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STUDIA NAZIANZENICA

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I

EDITA A  
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THE NAMES OF CHRIST IN THE GEORGIAN VERSION OF  
GREGORY NAZIANZEN'S HOMILY II BY  
EUTHYMIUS THE ATHONITE\*

The explanation of the essence of the Trinity, and of the interrelation of its members is one of the main subjects discussed in the homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzen. After the first Nicene Council and the official condemnation of Arianism, the controversy between the heretics and the orthodox Christians did not come to an end. Other powerful heretic movements developed on the basis of erroneous interpretations of the essence of the Trinity and on the mistaken understanding of the interrelations between its members on the basis of hierarchy. Therefore, the Cappadocian Fathers paid greater attention in their writings to the discussion of problems related to the Trinity. One of the most important of these problems was the question of Christ, the Son-God, and, accordingly, of the symbolic names used to designate the Christ.

Old Georgian translators had always paid great attention to the writings of Gregory Nazianzen, and to the responsibility involved by the process of translation of his works into Georgian. The methodical translation of Gregory's works was accomplished in the 11th century and a full collection of his writings was completed in Georgian owing to the efforts of Euthymius Athoneli, David Tbeli and Ephrem Mtsire (Ephrem the Lesser).

A peculiar aspect of these translations is the way they reveal an intense reflection about the content of the text: the discussions regarding the nature and essence of the persons of the Holy Trinity, developed at length by Gregory, are taken into account by the translators. It is our intention to survey a small portion of this interesting material, namely, the characteristic features — and the importance for Georgian literature — of Euthymius

\* The content of this paper has been presented orally at a meeting of the « Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze », in Louvain-la-Neuve, during the academic year 1997-1998.

Athoneli's translation of Christ's symbolic names as they are listed in the second homily of Gregory Nazianzen, his apologetic discourse entitled «The Reason for Fleeing to Pontus and for Returning Thence». (1)

I. *On the Importance of the List of Christ's Symbolic Names in Christian Literature*

The knowledge of Christ's symbolic names and their interpretations have a special significance for a true Christian. God the Son, the present example for all believers, is the way by which one can approach God. The imitation of Christ is impossible without awareness of the image of God the Son and its essence. The symbolic names designating Christ represent the God the Son in his various aspects, they embrace and explain his junctions and significance, and make it easier for the believer to perceive the essence of God the Son. This question is also discussed at large by Gregory of Nyssa in one of his epistles «To Armonios, Caesarios and the Men of Olympus for Improvement and So That You Know How It Is Proper To Be a True Christian». (2)

Gregory explains that the names of Christ indicate and illustrate those qualities of God the Son which a true Christian should follow and imitate, for one does not become a true Christian because he is called a Christian, but through a nature and deeds corresponding to what is expected from a true believer. Hence this knowledge is all the more indispensable for a true priest whose duty it is to explain and teach these names to his

(1) Euthymius' translation of the second homily, preserved in a single manuscript, S-1696 (XIth century; ff. 163<sup>f</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>) of the K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia, has been prepared by the author and is due for publication in the series *Corpus Nazianzenum*. See: თ. ბრეგაძე, გრიგოლ ნაზიანზელის თხზულებათა შემცველ ქართულ ხელნაწერთა აღწერილობა [Th. BREGADZE, *Description of the Georgian manuscripts containing the works of Gregory Nazianzen*, Tbilisi, 1988, p. 93 (hereafter: BREGADZE, *Description*)]; T. BREGADZE, *Répertoire des manuscrits de la version géorgienne des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Versiones Orientales, repertorium Ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas*, ed. B. COULIE (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 20. *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 1), Turnhout, 1988, pp. 70-71 (hereafter: BREGADZE, *Répertoire*).

(2) PG 46, col. 251-286.

flock. The list of Christ's names in Gregory Nazianzen's *Oratio 2* is also connected with the subject of a true priest and the epistle of Gregory of Nyssa once more points out to a special significance of this passage in Gregory's second homily for instruction.

II. *The Georgian Version of Gregory Nazianzen's Homily II by Euthymius*

Gregory's second homily, a rather lengthy piece, covers two main topics: on the one hand, the reasons why Gregory had fled to Pontus and of his subsequent return, and on the other hand the relationship of the spiritually elevated and purified true minister with his flock, topics closely interconnected and issuing one from the other. All the other episodes, apparently peripheral subjects of the homily, including the chapters about the dogma of the Trinity and the list of Christ's symbolic names, are related to these two main subjects.

