος εἰκὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κερασθῆ μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς."

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I.4.30.5.

according to the ‘image and likeness’ of God; in the depths of their inner being, Adam and Eve were gifted with an indwelling of a heavenly soul (ψυχὴν δὲ ἐπουράνιον) and a divine image (εἰκόνα θεϊκὴν).⁴⁷⁶ After the transgression, however, this indwelling presence was lost. Although Adam and Eve maintained a somewhat distorted form of the original image according to which they were created, without the driving force of the heavenly soul and image dwelling in them, they had become lifeless and dead to God. As they were drifting away from God, emptied of His divine presence, Ps. Macarius says “...the serpent entered and became master of the house and became like a second soul with the real soul (ὡς ψυχὴ ἑτέρα μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστι).”⁴⁷⁷ Through the original sin of the ancestors, the serpent took advantage and usurped the position of a second soul, which was intended for the Heavenly Soul and the Perfect Image of God before all ages.

We have received into ourselves something that is foreign to our nature, namely, the corruption of our passions through the disobedience of the first man, which has strongly taken over in us, as though it were a certain part of our nature by custom and long habit. This must be expelled again by that which is also foreign to our nature, namely, the heavenly gift of the Spirit, and so the original purity must be restored.⁴⁷⁸

By dwelling in disobedience, the entire human race continues to allow this foreign entity to be master of our lives and an enslaving soul within our real soul. The only proper solution, according to Ps. Macarius, is to expel the serpent by allowing the Heavenly Soul and Perfect Image of God, Jesus Christ, also foreign to our nature, to once again mingle with our souls and restore the previous glory in us.

Another way of unfolding the concept of διπλοῦς is Macarius’ usage of the imagery of clothing. The imagery of clothing is not particular to the *Homilies*. It is referenced in both the Old and the

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., I.4.30.5-8.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., II.15.35.

⁴⁷⁸ *Homilies*, II.4.8.

New Testaments, and widely utilized in the Syriac theological thought to which Macarius belongs.⁴⁷⁹ In the traditional Old Testament exegetical interpretation of Genesis 3, Adam and Eve are pictured to have lived in a state of naked innocence, clothed only with the Image of God's glory⁴⁸⁰, which they lost with the transgression, as previously discussed.⁴⁸¹ In the New Testament, Apostle Paul advocates for the necessity of re-clothing by using the metaphor of putting on Christ (Gal. 3:27; Rom. 13:14).⁴⁸² To use S. Brock's words, "[i]n the biblical literature, and in the ancient Near East in general, clothing is an expression of identity, and nakedness represents the loss of identity."⁴⁸³ To be clothed with a power from above means to have a heavenly identity and to put on Christ suggests establishing identification with Him. In that context, Ps. Macarius says that

... all who have put off the old and earthly man and from whom Jesus has removed the clothing of the kingdom of darkness have put on the new and heavenly man, Jesus Christ, so that once again the eyes are joined to new eyes, ears to ears, head-to-head, to be completely pure and bearing the heavenly image.⁴⁸⁴

By putting on Jesus Christ, we are blending (κεράννυμι, μίγνυμι) with Him as the perfect Heavenly Icon of the glory of God (τῆ ἀντὶ ἐπουρανίῳ τῆς δόξης εἰκόνι),⁴⁸⁵ so that, with His transformational presence in our inner man, which in turn overflows to the members of the outer

⁴⁷⁹ The Syriac tradition has made use of the clothing imagery to express both the incarnation of Christ and the union with Him, especially putting the robe of glory (re-clothing of Adam) so that man can once again regain his primordial and ever since lost glorious state of being. See Sebastian Brock, "The Robe of Glory: A Biblical Image in the Syriac Tradition," *The Way* 39:3 (1999), 247-259; See also Sebastian Brock, 'Clothing Metaphors as a means of Theological expression in Syriac tradition', in Margot Schmidt (ed), *Typus Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter*, Eichstatter Beiträge, Band 4 (Regensburg, 1982), 11-40; See Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns of Nativity* 23:12-13, Kathleen E. McVey, (Mahwah, New Jersey, 1989), 189-190.

⁴⁸⁰ Although the word 'clothing' is not mentioned in the Genesis creation account, it is a part of the Jewish exegetical traditions. See S. Brock, 'The Robe of Glory' (1999), 248. See *Homilies*, I.3.5.2.

⁴⁸¹ *Homilies*, I.53.1.8. This resulted with the need for covering of their shortcomings. The initial substitute for the divine cover one, was a temporary cover, the leaves to cover their nakedness, which was later replaced with the more permanent garments of skin provided by God (Gen. 3:7, 21).

⁴⁸² In Luke 24:49, Jesus Christ Himself commands the disciples to wait and "be clothed in power from above."

⁴⁸³ S. Brock, 'The Robe of Glory' (1999), 247-259.

⁴⁸⁴ *Homilies*, II.2.4

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I.53.1.5-8 and I.53.2.4; See also I.10.3.1.

man through the dispersing properties of the heart, He can restore and refashion the previous image of Glory in us.⁴⁸⁶ Almost the entire conscious spiritual experience in Ps. Macarius' theology is set within the depths of the inner man. It is dependent on the continuous transformational presence of the Heavenly Icon on the throne of our hearts. Ps. Macarius' concept of the double man, is his way of laying out the classical patristic doctrine of *theosis*.⁴⁸⁷ Finally, although according to Ps. Macarius human being can mingle with the Heavenly Icon of the glory of God, they never lose their human properties. While being perfectly united with God, man remains a mere creation in eternity. "There is nothing common to God's nature (φῦσις) and that of the soul," says Ps. Macarius.⁴⁸⁸ The soul for Ps. Macarius, we conclude, is a beautiful and intellectual creature, a place chosen for God's own habitation, a throne for His Glory, His Bride and His Temple, but nevertheless always part of creation.⁴⁸⁹

II.4.3. Sensing the Inner Presence

Probably the most underlying feature in Ps. Macarius's interiorizing theology, is the notion of the conscious awareness of the experience of God's presence in us. For Ps. Macarius, it is not sufficient

⁴⁸⁶ Through the presence of the Perfect Image – Jesus Christ – The Lord forms a heavenly image in the soul. See *Homilies*, III.20.1.3-6; I.53.1.5.

