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Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 17 (1993-1994), Περίοδος Δ'. Στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη (1934-1991)



**Ο Χριστός-Αμνός και το ενώτιον του Νόμου στην τοιχογραφία του Άρακος στην Κύπρο**

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## ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

### Christ the Lamb and the ἐνώτιον of the Law in a Wall Painting of Araka on Cyprus

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## CHRIST THE LAMB AND THE ENΩTION OF THE LAW IN A WALL PAINTING OF ARAKA ON CYPRUS

The church of the Panagia of Araka in Lagoudera<sup>1</sup>, a significant monument of the 12th century on Cyprus, presents one of the nicest examples of the depiction of Symeon with the infant Christ in his hands (Fig. 1).

The relation of this portrayal with the well-known icon of Sinai in the form of Kykkotissa<sup>2</sup>, which Doula Mouriki analyzed in detail, is the reason for the selection of this theme, the interpretative approach to which is presented in her memory.

The scene is painted on the north wall of the center bay and on its eastern part opposite the Panagia Arakiotissa which is depicted on the south wall and on its corresponding eastern part. Symeon is standing and is turned three quarters to the left. He wears a long chiton which reaches to his feet and a himation, which covers his shoulders, crosses in front of his chest and falls freely allowing a large part of his chiton to appear in front. He holds the Child with his two hands and bends his head low towards him. His right cheek almost touches the hair of Christ. His right hand, which passes under the arm of the Child, supports the Child's chest, while the left hand supports his legs. Christ, half-spread in the elder's arms, holds Symeon's mandyas with his left hand and lets the other hand free. He appears frightened and seems to be in the motion of losing his balance, as he reclines to the right while his left leg remains up in the air. Both his legs are bare. He wears a short-sleeved chiton which squeezes in his waist without revealing his belt. A great cross is depicted in his halo. From his left ear hangs an exquisite earring with a ring on its upper part and three small pendants below which reach to his shoulder. The inscriptions which accompany the two figures are Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΣΥΜΕΩΝ Ο ΘΕΟΔΟΧΟΣ and to the left of the halo of Christ the abbreviation of the nomen sacrum IC XC. John the Baptist is depicted on the right (Fig. 1). He is standing face forward. He wears only a light himation which leaves uncovered his hand lifted in blessing, most his chest, and his left leg up to the top of his knee. He holds a staff with a cross and a large scroll which is opened at the lower part with the uncial inscription: ΙΔΕ Ο ΑΜΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ Ο ΑΙΡΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ.

The depiction of Symeon in the Araka of Cyprus with Christ in his hands which is painted opposite the Pana-

gia Arakiotissa has been viewed that it is in relation with her<sup>3</sup> and is arranged in an iconographic cycle of the Presentation into the Temple. Despite the deviation from the iconographic norm which had already been typified before the Iconoclasm, with the Child appearing two times both in the hands of Symeon and also in the hands of the Virgin, it is clear that the representation is bound iconographically and interpretatively with the Presentation. Besides, the relation of Symeon with the Panagia Arakiotissa, apart from the correspondence which the two representations present in their location with the one opposite to the other, is evidenced also by the glance of the Child which is directed toward the Panagia and by the presence of John the Baptist, who is painted beside Symeon and who also looks straight at her (Fig. 1). This relation between them points out, that the four figures are arranged in an advanced conceptual discovery and in an evidently unrepeated type of the Presentation whose elements of originality I will try to approach. Iconographically, this portrayal belongs to a limited series of parallel types of the Presentation in a group of 12th century monuments where the Christ Child is in the hands of Symeon. As has been shown<sup>4</sup>, the iconographic form of the Presentation with the Child in the hands of Symeon develops immediately after the Iconoclasm and its more archaic surviving model (apart from the chronologically disputed portrayal in the church of Saint Eustathios in Göreme) is the Presentation in three depictions of the Gospels of Echternach from a possible Byzantine model<sup>5</sup>. From the older examples of the 12th century, which are of interest to my

1. A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, London 1985, p. 171, fig. 90.

2. C. A. Manafes (gen. ed.), *Sinai, Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Athens 1990, p. 106, 285, notes 26-28.