Besides *Or. 2*, Euthymius has also translated *Or. 3*, a shorter piece and thematically so close to *Or. 2* that it can almost be regarded as a continuation of the *Or. 2*. Ephrem Mtsire (XIth cent.) had already observed, as is stated in one of his colophons, that Euthymius had gathered and compiled these two homilies. (3) An analysis of the text of the Georgian version of these two homilies by Euthymius has confirmed the redistribution of the material of Gregory's second homily and the creation of two new pieces of work, without parallels in Greek.

As has been mentioned above, Gregory Nazianzen's second and third homilies are very close, thematically as well as chronologically. Both must have been read the same year at a very short interval, (4) both concern «accusation and justification of oneself, the explanation of fleeing, the necessity of the Christian way of life, the problems of the relationship between the priest and the parishioners, the uncorrupted worship of the Trinity dogma,

(3) Manuscript A-292, f. 279<sup>v</sup>; see BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 174; BREGADZE, *Répertoire*, p. 82-83.

(4) P. GALLAY, *La Vie de St. Grégoire de Nazianze*, Lyon-Paris, 1943, p. 73, n. 3. *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1-3*, Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. BERNARDI (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 247), Paris, 1978, p. 40 (hereafter: S.C. 247).

therefore their interconnection is not at all surprising». <sup>(5)</sup> In redistributing and compiling Gregory Nazianzen's homilies, a process which resulted in interpolations between the two works, Euthymius composed his own versions of *Or.* 2 and 3 with a different aim in mind: the «new» homilies are of a didactic nature, intended for teaching and priestly use (the two principal subjects indicated above are prominent here); the text of *Or.* 3, now extended by passages taken from *Or.* 2, is more concerned with the discussion of the essence of Trinity and of heresies (it is noteworthy that Euthymius has considerably extended both these passages, and added his own examples to Gregory's material), while in *Or.* 2 Euthymius distinctly outlines the theme of the perfect priest, where the list of Christ's names and their explanations are a natural and inseparable part.

It is particularly noticeable that Euthymius, while deleting from *Or.* 2 all rhetorical and theological passages, preserved the list of names given to Christ with the series of their explanations, because it appeared to him to be essential to the objective he had assigned to the homily through his personal translation: «Hereby Euthymius realises an organic integration of this passage into the main theme of *Or.* 2, the perfection of a minister; the true priest should himself have studied the significance of the symbolic names of Christ so that he could distinguish images from reality or could correctly explain the initial and the original images». <sup>(6)</sup>

### III. *The List of Christ's Names Translated by Euthymius*

The analysis of the translation of that list of names as given by Euthymius faces the following questions: does Euthymius follow the succession of Christ's names as proposed by Gregory Nazianzen? Does he adhere to the number of the names, or does he add

(5) ქ. ბეზარაშვილი, მ. მაჭავარიანი, გრიგოლ ღვთისმეტყველის II და III ჰომილიების ეფთვიმე ათონელისეული თარგმანის თავისებურებანი და ეფრემ მცირის ერთი ანდერძ-მინაწერი [K. BEZARASHVILI, M. MATCHAVARIANI, *The Peculiarities of Euthymius Athonei's Translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' II and III Homilies and One Colophon of Ephrem Mtsire*], in *Philological Researches*, II (K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Georgia), 1995, Tbilisi, p. 245.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 251.

or detract any? Does he use any sources when quoting from the Holy Scripture? And finally, is a parallel of this passage found in any of the other translated or original Georgian written works?

#### 1) The Succession of the Names and Their Number

The Georgian text shows that Euthymius does not strictly follow the succession of Christ's names as given by Gregory: instead, he changes the places of certain names and breaks the sequence. According to our observation, the succession of Christ's names in the time of the Cappadocian Fathers did not follow any strictly prescribed order. Even Gregory himself, who in his third and fourth theological discourses, was one of the first ever to try and systematize the names of Christ, changes the order of their succession from homily to homily. Gregory's fourth theological discourse (*Or.* 30), in which he justifies the given succession of Christ's names by well-founded explanations, is especially significant in this regard. <sup>(7)</sup> Worthy of notice is the fact that here Gregory uses «the Son» as the first and most important epithet («for He is one with his Father in essence and nature and not otherwise; and from Him is He without beginning and endlessly») <sup>(8)</sup>, so that he can make more vivid the Son's oneness and equality with the Father. Nevertheless he puts «the Son» at the first place of the sequence of Christ's names only in this homily (the Son, the Only Begotten, the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, the Truth, the Image, the Light, the Life, the Righteousness, the Holy, the Saviour, the Resurrection). In all the other similar passages, the succession of the names is altered, which reveals that the order of succession of Christ's names was not fixed, so that the translator was allowed to adapt the list.