⁴⁸⁷ For an overview of *theosis* among the Church Fathers, including Ps. Macarius, see Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, (Oxford: University Press, 2004).

⁴⁸⁸ "Listen. This is God; the soul is not God. This is the Lord; that is servant. This is Creator; that is creature. This is Maker; that the thing made. There is nothing common to God's nature and that of the soul." *Homilies* II.49.4. See also *Homilies*, III.26.8.1-2.

⁴⁸⁹ Ps. Macarius' presence of God in the depths of the inner human being has nothing to do with the platonic/neoplatonic, or rather pantheistic, notion of becoming God. Although the presence of God triggers ontological transformation in the very nature of our beings to the point of divinization, in Ps. Macarius, as in the general patristic literature, there is always a sharp distinction between the creator and the creations, both now and in the eschaton. For the difference between Ps. Macarius and Plotinus understanding of the concept of διπλοῦς and the nature of the presence of God in us, see Dean Georcheski, "Divine Origin or Divine Becoming", 227-235; For Careys accusation of Augustine pantheism, see Carey, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self*, 39, and our critical comments in the opening discussion in the introduction of Part I of this thesis.

simply to understand the presence of God intellectually. The presence of Yahweh must also be experienced. Throughout his entire corpus Ps. Macarius reemphasizes the crucial importance of the believer's experiential awareness or the feeling, the sensation of the presence of the Lord.⁴⁹⁰ The theme of experiencing the presence of the Lord in the Ps. Macarius' corpus is elucidated in an incredibly rich spiritual vocabulary. C. Stewart has investigated in great depth Ps. Macarius' language of assurance and fullness (πληροφορία),⁴⁹¹ feeling of sensation (αἴσθησις),⁴⁹² and experience (πεῖρα).⁴⁹³ In this final part of our thesis, we will rely on Stewart's findings to show how in the Ps. Macarian corpus we see the completion of the third phase of the interiorization phenomenon. This, third phase of the interiorization of Yahweh's presence, in Ps. Macarius, is crowned with a conscious experience of the divine reality in the depths of the inner human being.

⁴⁹⁰ The theme of conscious awareness and experience of sensations will later be adopted by numerous Church Fathers, most notably Mark the Monk, Diadochus of Photike, and by St. Symeon the New Theologian whose entire spiritual theology revolves around one's ability to intimately experience the presence of God.

⁴⁹¹ According to Stewart, the word πληροφορία is absent from the Septuagint and the works of Philo. It has limited appearance in the New Testament (four times: Hebrews 6:11 and 10:22, 1 Thessalonians 1:5, and Colossians 2:2) where it is used in the sense of the fullness of understanding, hope and faith. After the New Testament, there is little use of πληροφορία. The word does not appear in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, and is seldomly used by Clement of Alexandria, Origen Basil or Gregory of Nazianzus, while Gregory of Nyssa obviously avoids its usage in his *De instituto christiano*. In Ps. Macarius πληροφορία is used in line with the New Testament, in context of abundance of the presence of the Holy Spirit in us, fullness and assurance of faith, knowledge and perfection. For detailed analysis of πληροφορία see C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 101-116.

⁴⁹² According to Stewart, αἴσθησις is not very biblically important. Ps. Macarius' usage of αἴσθησις, like that of Origen's has very little support from Biblical texts. In the New Testament it is only mentioned once, in the Gospel of Luke 9:45 and in a derived form in Hebrews 5:14. Ps. Macarius makes extensive use of the word, especially in combination with πεῖρα as a phrase. He does not use the word in the sense of a faculty physical sensation or perception, but rather, following his predecessors such as Origen, uses it in the sense of a faculty of spiritual or intellectual perception. For detailed analysis of αἴσθησις see C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 116-138.

⁴⁹³ According to Stewart, for the usage of the word πεῖρα Ps. Macarius uses the "rich and diverse non-biblical tradition." In the New Testament it is used only twice, both times in the epistle to Hebrews 11:29 and 11:36 in context of enduring and attempting. The Apostolic Fathers don't make much use of it, while the later church fathers use in context of test, trial, or experience. While Ps. Macarius never uses πεῖρα in context of test or trial, he has used it frequently to denote spiritual experience of the presence of God, "the sure apprehension and experience of divine reality by the soul." For detailed analysis of αἴσθησις see C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 139-154.

Although Ps. Macarius did not invent this vocabulary, his innovative linguistic combinations,⁴⁹⁴ the frequency of usage and the importance he has assigned to this key vocabulary in the framework of his spirituality, distinguish him among the other patristic authors.⁴⁹⁵ To quote Stewart, “Whereas his predecessors and contemporaries will speak broadly of the role of experience in the Christian life, they never apply the word *πειρα* to the experience of the divine action in the soul. Even in those passages in which Ps. Macarius speaks most broadly of ‘experience’, his horizon is distinctive.”⁴⁹⁶ For Ps. Macarius, experiencing the presence is always juxtaposed to the mere intellectual understanding of faith.