3. H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln d. Passion*, Berlin 1981, p. 130.

4. For this iconographic form and its development in connection with homilies and poetry see especially, H. Maguire, *The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art*, DOP 34-35 (1980-81), p. 261-269.

5. D. C. Shorr, *The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple*, ArtB 29 (1946), p. 36, fig. 24. Maguire, *op.cit.*, p. 262, fig. 3.

interpretation of the portrayal, there is a miniature with the same theme in a manuscript<sup>6</sup> at the University of Chicago, Ms. 965, f. 59v. There the two faces of Symeon and the Child are very close to the form of the Panagia Glykophilousa. Symeon holds the Child in the same manner as he holds Christ in the fresco of Araka and, in addition, the Child's legs are bare from the knees down as in the portrayal of Araka, but in pose and motion more restrained.

Interesting for the development of the form is the highly possible intermediary portrayal of the Presentation with Christ again in the hands of Symeon in a Gospel<sup>7</sup> dated to the last quarter of the 11th century in the National Library of Vienna, Ms. Theol. gr. 154, f. 143. In this very important depiction of the iconographic type which I am examining, Symeon holds the Child in his hands and appears to return him to the Virgin with his face still far from the face of the Child whose legs here have been covered and who still holds in his hands his closed scroll, which in the portrayal of Araka as in all the remaining portrayals of the 12th century does not exist.

From the known portrayals with the same theme of the 12th-13th century the iconographic type of Symeon with the Child in Araka on Cyprus is also related to the fresco in the church of Saint Stephen<sup>8</sup> in Kastoria, where the Child, uplifted higher, appears to hang on to the mandyas of Symeon, but also finds consolation in his mother as she clasps into her two hands his right hand which is stretched toward her. His legs are also bare and opened in a restrained position.

Finally, our portrayal is nearly identical with the Symeon of the Presentation in a fresco of the 12th century in Backovo<sup>9</sup> where the two figures of Symeon and the Child are represented in the same atmosphere which is loaded with symbolism and hidden meanings: the position of the Child with the same intentional instability, his legs in an exaggerated frightened pose and motion, and legs bare below the top of the knees.

This strange depiction of the Child with bare and open legs (Fig. 1), with his frightened expression, without an inscribed scroll in his hands, with his agitated pose (iconographic elements which deprive the form of a hieratic convention and triumphal presence) belongs to a specific theological and ideological climate.

It has been maintained<sup>10</sup> that similar representations of Christ, which are intentionally rendered in an ordinary fashion in the early post-iconoclastic years, have the aim to chiefly underscore his human nature which proves his incarnation and legitimizes the images of his "circumscription". The production of images which echo the ideas of this period, especially in the Psalters of this

period, dominates, as has been stressed, in Constantinople and in the patriarchal cycle<sup>11</sup>. In the Psalter of Chloudov<sup>12</sup>, and more specifically in a sketch of the Virgin and Child, we can first see the iconographic detail of the bare legs of the Child<sup>13</sup> which is startling by its antihieratical character. In the first post-iconoclastic years the semiology of the half-spread Child was established in relation to the mystery of the Divine Dispensation (Θεία Οικονομία). It has been demonstrated that the term "reclining infant" (ἀνακλινόμενον βρέφος)<sup>14</sup> in this very sense is utilized by Photios in his well-known homily from the ambo of Hagia Sophia in the unveiling of the new portrayal of the Virgin where the Child in her arms is called "reclining," which indicates "this great mystery of the Divine Dispensation."

For the attribution of the production of this type in the period of Photios in addition to the literary sources with descriptions of analogous portrayals in monuments of Constantinople, its proven relation to a homily on the Presentation (which has been confirmed to belong to George of Nicomedeia<sup>15</sup>, who is connected with the immediate environment of Photios) constitutes a significant element. The form of the production of this type in the concrete intellectual and ideological environment of the Patriarchate of Constantinople during this period at least signifies that the Presentation ought to be loaded with special and complex meanings which are expressed with its equally special and complex iconographic semiology.