The number of the names also differ in the translation given by Euthymius. In his second homily Gregory is listing 33 names of Christ, <sup>(9)</sup> while Euthymius gives 37 names in his translation of that same homily. Twenty-five of the latter coincide with the names listed by Gregory, the other ones being different. David

(7) *Or.* 30, 20 (PG 36, col. 128-132).

(8) *Ibid.* (PG 36, col. 128 D 1-2); S-1696, f. 132<sup>v</sup>, Euthymius' translation.

(9) *Or.* 2, 98 (PG 35, col. 500 B 8-C 4; S.C. 247, pp. 216-218).

Tbeli, whose translation of *Or.* 2 is quite close to the Greek original, lists 32 names for Christ, instead of 33 and does not follow the sequence of the Greek original.

## 2) The Sources and the Parallels

In discussing the sources of the Georgian version of the list, it is important to note that Euthymius himself names those sources. This passage is constructed as follows: first Euthymius lists the name, then the source from which the name is derived, and finally the quotation containing the name from the source named, most of these quotations being made from the New Testament.

The sources of Christ's symbolic names and the tradition of applying these names would by the time of Euthymius have been a commonly known, recognised and established fact. In our opinion Euthymius, while quoting from the Holy Scripture, follows an existing tradition and therefore does not produce any original material in this passage. It is not our purpose to look for the quotations listed by Euthymius in both New and Old Testaments,<sup>(10)</sup> but rather to find out whether the list of names in Euthymius' translation has some parallels in other old Georgian translated or original literary works. A peculiarity of the method of translation of Euthymius is the insertion of a part of one work into the translation of another.<sup>(11)</sup> We have therefore studied the translation given by Euthymius to the list of Christ's names in *Or.* 29 and 30, in order to find out whether the translator made any connection between these homilies and the indicated parts of the second homily.

The comparison points out toward a close affinity, in content and structure, between the list of names in *Or.* 29, 17 — with the

(10) It must be said though, that some of the quotations cited by Euthymius are short (they rather initiate the quotation, e.g. « Angel: the Angel of the great intent »); some of them have been erased in manuscript S-1696 and are hardly legible.

(11) See ც. ქურციკიძე, ისევ ექვთიმე ათონელის მთარგმნელობითი მეთოდის შესახებ [Ts. KURTSIKIDZE, *Once More on Euthymius Athoneli's Translational Method*], in *Mravaltavi*, VI, Tbilisi, 1978, pp. 24-34; ც. ქურციკიძე, ბასილი კესარიელის «სწავლათა» ეფთვიმე ათონელისეული თარგმანი [Ts. KURTSIKIDZE, *Euthymius Athoneli's Translation of Basil of Caesarea's « Teachings »*], Tbilisi, 1983, pp. 068-072.

addition of the quotations — and the corresponding part of *Or.* 2; it has also been observed that the translation of *Or.* 29, 17 by Euthymius is closer to the Greek text than in other passages of the same homily. Furthermore, the translation of *Or.* 29, 17 coincides with a small portion of Euthymius' translation of *Or.* 2, at least for what concerns the first 12 names; this correspondence is not accidental. In the translation of *Or.* 2, Euthymius lists the names of Christ in order to remind the priest of them, but he does not give any explanation of these names anymore.<sup>(12)</sup> He uses the laconic style characteristic of Gregory's *Or.* 29 and only alludes by quotations to the source for the use of these names. As to why Euthymius does not comment on the names of Christ in *Or.* 2 where this commentary would have been natural and even expected, this is evidently due to the chronological order in which the Gregorian homilies were translated by Euthymius. In our opinion, by that time Euthymius had already translated Gregory's theological discourses in which the names of Christ were explained, so that his version of *Or.* 2 (and of *Or.* 3 as well, since both homilies were translated and re-arranged at the same time) was the last one to appear in the series of homilies turned into Georgian by the Athonite monk.<sup>(13)</sup> Consequently Euthymius did not think it necessary to overburden the composition by repeating these explanations. This assumption can be based on the following reasons:

1. Part of the passage containing the names of Christ in *Or.* 2 is very close in content and style (laconic) to *Or.* 29, 17 (see figure at the end of this paper).
2. The other part of the passage containing the names of Christ is

(12) Gregory himself gives the explanations of the symbolic names of Christ in his third theological discourse, *Or.* 30, which has also been translated by Euthymius.

(13) We have the same picture in the collections of Euthymius Athoneli's translations of Gregory's works. Chronologically and structurally Euthymius first translated the theological discourses along with the liturgical ones, and only after that was the non-liturgical material translated by Euthymius added in his collections. See *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio Iberica*, I. *Orationes I, XLIV, XLIV, XLI*, editae a H. METREVELI et al. (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 36. *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 5), Turnhout, 1998, p. X.

stylistically constructed in analogy with *Or.* 29, 17; these two circumstances lead us to believe that Euthymius had already translated the third theological discourse (*Or.* 29) by the time he was translating *Or.* 2.