Whoever speaks of the spiritual matters without knowledge (*γνώσις*) and experience (*πειρα*) resembles a man who at the middle of the day goes along waterless plain, and languishing with thirst, imagines in his mind a cool spring flowing with clear, bright and sweet water, imagining himself drinking to the full, while his lips are all burnt and have dried up because of excessive thirst; or a person who tells others about the sweetness of honey but has never tasted it himself.⁴⁹⁷

Experiencing Yahweh’s presence in the depths of the inner human being involves living the reality of the transformational experience of the grace of God – just as one knows the sweetness of honey only after tasting it. It is growing into perfection through experiencing the divine driving and life-

⁴⁹⁴ Ps. Macarius uses quite number of different combinations of these words to explicate the fullness and importance of experience. For example, he uses/coins the phrase *ἐν πάσῃ αἰσθήσει καὶ πληροφορίᾳ*, in order to “bring together the emotional, intellectual, and spiritual aspects of human life.” See Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 154. See *Homilies*, I.2.3.15; 15.1.3–4; 29.2.8; 34.7.1; 36.3.2; II.10.29; 37.7; III.25.6; Great Letter in Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*, p. 275, lines 16–17.

⁴⁹⁵ According to C. Stewart, the inspiration behind Ps. Macarius usage of such vocabulary is hard to discover. “One sees readily enough what he is doing with these Greek words, and even why, *but there is no apparent model in Greek Christian tradition for his approach.*” (empha mine) C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 97.

⁴⁹⁶ C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 147.

⁴⁹⁷ The text is my translation into English of H. Berthold’s edition of Homily 16.3.1, page 183 (8-14) in *Makarius/Symeon Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B 2-29)*, GCS (Berlin: 1973) “Ὅσοι λόγους πνευματικὸς λαλοῦσιν ἄνευ γνώσεως καὶ πείρας εἰκόσιν ἄνθρωπῳ ἐν μεσημβρία καὶ καύσωνι πεδιάδα ἄνυδρον διοδεύοντι καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν δίψαν διαγράφοντι κατὰ νοῦν πηγὴν ψυχρὰν, διειδὲς καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ γλυκὺ ρέουσιν ὕδωρ, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀπολαύοντα ἐν ἀδείᾳ τοῦ νάματος, τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ἀποξηρανθέντων διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δίψης, ἢ ἄνθρωπῳ ποτὲ μὴ γευσαμένῳ μέλιτος ποιότητα καὶ διηγουμένῳ ἑτέροις περὶ τῆς γλυκύτητος.”

giving force in us. Further on, partaking in the life of the Holy Spirit in fullness of the experience helps us return to our original state. Ps. Macarius says,

Let us, therefore, beg that we may partake of the Holy Spirit in the full certainty and awareness and that we may enter in where we came out, and that henceforth the serpent may be turned away from us, the destroyer of the mind, the plotter of vainglory, the spirit of worry, and complaint. Let us pray that, having believed with certainty, we may keep the commandments of the Lord and we may grow up in him “unto the perfect man, unto the measure of maturity” (Eph. 4:13), so that we may no longer be dominated by the deceit of this world, but we may be in the full certainty of the Spirit.⁴⁹⁸

The reality of God’s presence in us, through His Spirit,⁴⁹⁹ and our conscious experience of it, not only brings us back to the original innocent state from which we fell, but also spiritually advances us further as we grow into the perfect man – Jesus Christ. In doing this, through experiencing the continuous presence of the Lord, we can finally expel the snake that has usurped the place of the second soul in us and enslaved our minds, as we have seen above in the subchapter of διπλοῦς.

Because Ps. Macarius’ spirituality is highly experiential and dynamic in the sense of an ongoing spiritual growth into perfection and an unfinished project until we have reached such state of perfection,⁵⁰⁰ there is continuous struggle between these two realities, or two different presences (πρόσωπα) within us, that of God and of evil.⁵⁰¹ Ps. Macarius is very graphic when explicating the coexistence of God and evil in our hearts. He says,

And the heart itself is but a small vessel, yet there are also dragons and there are lions; there are poisonous beasts and all the treasures of evil. And there are rough and uneven roads; there are precipices. But there is also God, also the angels, the

⁴⁹⁸ *Homilies*, II. 37.7.

⁴⁹⁹ The Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ as God’s dwelling presence are often used interchangeably. “The Holy Spirit does get mentioned, but only half as often as the Lord of the Bridegroom.” (Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 207).

⁵⁰⁰ “To speak truly about freedom from passions and perfection is given to few.” *Homilies*, II.17.11 (=I.16.2.11.)

⁵⁰¹ See *Ibid.*, II.40.7 (=I.4.5.1)

life and the kingdom, the light and the Apostles, the treasures of grace – there are all things.⁵⁰²

As has been argued in the subchapter of διπλοῦς this coexistence of death and life in the human heart is possible because we were created needing the help of an external life-giving driving force in the depth of our heart,⁵⁰³ and with free will by which to choose to let evil, in the image of the the snake, occupy the throne that was originally intended for the real presence of God. In the absence of the divine driving force, the snake has usurped that throne in us, it has mingled itself with our soul and thus become a second soul for us.⁵⁰⁴ The limitation of this coexistence, however, is that it cannot last forever. We will either continue experiencing the enslaving presence of evil that hinders God and His angels from exercising dominion over the inner human being, or we will let God mount on the throne of the heart, in which case, all the evil forces become mere spectators and powerless roaring lions in the spiritual arena of the heart.⁵⁰⁵ Having seen dynamic and experiential character of the interiorizing ascetic spirituality of Ps. Macarius, we can now turn to the final subchapter on spiritual growth.

II.4.4. Spiritual Growth – Ascending by Descending

Spiritual growth, in the Macarian Corpus, is an interiorizing activity. It is the process by which the ruler on the throne of the human heart is replaced. To follow Ps. Macarius's image, those who

⁵⁰² *Homilies*, II.43.7. See also II.15.32 “There are, therefore, infinite depths to the human heart. There are found reception rooms, bedrooms, doors, and antechambers, many offices and exits. There is found the office of justice and of injustice. There is death and there is life. There takes place upright business as well as the contrary.”

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, I.4.30.8.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, II.15.35.