6. Maguire, *op.cit.*, p. 263, fig. 1.

7. L. Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo, Brussels 1975, p. 121. Maguire, *op.cit.*, p. 263, fig. 4.

8. S. Pelekanidis, Καστορία, I. Βυζαντινά τοιχογραφία, Thessalonike 1953, pl. 92β. Maguire, *op.cit.*, p. 263, fig. 6.

9. A. Grabar, La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie, Paris 1928, text p. 74, fig. 10. E. Bakalova, Église ossuaire de Batchkovo, Sophia 1977, p. 80-81, fig. 53 and color plate 105 (Bulgarian with French and German summaries). A. Xyngopoulos, Ὑπαπαντή, ΕΕΒΣ 6 (1929), p. 328-339, fig. 4.

10. A. Grabar, L'Iconoclisme byzantin, Paris 1957, p. 231.

11. Grabar, *ibid.*

12. M. B. Scherpkina, Μικρογραφίες του Ψαλτηρίου Χλουντόφ (Russian), Moscow 1977, f. 162v.

13. Ch. Baltoyanni, Η Παναγία Γλυκοφιλούσα και το ανακλινόμενον βρέφος σε εικόνα της Συλλογής Λοβέρδου, ΔΧΑΕ, Δ', ΙΣΤ' (1991-92), p. 232.

14. ἀνακλινόμενον... τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τῆς Οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, C. Mango, Homilies of Photios Patriarch of Constantinople, Cambridge, Mass. 1958, p. 260. S. Aristarchos, Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρός Φωτίου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντίνου Πόλεως. Λόγοι καὶ Ὁμιλίες ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς, Constantinople 1900, p. 299. Baltoyanni, *op.cit.*, p. 229.

15. Maguire, *op.cit.*, p. 264-267.



Fig. 1. Church of the Panagia of Araka, Lagoudera. Saint Symeon holding the Child Christ and Saint John the Baptist.

Above all the individual elements of the Presentation under discussion which serve as signs of concrete references to theological and other messages I have to stress the exceptionally eloquent iconographic detail of the bare legs of the Child, his strangely unstable position, and his motion, and finally the diligently exquisite earring which hangs down to his shoulder. The portrayal of the Presentation interprets, as is well-known, the Gospel account of Luke 2.22-29 according to which on the day which Joseph and Mary brought the newly-born Christ to Jerusalem "to present him to the Lord" as Mosaic law requires, Symeon the Elder to whom it had been "revealed" that he would not die until he saw "the Anointed of the Lord" hurried to meet Christ.

This episode from the New Testament is related to the Mosaic law according to which any mother who had given birth to a male must on the fortieth day after birth of the child (before which she is forbidden to enter the Temple as unclean) present "a one-year-old lamb for a burnt-offering and a pair of doves and turtledoves for sin" to the priest who would make the sacrifice for her purification. In addition, according to a commandment of God every first-born child of the Hebrews had to be consecrated to God in memory of the murder of the first-born children of the Egyptians on the eve of the Exodus from Egypt. The murder of the first-born children of the Egyptians during the eve of the Hebrews' Exodus from Egypt and the commandments which the Hebrews took from God for the slaughter of the one-year-old lamb (a sacrificially perfect one-year-old male) from whose blood they would stain the door-posts and the threshold of the door of their houses ("and they will take from the blood and place it upon the door-posts and lintels") and the instructions of how precisely they should prepare the lamb and what parts they should eat from ("the head along with legs and inner-parts") are described extensively in Exodus 12.1-11. Likewise, the commandment of God for the consecration of every first-born child of the Hebrews to God ("consecrate to me every first-born, the first-born opening through every womb") is also given at Exodus 13.1.

These passages from Exodus along with a selection of other verses from the Old Testament which are related to the sacrifice of the lamb are read in the liturgy of the Presentation of the 2nd of February and are interpreted by the exegetical texts as prefigurations of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. In this sense they are read during the liturgy of the Presentation, as is indicated also from the fact that the same texts are read at the liturgy of Holy Saturday.