3. In *Or.* 2, the names of Christ are listed without explanations, because these explanations had already been given in the text of Gregory's other homilies previously translated by Euthymius.

4. In manuscript *S*-1696, the names of Christ appearing in this passage of *Or.* 2 are written in capital letters and cinnabar (red ink), and necessity of this kind of special script is also emphasized in *Or.* 30 (see in details below).

The laconic style of listing of the names of Christ in *Or.* 2 allows the translator to provide the reader or the listener with sufficient information without upsetting the refined composition of the work. It can therefore be stated that the passage containing the names of Christ in Euthymius' translation of *Or.* 2 is structurally and stylistically (laconic style) constructed in analogy with *Or.* 29, 17, while in content, like Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Cyprus and other holy Fathers, it follows an accepted tradition of Christ's names, their explanations and quotations.

#### IV. Manuscript *S*-1696

Manuscript Tbilisi *S*-1696, which preserves the only copy of the Georgian translation of Gregory Nazianzen's *Or.* 2 by Euthymius, was copied in the 11th century by Petre, formerly called Petric. (14) This manuscript, whose compiler and scribe appears to have been a rather scholarly person, was intended to be a collection of all the Georgian translations of Gregory's works, even including rare and less wide-spread versions, like Euthymius' translation of *Or.* 2. (15) While other Georgian manuscripts containing translations of Gregory's works do preserve the ver-

(14) ე. მეტრეველი, იოანე პატრიკისა და პეტრე პატრიკის იდენტიფიკაციისათვის [H. METREVELI, *For the Identification of Ioane Patrikios and Petre Patrikios*], in ნარკვევები ათონის კულტურულ-საგანმანათლებლო კერის ისტორიიდან [*Essays from the History of the Cultural and Educational Center of Athos*], Tbilisi, 1996, pp. 196-226.

(15) This collection also includes a work which is not to be found elsewhere: «The Explanation of the Very Remarkable Words», translated by

sion of *Or.* 2 made by David Tbeli along with the version of *Or.* 3 by Euthymius, another peculiarity of manuscript *S*-1696 is to present *Or.* 2 translated by Euthymius (ff. 163<sup>v</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>), followed by *Or.* 3 translated by the same Euthymius (ff. 179<sup>v</sup>-199<sup>v</sup>), and then again *Or.* 2 in the translation of David Tbeli!

A last interesting feature of manuscript *S*-1696 can be observed. In *Or.* 30, 17, where Gregory Nazianzen starts speaking about Christ, he says: «Our starting point must be the fact, that God can't be named. Not only will deductive arguments prove it, but the wisest Hebrews of antiquity, so far as can be gathered, will too. The ancient Hebrews used special symbols to venerate the divine and did not allow anything inferior to God be written with the same letters as the word «God», on the ground that the divine should not be put on even this much of a level with things human». (16) Like an answer to that very rule, the scribe of manuscript *S*-1696 copied in red ink the names of Christ appearing in Euthymius' translation of *Or.* 2, however in Euthymius' translations of the theological discourses *Or.* 29 and *Or.* 30 included in the same manuscript, in the passages listing the names of Christ, these names are not in any way distinguished from the rest of the text; in this manuscript, the initial letters of proper names are often written with capital letters, while in the case of *Or.* 29 and 30 even the initial letters of the names of Christ are not written in capital letters, and the names are not even separated by means of a paragraph, like they are in the second homily.

These characteristic features of the collection show that the scribe of *S*-1696 is a learned copyist making effort to write down exact copies of the translations. We might assume that the names of Christ were also written in capital letters in the manuscript used as a model by the scribe Petre (that manuscript might even have been Euthymius' autograph, as Petre might have been Euthymius' fellow scholar). Petre, well aware of the special significance of the separation of the names of Christ in Euthymius' version of *Or.* 2, apparently copied this passage into his collec-

David Tbeli, which is appended to Gregory's ninth homily also translated by David Tbeli.

(16) *Faith Gives Fulness to Reasoning. The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen*. Introduction and Commentary by F.W. NORRIS, Translation by L. WICKHAM and F. WILLIAMS, 1991, pp. 273-274.

tion without any change. Such a visual presentation was looked for by Euthymius to make the names of Christ and their significance more graphic and vivid in his translation of *Or. 2*, precisely because Euthymius wanted this original translation to render the image of the perfect teacher and to show the believers the true way to the Lord. Euthymius the Athonite was not only a translator, but a man of great creative ability and learning, who was well familiar with the characteristic features of Byzantine literature and gave them serious consideration before producing his own versions of several Greek works.