⁵⁰⁵ This graphic vocabulary, if taken out of its ascetical and experiential context, can easily be confused with the theological errors of the Messalian movement. See Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 75-76. “The concerns of those anti-Messalian controversialists who excerpted his words for the list of Messalian doctrines preserved in John of Damascus’ *De haeresibus* doubtless arose from the application of a hermeneutical key different from that intended by Ps. Macarius himself.”

embark on the spiritual journey have the task to dethrone the snake who for a short while commands the chariot of their hearts, and enthrone God as the real and lawful king of the inner human being. As seen earlier, for Ps. Macarius, the human-divine encounter takes place in the depths of the human heart. Everything important happens there: the entire worship, the heavenly church, and everything else that contributes to the advancement of the believer on the path of salvation, is to be found internally. Most importantly, God's transformational presence is also experienced internally. In order to meet with God, then, one does not need to ascend to the heavenly realms in search for His eternal habitation, but to enter deep into the chamber of the heart, for it is there that the fullness of God's presence can be experienced. Thus, to ascend to God is to descend to God in the depths of our hearts. What follows is a short presentation of Ps. Macarius' vision of this interiorized struggle for reaching the depths of the heart.

In his second collection, Ps. Macarius says that there are twelve steps of spiritual growth one must undertake in order to reach perfection.

In a manner of speaking, there are twelve steps a person has to pass to reach perfection. At times one may have reached the stage of perfection. But again grace may recede somewhat and he descends to the next lower level, now standing on the eleventh step.⁵⁰⁶

Regrettably, Ps. Macarius does not further elaborate on the 12 steps of spiritual growth. One aspect understood from the above quotation is that the inner spirituality is rather a dynamic activity. Reaching highest level of perfection by itself does not guarantee permanent and unchallenged success. Following C. Stewart, who identifies progression through three stages of spiritual growth in Ps. Macarius', in this last part of the thesis, Ps. Macarian spirituality will be summarized in three

⁵⁰⁶ *Homilies*, II.8.4.

stages: the fallen nature, the incarnation of Christ, and the sanctification of the Spirit by way of showing the dynamic advancement and the descent into the depths of the heart.⁵⁰⁷

The first stage of spiritual growth is the state of the fallen nature that, after the original Fall, is common to all human beings after Adam. It is a state of great loss by which humanity has lost the possession of his pure nature, the very image itself, the heavenly inheritance and the possibility to advance in perfection.⁵⁰⁸ It is a state of inner death.⁵⁰⁹ Adam died internally in his inner human being, that is, he died in respect to his relationship with God since he lost God's very presence in the depths of his heart, although, in his nature, he was still alive.⁵¹⁰ Since Adam, the throne of every human's heart had become unlawfully occupied by Satan, and human beings became clothed in darkness, subjects to the prince of darkness, dead internally and largely unaware of God's grace and the possibility of His presence.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁷ See C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 70-84. "In this view, the goal of Christian life is victory in the battle waged in the 'inner person'. The progression is from a heart possessed by evil (because of Adam's disobedience), to a heart indwelt by both sin and grace, and then finally to a heart from which sin has been cast out by the cooperative triumph of human will and divine spirit." C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 74.

⁵⁰⁸ "Adam, when he transgressed the commandment, lost two things. First he lost pure possession of his nature, so lovely, created according to the image and likeness of God. Second, he lost the very image itself in which was laid up for him, according to God's promise, the full heavenly inheritance." *Homilies*, II.12.1.

⁵⁰⁹ *Homilies*, II.12.2.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I.4.30.5. "οὕτω καὶ ὅλος ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τῆς παραβάσεως τῆς ἐντολῆς εἰκόνα μὲν τινα εἶχε τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐπουράνιον οὐκ εἶχεν οὔτε εἰκόνα θεϊκὴν ζῶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. διὰ τοῦτο νεκρὸς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οὔτε πτερὰ ἔχει, ἵνα πετασθῆ εἰς τὸν θεϊκὸν ἀέρα, οὔτε φῶς ἔχει ἵνα φωτισθῆ καὶ σχῆ κληρονομίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου φωτός."

⁵¹¹ "In that day when Adam fell, God came walking in the garden. He wept, so to speak, seeing Adam and he said: "After such good things, what evils have you chosen! After such glory, what shame you now bear! What darkness are you now! What ugly form you are! What corruption! From such light, what darkness has covered you!" When Adam fell and was dead in the eyes of God, the Creator wept over him. The angels, all the powers, the heavens, the earth and all creatures bewailed his death and fall. For they saw him, who had been given to them as their king, now become a servant of an opposing and evil power. Therefore, darkness became the garment of his soul, a bitter and evil darkness for he was made a subject of the prince of darkness." *Homilies*, II.30.7.

The second stage of spiritual growth was initiated by the coming of Jesus Christ and His incarnation. As seen above in the subchapter of διπλοῦς, by mingling perfectly with every aspect of human nature, Jesus Christ became the perfect Image of God's glory. And, as such, He becomes one spirit with the believers, or in the words of Ps. Macarius, "a soul, if I may so put it, in a soul, substance in substance, so that the soul may live in newness of immortal life and become a participator of eternal glory".⁵¹² With His incarnation, Jesus Christ brought to life the inner human being. The long-lost inner driving force, the life-giving perfect Image of God in man had been restored. To experience this recapitulation, one must mingle with Jesus Christ and receive the real presence of the perfect Heavenly Image of God. In the second stage of spiritual growth, one understands that he must retake the throne of his heart back from the enslaving ruler. In this stage, the grace of the presence of the Lord enters the inner human being. This happens through the sacrament of baptism. For Ps. Macarius, "baptism is the perfect pledge and foretaste of the future inheritance."⁵¹³ As the spiritual life according to Ps. Macarius is a dynamic one, in the second (as well as the third) stage of spiritual growth, it is also a stage of a synergy, a divine-human cooperation. It is not sufficient to receive the pledge of baptism in the inner human being. One must act upon it. The baptismal grace is more like possessing a "perfect talent, but if you fail to work with it, you will remain incomplete, and you will even be deprived of it."⁵¹⁴ Our part in the renewal of the inner human being and spiritual growth must be active.⁵¹⁵ One must be alert and engage in

⁵¹² *Homilies*, II.4.10 (same I.49.2.9).