All the elements related to the sacrifice of the lamb during the eve of the Hebrews' Exodus find in the exe-

getical texts their corresponding realization in the details of the sacrifice of Christ from which are not lacking the extended account with extensive interpretations about the legs of the lamb in the specific celebratory practises of the sacrifices. Cyril of Alexandria<sup>16</sup>, who elucidates the meaning of the sacrifice of the lamb and its prefigurative role in the sacrifice of Christ, gives the exhaustive interpretation of the entire commandment of God about the sacrifice of the lambs during the eve of the Hebrews' Exodus. Referring specifically to the commandment of God which is related to the head and legs to the lamb, it appears that there he focuses all the meaning of the mystery of the Divine Dispensation, "he commands them to eat the head... along with the legs and inner-parts, the entire knowledge from the entire mystery through him..." Justin Martyr (who in his dialogue with Tryphon the Jew stresses, "therefore the mystery of the sheep was the form of Christ"... "and the sheep commanded to be cooked whole was a symbol of the Passion on the cross through which Christ was going to suffer.")<sup>17</sup> also perceived a prefiguration of the Passion in the mystery of the lamb of the Exodus. Dwelling specifically on the prefigurative meaning of the legs of the lamb, Ammonios of Alexandria interprets, "since he offered as an image the sheep of the lamb of God, one nurtures oneself on the head of Christ, receiving from him the lessons of theology, (one nurtures oneself) on the legs, learning about his incarnate Dispensation, (one nurtures oneself) on the inner-parts (learning) hidden doctrine"<sup>18</sup>. The interpretative scholia of Prokopios of Gaza on the same chapter of Exodus (which was read, as was previously mentioned, during the liturgy of the Presentation) also leave a strong impression because with a specific account on the head and legs of the lamb he dwells on the astonishing details not only about the soteriological prefigurative meaning which they take in the sacrifice, but also on information about the form which they have. He specifically relates that in the selection of the parts of the lamb, "(people) eat the legs to which little meat clings"<sup>19</sup>. Following from this last piece of evidence for a special meaning which the legs have in the sacrifice of the lamb, which is in agreement with many other analogous accounts of the exegetical texts, the Christ in the Presentation of Araka with his very intensely projecting bare legs is to be identified as the lamb of God.

Here it should be pointed out that the episode of the Presentation, apart from the relationship which it has in meaning with the consecration of the first-born child to God in remembrance of the murdering of the first-born and the sacrifice of the lamb, is properly related, as mentioned above, to the purification of the mother in

the Temple after forty days from the birth of a male child. The purification takes place with the offering for sacrifice of a one-year-old and unblemished lamb “for a burnt-offering” and of a pair of doves and turtledoves “for sin”. Nevertheless, in the portrayal of the Presentation the sacrifice of a lamb is not indicated. There is only indicated the pair of doves usually shown in the hands of Joseph. Yet the constant accounts of the homiletic texts on Christ of the Presentation and the sacrifice which he himself presents offering himself “for a burnt-offering” indicates that the existence of a lamb, which in the case of the Presentation of Araka is to be identified with the one-year-old and unblemished lamb of the sacrifice “for a burnt-offering”.

The theme of the sacrifice of Christ as a lamb in the Presentation is reported in clear terms by Cyril of Alexandria who concludes that Christ presents himself in the Temple and he himself “who gilds himself with acts of worship from all” offers a sacrifice “for the scent of fragrance”<sup>20</sup>. Also, in his homily on the Presentation George of Nicomedeia confirms this view, while interpreting the Gospel verse of Luke 2.24, “...and in order to give sacrifices according to that which is said in the law of the Lord,” he asks why should Christ bring sacrifices according to the law who brings himself as the same (sacrifice)<sup>21</sup>, “why then did he bring sacrifices according to the law... for he did this once by offering himself, that is by having sacrificed (himself) through the cross”. But one of the clearest accounts on the theme of the lamb in the Presentation and likewise one of the most beautiful is the homily on the Presentation by Cyril of Jerusalem where Christ of the Presentation is “the lamb himself, and he himself is the fire, he himself is the shepherd, he himself is the ram... he himself is the burnt-offering...”<sup>22</sup>.