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Maia MATCHAVARIANI

Or. 29, 17 (PG 36, col. 96 B 12-97 A 7)	Or. 29,17 Euthymius	Or. 2 Euthymius
<p>Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ὑψηλῶν τῶν φωνῶν, τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν θεότητα καὶ κατειλήψαμεν, καὶ κηρύσσομεν. Τίνων τούτων· Τῆς Θεός,</p>	<p>For we, of high and true words, believe the Godhead of the only begotten Son of God and know and speak, which are the words, that proclaim him as God</p>	<p>God:</p>
<p>τῆς Λόγος, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ὁ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς,</p>	<p>- and in the beginning and with the first (Cause)</p>	<p>from Paul: Christ God blessed hereafter forever The Word:</p>
<p>ἡ ἀρχή·</p>	<p>- and for the only begotten Son.</p>	
<p>Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν,</p>	<p>In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God</p>	<p>From St. John the Apostle: in the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God.</p>
<p>καὶ Θεός ἦν ὁ Λόγος· καί, Μετὰ σοῦ ἡ ἀρχή· καί, Ὁ καλῶν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ γενεῶν ἀρχήν·</p>	<p>and the Word was God. And with you is authority</p>	<p>- - -</p>
<p>Ἐπειδὴ Υἱὸς μονογενῆς, Ὁ μονογενῆς Υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.</p>	<p>and the only begotten Son, which was in the bosom of the Father, hath declared:</p>	<p>-</p>
	<p>on the day of your power shining from your holy womb I bare you before dawn.</p>	<p>-</p>

Ὁδός, Ἀλήθεια, Ζωή,

Φῶς

Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδός, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ ζωή  
καὶ, Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου.  
Σοφία, Δύναμις· Χριστὸς Θεοῦ  
δύναμις, καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία.

Ἀπαύγασμα, Χαρακτήρ, Εἰκὼν,  
Σφραγίς

Ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης· καὶ,  
Χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ·

-

καὶ, Εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος·

-

καὶ, Τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ  
ἐσφράγισεν ὁ Θεός.

Κύριος,

Βασιλεύς,

ὁ Ὄν,

ὁ Παντοκράτωρ· Ἐβρεξε Κύριος πῦρ  
παρὰ Κυρίου·

Also he is called the Way, and the Truth,  
and the Life.

-

-

and «I am the light of the world».

Likewise he is called the Wisdom and the  
Power: «Christ the Power of God and  
the Wisdom of God», - says the Apostle,  
and Brightness and the Image,  
the Seal

who being the brightness of his glory  
and the image of His power.

He has burdened all with the word of  
power of his

and is the Image of Goodness

and the Seal unchangeable as the good  
one says

that God the Father has put the Seal on  
Him.

He is the Lord

and the King, that He is since ages,

-

and since Omnipotent, the Lord let it  
rain fire from the Lord.

The Way, the Truth and the Life,

-

The Lord himself: I am the Way, the  
Truth and the Life.

The Image and the Brightness

-

from Paul: He was brightness of his  
glory and the image of His power.

-

-

-

-

-

The Lord: from Paul: the Lord of the  
powers of Heaven.

-

-

καί, Ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος, ἡ ῥάβδος  
τῆς βασιλείας σου·  
καί, Ὁ ὢν, καί ὁ ἦν, καί ὁ  
ἐρχόμενος, καί ὁ παντοκράτωρ.  
Σαφῶς περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λεγόμενα, καί  
ὅσα τῆς αὐτῆς τούτοις ἐστὶ  
δυνάμεως, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐπίκτητον, οὐδὲ  
ὑστερον τῷ Υἱῷ προσγενόμενον, ἢ  
τῷ Πνεύματι, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ  
Πατρὶ· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ προσθήκης τὸ  
τέλειον. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν, ὅτε ἀλογος ἦν·  
οὐδὲ ἦν, ὅτε οὐκ ἀληθής, ἢ ἄσφοτος, ἢ  
ἀδύνατος, ἢ ζωῆς ἐνδεής, ἢ  
λαμπρότητος, ἢ ἀγαθότητος.

And the staff of power to judge the  
living and the dead.

And so do not let these words of low  
form give you reason to humble the  
Godhead of the only begotten, but  
pondered their nature for Godhead, and  
those low words you would receive for  
men, for these words of lowness will  
give you reason to be mistaken, the high  
and glorious will relieve you of your  
mistake.