⁵¹³ See *Ibid.*, III.28.3.8-9. The sacraments, especially the sacrament of baptism, plays a crucial role in Ps. Macarius' spirituality, which is contrary to the opinion of earlier scholars, who working with limited Ps. Macarian material (mostly Collection II), attempted to portray him a Messalian, disrespectful of the sacraments of the Church.

⁵¹⁴ See *Ibid.*, III.28.15-17.

⁵¹⁵ See *Ibid.*, I.25.2.3-5 "Every soul obtaining the remission of sins receives the energy of the grace at Holy Baptism according to the measure of (its) faith: one receives it in power and assurance, another one

a continuous struggle while constantly cooperating with the divine presence. Evil and sin, having ruled for so long and become a second nature, are not so easily expelled. In the second spiritual stage, while the inner human being – the ἡγεμονικόν – struggles to take control over the throne of the soul, a dual presence in the depths of the heart is experienced. God and Evil coexist in the infinite chambers of the human heart.⁵¹⁶ The reality of the two different presences (πρόσωπα) within us, Divinity and Evil, is real for Ps. Macarius. After the bestowing of baptismal grace Evil is disarmed, dismantled and becomes powerless. By engaging in great struggle and acting upon the initial baptismal grace by fulfilling all the commandments, the unlawful presence can be expelled and replaced.⁵¹⁷ The goal of the second phase, then, is for the mind, which for a short while plays the role of a charioteer,⁵¹⁸ to expel Evil and establish control over its thoughts and passions.

The final, third phase of spiritual growth, is the stage of sanctification of the Holy Spirit, or, as Ps. Macarius puts it, of the “mixing” and “blending” with the glory of God. It is a stage of a transformational union with the Divine. The mind which has dethroned Evil and taken over the control of the throne of the heart, is now willingly offering the seat to God as the only charioteer

in weakness and energy of grace...Thus, the grace of the Spirit is bestowed in the Baptism, because it wants to visit each one abundantly and more quickly to grant perfection of divine power, but the partaking of grace is in proportion to each one’s different measure of faith and piety. Perhaps grace deems all worthy of the remission of sins but grants the capacity of the suitable partaking of the Spirit according to each one’s measure of faith.” Translation from Hatzopoulos, *Two Outstanding Cases*, 136.

⁵¹⁶ See *Homilies*, II.43.7; II.15.32. (Quoted above).

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II.40.5 “Take the example of men who harness horses and drive chariots and race them against each other. Each one strains to overcome and conquer his opponent. Likewise, there is a contest going on in the hearts of those who struggle, the evil spirits wrestling with the soul, while God and the angels watch the struggle. At each hour many new strategies are thought up by the soul and likewise by evil that is within. The soul has many hidden strategies which it concocts and gives birth to hour by hour. And the evil itself has many strategies and tricks and hourly gives birth to new ideas against the soul. For the mind is a charioteer and harnesses the chariot of the soul as it holds the reins over thoughts. And so it competes against the chariot of Satan, which he also has harnessed against the soul.”

⁵¹⁸ For the mind as charioteer see *Homilies*, 2.3.9; 33.2; 40.5.

able to lead the human being into a mystical communion and divine fellowship.⁵¹⁹ In this final stage of spiritual growth, our souls are being changed and transformed, even deified through participation in the divine nature (*theosis*).⁵²⁰ In this process, renewed humanity receives much more than the original blessing of Adam's pure creation in paradise:

I have said above that both sin is uprooted and man receives again the first creation of pure Adam. By the power of the Spirit and the spiritual regeneration, man not only comes to the measure of the first Adam, but he also reaches a greater state than he possessed. For man is divinized (*ἀποθεοῦται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος*).⁵²¹

As Christ changed the water into wine at the wedding at Cana in Galilee, so is the soul which receives the new birth of the Spirit also changed into Spirit,⁵²² for it becomes one spirit with the Lord.⁵²³ The goal of this third and final stage of spiritual growth is for the inner human being to become one with the creator – to become divinized. The way in which we ascend to God, according to Ps. Macarius, is by descending into the depths of our heart where our union with God becomes transformational experience of the whole person, body and soul.

⁵¹⁹ *Homilies*, II.1.8. “For such a soul, wounded by love for Christ, dies to any other desire in order, I speak boldly, to possess that most beautiful intellectual and mystical communion with Christ according to the immortal quality of divinizing fellowship”. For a discussion on the Platonic image of the charioteer, see above discussion in II.3.2.4. *The Leading Faculty of the Soul – τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*.

⁵²⁰ See also *Ibid.*, I.14.23; II.34.2; II.44.1; 44.8; 15.35. Ps. Macarius' language of transformational unity and divinization is common among patristic authors. See for example, Theophilus, *To Autolytus*, II.24; Irenaeus of Lyon, *Against Heresies*, II.19.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Heathen*, I. 8; Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Incarnation of the Word*, 54.3; Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica*, 25; Gregory Nazianzus, *Or. 43. Funeral Oration for St. Basil*; For an overview of *theosis* among the Church Fathers, including Ps. Macarius, see Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, (Oxford: University Press, 2004).

⁵²¹ *Homilies*, II.26.2.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, I.63.4.2 “Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅπερ ὁ κύριος ἐποίησεν οἶνον, ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι μυστήριόν τι ἦν, σημαῖνον ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ εἰλικρινῶς πιστεύσασαι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι γεννηθεῖσαι εἰς πνεῦμα μεταβληθήσονται.” Cf. John 3:6.