Finally, the meaning of the sacrifice of the lamb in the Presentation of Araka, besides being indicated, as mentioned before, by the wonderful figurative manner: the intensely projecting bare legs of the Child, the frightened expression, and especially his depiction without the inscribed scroll in his hands and his triumphant gold-woven himation, is also indicated by the startling presence of the ascetic, emaciated, and imposing figure of John the Baptist (Fig. 1) in whose open scroll with elongated and large disproportionate letters is written his well-known address to Christ “behold the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world,” which clearly provides the entire meaning of the sacrifice of the lamb. Just as in the portrayal of Araka there is no indication of the sacrifice of the doves or turtledoves, which are usually shown in the hands of Joseph, it is evident that in the hands of Symeon in our portrayal Christ with his

bare legs is the lamb, “he himself offers himself in sacrifice on behalf of the world” (καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου θυσία προσφερόμενος).

But the exceptional point of interest in the portrayal of Araka is focused also in the particularly accentuated element of the exquisite earring which Christ wears on his left ear (Fig. 1) and which has produced questions on its interpretation<sup>23</sup>. The same element also appears in the portrayal of the Panagia Arakiotissa<sup>24</sup> with the Child spread out in her arms which is painted opposite the portrayal of our Presentation. The Child there also wears the same exquisite earring. This iconographic detail, apart from its charming presence, is related to a specific meaning in this portrayal which is loaded with symbolism and theological messages. According to the homiletic texts on the Presentation and according to the Gospel of Luke, and likewise according the hymnological and other elements of the liturgy of the feast, Christ is presented in the Temple as obeying Mosaic law according to which the first-born child of all the Hebrews must be consecrated to God. When later the service of the Tabernacle of Testimony is handed over to the Levites, God ordained that the first-born children must be redeemed for a price of five shekels. This means that Mary and Joseph during the period when they took the Child to the Temple were not obligated, at least by the law, to do this, since they could have redeemed the Child for the price of the ordained shekels. Such a redemption is not indicated in the Gospel account and, to the con-

16. κεφαλὴν δὲ... σὺν τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐντοσθίοις ἐπιτάττει φαγεῖν, ὀλὴν ἐξ ὄλου τοῦ κατ’ αὐτοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν γνῶσιν... Γλαφυρὰ εἰς Πεντάτευχον, PG 69, 429D.

17. τὸ μυστήριον οὖν τοῦ προβάτου τύπος ἦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ... καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν πρόβατον ἐκεῖνο ὅπτον ὄλου γίνεσθαι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ σταυροῦ δι’ οὗ πάσχειν ἐμελλεν ὁ Χριστὸς σύμβολον ἦν, PG 6, 561C.

18. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰκόνα ἔφερε τὸ πρόβατον τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τρέφε-ται τις τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὰ περὶ τῆς Θεολογίας αὐτοῦ ἐκλαμβάνων· τοὺς δὲ πόδας, διδασκόμενος περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου αὐτοῦ Οἰκονομίας· τὰ δὲ ἐντόσθια, τὰ ἀπόκρυφα δόγματα, Exegetica, PG 85, 1513B.

19. Sunt qui adipiscuntur pedes, quibus paucae adhaerunt carnes, Exegetica in Octateucum, PG 87.1, 569-570.

20. ὁ ταῖς παρὰ πάντων λατρείαις ἐπιχρυσούμενος... εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, PG 60, 428A.

21. τί δὲ καὶ θυσίας κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀνήνεγκεν... τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἐφ’ ἅπαξ ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκας, τουτέστι διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ θυσιάσας, PG 28, 980D; there the homily is attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria.

22. αὐτὸς ὁ ἀμνός, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πῦρ ὑπάρχων. αὐτὸς ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἀρνίον... αὐτὸς ἡ ὀλοκαύτως..., PG 33, 1192B.