⁵²³ See *Ibid.*, I.15.2.2-3, II.4.10; II.46.3; III.3.3.2.

II.4.5. Conclusion

In this final chapter of this dissertation, we have argued that Ps. Macarius' theology is deeply experiential and existential in the sense of man's ontological need for a conscious experience of, and coexistence with the presence of the glory of God dwelling in the human heart. Ps. Macarius affirms that the divine continuous and transformational presence of God can be experienced with full understanding. In this way, he reverses the process of knowing and experiencing God, from ascending to descending, for it is in the depths of our innermost being that we find the fullness of divine glory. Ps. Macarius' interiorization of God's glorious presence in us, or rather, of God's dwelling on the throne of our hearts, ultimately leads the human being into mixing, blending, and uniting with God. The third stage of interiorization of God's presence in us, then, in Ps. Macarius' discourse of interiority, leads to deification. Although the concept of interiorizing the presence of God is a common idea in the patristic tradition, in Ps. Macarius, as argued above, it shapes and molds his entire vision of religious experience, thus underlying the characteristic features of his interiorized exegesis, anthropology and soteriology.

REVIEW OF THE ARGUMENT AND CONCLUSION

We have now concluded our examination of the phenomenon of interiorization of religious experience which we see as lying at the heart of the Christian tradition. The argument of the dissertation claims for Ps. Macarius the place of a prominent contributor in the development of the discourse of interiority in the Eastern Christian tradition. Since our analysis focused on two separate topics, namely the appearance and development of the phenomenon of interiority and Ps. Macarius' interiorizing theology, the argument of the dissertation proceeded in two steps.

Part One of the dissertation sought to establish the most likely period of time for the appearance of the phenomenon of interiority in ancient Judaism so as to be able to trace its historical development later on in Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, and to explore the crucial changes that contributed to the evolution of the notion inwardness. In our view, the phenomenon of interiority has its beginning in ancient Judaism as a result of the loss of the Jerusalem Temple. We disagree with the argument of scholars such as Charles Taylor and Philip Cary who claim that the interiorization phenomenon in Christianity and in particular in the theology of Augustine is a later addition as a result of mainly Neoplatonic influences. This argument we consider limited as it does not take into consideration the events that contributed to the appearance and development of the discourse of interiority in the Jewish thought centuries before. Building on the theory of Guy G. Stroumsa about the simultaneous appearance of the interiorization phenomenon in both Judaic and Hellenic societies roughly around the period of the late Second Commonwealth and the destruction of the Second Temple (70 AD), we argued for even earlier origins, namely the period after the destruction of the First Temple and the subsequent exile of the Jews to Babylon (586 BC).

To support our claim for an earlier dating, we examined, in the first part of the dissertation, the concept of *Yahweh's glorious presence* among his people, a concept that (together with the concept of the *inner human being* and of the *heart*) plays a crucial role in our research of the development of the discourse of interiority. The concept of God's presence was studied both as a key Biblical term from a textual point of view, and as a crucial segment in the defining and self-identification of the Israelites. We proposed three distinct phases in the development of the phenomenon of interiority, or rather, three stages in the understanding of the concept of the presence of God, namely, 1) the institutional or 'petrified' presence in the Temple in Jerusalem (or in the Tent before), 2) the personified or personalized presence in Rabbinic Judaism (the Torah) and Christianity (Jesus Christ), and 3) the interiorized or spiritualized presence in the writings of the Church Fathers within Christianity in Late Antiquity with focus on Ps. Macarius.

In its most primitive form, the understanding of the presence of God was localized in the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple. This institutionalized notion of the presence of God, however, became a subject of reinterpretation after the destruction of the first Temple and the Jewish exile to Babylon. Due to these events, in a foreign land far from the Temple, ancient Judaism made the first efforts to reinterpret the notion of the presence of God. This, we claimed, was the beginning of the interiorization phenomenon. Through series of developments such as the appearance of alternative places of worship (synagogues) and the appearance of new Biblical literature (Book of Ezekiel) and the later, extra Biblical material (Markabah, Hekhalot) there appeared the so-called throne-mysticism. The notion of a mobile chariot throne by which Yahweh's presence travelled to visit his people even in the land of exile, we maintain in this dissertation, is crucial to the development of the interiorization phenomenon. This is true not only for the earlier form in post-

exilic Judaism, but also in the later development and especially in the corpus of Ps. Macarius, who, as Scholem has correctly pointed out, can also be seen as writing in the tradition of the Markabah mysticism. The efforts to reinterpret the notion of God's glorious presence thus developed in two distinct forms, namely Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, especially after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 AD). Expanding on Stroumsa's work, we identified the emergence of Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity as the second phase of the development of the interiority phenomenon, in which we see the personalized or personified presence divine glory in the Torah and in the person of Jesus Christ.

After analyzing the Jewish roots of the concept of the presence of God, we turned to the notion of the *inner human being* (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος), which we saw as a key Hellenic term contributing to the development of the phenomenon of interiority. First coined by Plato in his *Republic*, the concept of the inner human being functions as a meeting place where the languages of interiority emerging from Judaism and Hellenism converge. To demonstrate how this convergence took place, we offered a detailed study of the Apostle Paul's Christian appropriation of the Hellenic notion of the inner human being which he grafted onto the Judaic interiorizing concept of the transformational presence of God. We expressed disagreement with authors such as Bultman, van Kooten and Gundry, who deemed Paul's utilization of the term as being close to Hellenic-gnostic dualism and even identified it with Platonism. Instead, we sided with the arguments of scholars such as Marksches and Betz aiming for a more balanced approach that seeks to acknowledge Paul's Jewish background as well as the Graeco-Roman context in which he was working to convey the good news of the Gospel. Building on Sarah Harding's argument that Paul does not apply binary predicates to the terms ἔσω ἄνθρωπος (νοῦς) – seen as positive – and ἔξω ἄνθρωπος

(σάρξ) – seen as negative, we suggested that although Paul’s terminology may at first sight appear dualistic, at its core it is not so. In Paul’s successor Origen, however, as well as in Plotinus, by way of contrast, we witnessed a Platonic dualistic usage of the term *inner human being*. This is especially true of Plotinus who works with an entirely different anthropology according to which the human soul has divine origin.

The next stage in our analysis of the development of the discourse of interiority focused on the concept of the *heart*. This third key concept has its roots in the scriptures and in Semitic culture and is more anthropologically balanced than the inherently dualistic Hellenic concept of the inner human being. After a brief introductory study of the concept of the heart in the Old and the New Testament and the early Christian tradition (especially in Origen and in Evagrius), we turned to authors of the Syriac milieu. We examined the usage of the concept in Aphrahat, Ephrem of Syria and the *Book of Steps (Liber Graduum)* and pointed out the extraordinary degree of similarity between Aphrahat and Ps. Macarius. It is here that we see the fusion of the Hellenic concept of the inner human being with the Semitic concepts of the heart and that of the presence of God. Thus, we were able to demonstrate how the discourse of interiority evolved from ancient Judaism and Hellenism to become part of a genuine Christian vision shaping the thinking of early Christians from Paul to Ps. Macarius.

Part Two of the dissertation offered a textual and exegetical analysis of the Ps. Macarian corpus which, we argued, represents the third phase in the development of the phenomenon of interiority, namely the spiritualized or fully interiorized presence of the divine glory. The originality of Ps. Macarius’ contribution to the discourse of interiority is to be found, we claimed, in the span,

intensity, and creativity that characterize his usage of key concepts already available for him, such as the presence of the glory of God, the inner human being and the heart. To demonstrate this, we began, in the first chapter of the second part, with a summary of the textual tradition of the Macarian corpus, the question of Messalianism, and a review of current scholarship which prepared the ground for our subsequent analysis of Ps. Macarius' exegesis in the second chapter. After reviewing the scholarly arguments on key terminology such as typology and allegory, we proposed a revised definition of Ps. Macarius' style of interpreting the Scriptures, namely as *interiorized exegesis*. Building on Marcus Plested's apt assessment of Ps. Macarius as an exegete belonging to the Alexandrian tradition, where Origen's legacy remained dominant, we turned to the Macarian understanding of the (un)fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies.

To showcase this type of interiorized exegesis, we offered our own translation of *Homily 24* of Ps. Macarius' Collection I (which to this day remains untranslated in English apart from few homilies). Our analysis of this key text demonstrated how, for Ps. Macarius, the ultimate fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies takes place in the individual soul, indeed in the inner man of the heart. This position shapes Ps. Macarius' approach to spirituality in which we identified three phases of fulfillment of the prophecies roughly corresponding to the three phases in the development of the discourse of interiorization of God's glorious presence that we have previously defined: firstly, the Old Testament as a type (figure or shadow); secondly, the fulfillment in Christ and the Church in the New Testament; and thirdly, the real, spiritual fulfillment of scriptural prophecy in the depths of the human soul. In terms of the frequency of Ps. Macarius's use of interiorizing vocabulary, we claimed that his insistence on interiorizing spiritual truths makes him stand out among the authors of Late Antiquity not so much in the sense of him creating new terms and concepts but as a result

of the range and consistency with which he applies existing interiorized images. Building on Columba Stewart's analysis of Ps. Macarius' usage of the language of divine-human mixing and indwelling, we argued that Ps. Macarius' entire approach to theology and spirituality is, so to speak, conditioned by his understanding of the internal fulfillment of scriptural prophecy in the human soul, as he asserts that everything is found internally (*πάντα ἔσωθεν εὕρισκεται*, *Hom. III.8.1.5*).

In the third chapter of Part Two, we revisited the two key concepts which we used in Part One to define and track the development of the interiority phenomenon, namely the concept of the *inner human being* and the concept of the *heart*. The analysis of Ps. Macarius' use of the two concepts allowed us to see him as a profoundly eclectic writer, a remarkable synthesizer capable of exploiting the best aspects of the Judaic culture, Christian theology, and the Hellenic-Stoic philosophy. Our study of Ps. Macarius' anthropology developed the arguments of scholars such as Columba Stewart, Archbishop Golitzing, (the late) Metropolitan Kallistos Ware, and especially Marcus Plested according to whom Ps. Macarius has one of the most balanced, holistic anthropologies among the patristic authors in Late Antiquity. Plested is right in claiming that Ps. Macarius' anthropology successfully balances between the Semitic and the Hellenic anthropologies and that he develops a most nuanced symbiotic correlation between the body and the soul, the heart and the mind. Building on his research, we offered a detailed map of the synergic relationship between the body and the soul in the Macarian corpus, and more precisely between the concepts of the heart and the inner human being. We argued that Ps. Macarius, similarly to the apostle Paul, Origen and other patristic writers, advocates for a simple composition of the human being (*ἄνθρωπος*) as consisting of a physical body (*σῶμα*) and an immaterial soul (*ψυχή*), which