23. Stylianos, *op.cit.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 166-167, fig. 85.

trary, the faith and application of the old law to the letter is stressed. This indication of Christ's obedience to the law is expounded on by all the homiletic texts on the Presentation and constitutes one of the frequent points of reference of the liturgy of the 2nd of February. Often in hymns and praises Christ is led to the Temple "fulfilling the law to the letter"<sup>25</sup>, "fulfilling the promise of his own law"<sup>26</sup>, or "according to the law, as maker of the law, fulfilling the law"<sup>27</sup>, and elsewhere in hymns deriving from the Gospel statement, "as written in the law of the Lord", "in the law becoming the sacrificial priest... which law be heralded"<sup>28</sup>. Dwelling on the same verse George of Nicomedeia in his homily on the Presentation, which is very significant for the interpretation of our portrayal, firmly interprets the meanings of this Gospel verse, referring mainly to the obedience of Christ to Mosaic law<sup>29</sup>. It is not at all strange to him that Christ who is the same one "who wrote" (ὁ γράψας) the law is obedient to it, since in the same manner he accepted the manger, the swaddling clothes, and the circumcision, because George believes, citing the words of Christ himself, that Christ did not come to destroy the law but to fulfill it. With this same firmness all the other homiletic texts (which do not fail to stress this special element of Christ's obedience to the law) also dwell on the interpretation of "as it is written in the law of the Lord."

The theological meaning of this application of the law to the letter by Christ and his obedience to it, I think, is expressed figuratively by the ornate earring of Christ in the portrayal of Araka which serves not only decoratively, but also with a special iconographic semiology. The interpretation of the earring of the Child in our portrayal derives again from Exodus, especially 32.1-4. There, while Moses is on the mountain, Aaron fashions the inanimate molded calf by gathering and melting the golden earrings of the Hebrews. Interpreting this chapter of Exodus in his Work *On virtue or on the life of Moses* Gregory of Nyssa observes that Moses had decorated the ears of the Hebrews with the golden earring which were the law<sup>30</sup>. Aaron, taking this jewelry from the ears of the Hebrews, united them in the disobedience

of the commandment of the law; as Gregory says, "so why do we say that Moses decorated the ears of the Israelites with jewelry on the ear, which is the law, but the one wrongly called his brother through disobedience gathers up the jewelry positioned on the ear and makes through this an idol. And along the first entrance of sin the removal of some earrings was the counsel of disobeying the commandment." Yet Christ does not disobey the law, but on the contrary, applies its commandments to the letter and consequently the golden earring which hangs down to his shoulder in the Presentation of Araka is the law which "decorated" (κατεκόσμησεν) his ear.

In conclusion, I would like to say that this figurative interpretation of the Presentation in the portrayal at the church of the Panagia Araka on Cyprus presents one more example of painting in the 12th century which renders with wonderful Humanistic means the early post-iconoclastic doctrinal teachings which were living and entirely appropriate to Byzantium<sup>31</sup>.

*Dumbarton Oaks 1993*

25. νόμον τὸν ἐν γράμματι ἀποπληρῶν, G. Schiro (ed.), *AnalHGr*, VI, *Canones Februarii*, Rome 1974.

26. τοῦ οἰκείου νόμου πληρῶν τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, Μηναιὸν Φεβρουαρίου, Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη «Φῶς», Athens 1977, p. 40.

27. κατὰ νόμον, ὡς νόμου ποιητὴς τὸν νόμον ἐκπληρῶν, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

28. ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἱερουργός... ὃν νόμον ἐκήρυξε, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

29. PG 28, 977C-D.

30. τί οὖν φαμεν ὅτι Μωυσῆς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐνωτίῳ κόσμῳ, ὃ ἔστιν ὁ νόμος, τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀκοὴν κατεκόσμησεν, ὃ δὲ ψευδώνυμος ἀδελφὸς διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς περιαίρει τὸν ἐντεθέντα τῇ ἀκοῇ κόσμον καὶ ποιεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ εἶδωλον. καὶ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἀμαρτίας εἴσοδον ἐνωτίου τινὸς ὑφαίρεσις ἦν τοῦ παρακοῦσαι τῆς ἐντολῆς συμβουλή, PG 44, 396C.

31. This article was translated into English by Dr. Lee Francis Sherry whose text was improved and corrected by Dr. Alexander Alexakis.