he simply calls ἔξω and ἔσω ἄνθρωπος. Furthermore, we argued that just as the inner human being (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in Ps. Macarius has a central organ also called leading faculty of the soul (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν), in the same way the outer human being (ἔξω ἄνθρωπος) has also a central organ and a leading faculty called the heart (ἡ καρδία). By conducting a detailed study of the leading organs of the soul and of the body, we argued that one of the most distinct features of Ps. Macarius' anthropology is his assigning of a corresponding role to both the noetic and the material part of the human being, by which he brings 'the inner' and 'the outer' into an analog synergetic relation. Ps. Macarius' most original contribution in this respect, we claimed, is locating of the leading part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν) not only within the realm of the heart, but also in the physical organ of the heart. By using the same analogy, we claimed, just as the physical body is a house of the soul, the leading part of the body — the physical organ of the heart — is a house of the leading part of the soul — the ἡγεμονικόν. We have demonstrated that, by drawing an analog correlation between the ἡγεμονικόν and the physical organ of the heart, Ps. Macarius distinctively highlights the importance of such a union as a locus for the human–divine encounter. In that sense, we have maintained that the salvific transformation that begins in the leading part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν) is being spread to all the organs of the body through the dispersing properties of the leading part of the body (the heart), thus ultimately becoming a deifying transformation of the entire human being, body, and soul. Marcus Plested suggested that although the location of the intellect in the heart has some affinities with the Stoics, Ps. Macarius is perhaps just drawing directly from the Bible. Expanding on his assessment, in our research, we found that even though Ps. Macarius is undoubtedly biblically based, his utilization of other, non-biblical traditions is more than simple affinity and is most likely the result of him being well-versed in different philosophical traditions and perhaps even drawing on contemporary medicine. Thus, we argued, Ps. Macarius defined the

heart, and really, the entire human being, the union of the body and the soul, as the place of God's habitation, or an interiorized Chariot Throne and Holy of Holies.

In the final fourth chapter of Part Two of the dissertation, we came back full circle, by revisiting the central concept in the development of the interiority phenomenon, namely the presence of God. By investigating the language Ps. Macarius uses for the indwelling presence of God, we argued that he advocates for the necessity of a continuous, transformational presence of the Living God in the human soul. To demonstrate this, we focused, among the many images used in the Macarian corpus, specifically on the reinterpretation of Ezekiel's chariot throne and the concept of the double human being (*διπλοῦς ἄνθρωπος*). For Ezekiel's chariot, we drew upon Archbishop Golitzin's work, who following Scholem's suggestion that Ps. Macarius is engaged in reinterpretation of the Markabah mystical tradition, has examined in detail Ps. Macarius' connections with the apocalyptic mysticism, later rabbinic literature and other pseudepigraphic materials. Building on Golitzin's findings we argued that Ps. Macarius' reinterpretation of Ezekiel's vision is one of the most important aspects in his interiorization discourse. In the Ps. Macarian interpretation of Ezekiel's *visio Dei* we identified a twofold dynamic, namely a change in the way the presence of God is described as being not just 'among' his people, but 'in' them – enabling their ontological and soteriological transformation. And if God is no longer among his people, but in his people, then Yahweh's Throne is no longer one throne but many; it is not a single vehicle and a single throne, but multiple vehicles and multiple thrones. For the concept of the double human being (*διπλοῦς ἄνθρωπος*) – which has hitherto received only partial treatment by scholars such as Desprez, Stewart and Plested mostly with regard to the disputed Messalian character of the Macarian corpus – we argued that it provides Ps. Macarius with a unique way of unfolding the

traditional patristic doctrine of *theosis*. Our author achieves this by repeatedly emphasizing the need for continuous and non-mediated transformational presence of God in the human heart, which he identifies with Jesus Christ or the Holy Spirit as a second soul within our soul thus making us a ‘double human being’. For Ps. Macarius, the presence of Jesus Christ as the perfect Image of God in us results in a mingling (*ἀνάμιξις*) of our soul with Christ’s perfect soul. By mingling with Christ as the perfect heavenly soul, we receive back the long-lost image and likeness of God, and we expel the serpent that has usurped the place of God in us and has for so long dominated over the throne of our hearts.

At the end of this research, we explored Ps. Macarius’ uniquely creative exposition of the interior journey of faith, *descending* in the depths of the heart rather than *ascending* to the divine heavenly abode, and we described three stages of growth that correspond to the fall of humanity, the incarnation of Christ and the sanctification under the presence of the Spirit of God. We argued that one of the most underlying features in Ps. Macarius’s interiorizing theology, is the notion of the conscious awareness of the experience of God’s presence in us, as for Ps. Macarius, it is not sufficient for us to simply understand the presence of God intellectually; the presence of Yahweh must also be experienced. Therefore, we maintained, the need for experiencing the divine presence in us is, according to Ps. Macarius, intrinsic to all humans. Even without the fall, human beings were expected to experience the mingling with the perfect heavenly Icon of God’s glory – Jesus Christ, who, after the fall as well, as fully divine, can lead humankind to perfection and, ultimately, render us divine. To conclude, this dissertation portrays Ps. Macarius as one of the most prolific, eclectic, and anthropologically balanced contributors to the discourse of interiorization with a distinctive style of interiorized exegesis, and some originally creative aspects of the language of

interiority as he insists on the interiorization of every aspect of one's faith and on the necessity of experiencing the transformative presence of God located in the depths of the mystical union of the human heart and the ἡγεμονικόν. Thus, he is to be seen as a sort of a summit and a model-representative of the third phase of the development of the discourse of interiority.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>DNP</i>	Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie Antike
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JESC</i>	Journal of Early Christian Studies
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
<i>NPNF</i>	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>NRSA</i>	New Revised Standard with Apocripha
<i>NRSV</i>	New Revised Standard Version
<i>PHP</i>	The Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato
<i>RAC</i>	Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum.
<i>RAM</i>	Revue d'Ascétique et de. Mystique
<i>PG</i>	Patrologia Graeca
<i>SC</i>	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>TLG</i>	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
<i>Com. Mat.</i>	Commentary on Matthew
<i>Com. Rom.</i>	Commentary on Romans
<i>Com. Joh.</i>	Commentary on John
<i>Contra Cel.</i>	Contra Celsum
<i>de Princ</i>	<i>de Principiis</i>
<i>Dial. Her.</i>	<i>Dialogue with Heracleides</i>
<i>Leg. All.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>

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