**A spiritual exodus : Worship and the scriptural way of life in Cyril of Alexandria's De Adoratione**

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# A Spiritual Exodus

# Worship and the Scriptural Way of Life in Cyril of Alexandria's *De adoratione*

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# DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP AND SOURCES:

This thesis contains no material that has been extracted in whole or in part from a thesis that I have submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

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[1]  PG 68.264D (Book 3).

Chelsea is the dedicatee of this work, in deep gratitude and love for who she is and what we have been given together.

One brief word on my approach. This dissertation is full of quotations from *De adoratione* which I have decided to render in English in the body of the dissertation, while including the Greek text in the footnotes. Owing to the lack of a translation, it seemed necessary to include the original text for readers to access easily. While this can make the footnotes cumbersome, the options of either not including the Greek text, or including it only in an Appendix seemed more problematic. For a text awaiting the clear understanding of its σκοπός that I hope to provide, it has seemed better to prioritise presenting that text as fully as possible. And if that means that I sometimes stray into wordiness, at least I am in good company.

# Table of Contents

# Abstract

The claim of this study is that in his long, early treatise *De adoratione*, Cyril of Alexandria exegetes select passages of the Pentateuch in service of a larger goal. That goal is to lead his readers on the journey of Exodus, as they seek to progress in virtue and holiness. Pentateuchal exegesis is not incidental to the purpose, but integral, as Cyril draws his readers into the journey and ritual worship of Israel so that, in Christ, they are brought into a spiritual maturity in the Christian way of life in the church. Cyril does this by employing different generic approaches and by making various theological claims about the Old Testament. On the one hand, he fashions a dialogue that also bears characteristics with other genres like questions-and-responses, biblical commentary and moral exhortation. These approaches allow him to fashion a text that is didactic, paraenetic and pastoral. And then when it comes to his theological claims, Cyril constructs a Christophanic reading of Israel's history and cultic worship. By placing the mystery of Christ at the heart of Israel's worship, he seeks to collapse the distance between his Alexandrian Christian audience and Israel at Mt Sinai, with both dwelling in the presence of Christ. By journeying with Israel through Exodus in this way, he leads his readers to find their own identity as royal priests, and thus offer their own lives as an act of spiritual worship to God the Father through Christ Jesus by the Holy Spirit. In so doing, they reach eternal rest and feasting with God, as first inaugurated in Exodus.

The argument that I have traced here is presented in this dissertation against a backdrop of some scholarly misunderstandings about this untranslated and under-studied treatise. But I also build upon more recent research into Cyrillian exegesis by contributing close readings of *De adoratione* to scholarly conversations about Cyril and his world. Further, I place *De adoratione* within broader conversations in patristic scholarship on biblical reception, re-envisioned Scripture, and liturgical theology. Those conversations help to draw out the three "threads" that I argue run through *De adoratione:* exegesis of the Pentateuch, spiritual or moral guidance, and a vision of the Christian life as one of worship. And these three threads are continually interwoven. The Pentateuch is, for Cyril, a text suitable for pedagogy, for growth in spiritual maturity, both for Israel and for Christians. It is also a text fundamentally concerned with cultic realities, offering right sacrifices and celebrating the prescribed feasts, just as the Christian life, for Cyril, is ordered towards right worship and the offering of spiritual sacrifices with the goal of eschatological Sabbath rest. While the work is one of moral or spiritual guidance, that guidance is understood within the larger context of the worship or service of God. Moral guidance is then also guidance in how to offer one's life as a spiritual sacrifice to God the Father on account of the sacrifice of Christ Jesus, by the power of the Holy Spirit. By structuring the whole work loosely around the journey of Israel in the book of Exodus, Cyril seeks not so much to offer a commentary on

the Pentateuch according to the norms of that genre, but rather a pedagogical journey in which the Scriptural texts of Israel are read "in Spirit and truth", leading his Christian readers to live lives of right worship or service to God. By calling this "A Spiritual Exodus", I am attempting to draw these threads together in a unity. That is, that the journey of Israel in Exodus is also, in a spiritual sense, the journey of the Christian, a journey which is ordered towards right worship. The subtitle of this dissertation fleshes out this claim, with reference to the three "threads" – that the Christian way of life or πολιτεία is, for Cyril, ordered and given shape by the Scriptures and the Pentateuch in particular, and that this way of life is one of worship, finding its goal in a life of adoration and offering spiritual sacrifices in the holy presence of God.

# 1.

# Worship and Service in Spirit and Truth

In this chapter I introduce *De adoratione* and some of the scholarship that it has attracted. I also begin to make arguments about the work that will be developed in the rest of this dissertation. By looking at some of the key structural components of the work – book headings, title, and preface – I argue that Cyril's broader goal in *De adoratione* is to lead the reader on a journey of spiritual maturity by means of Pentateuchal exegesis, all within the framing of worship. Cyril is seeking to provide an understanding of the worship of Israel "in spirit and truth" for the edification of his Christian readers.

Before getting underway, it will be helpful to place this chapter within the context of the whole dissertation. This first chapter provides an overview of the work and the attention it has received in scholarship, as well as making definitions and arguments about the work's goal. The second chapter continues this broad look at the work by considering its genre and structure, and its place within Cyril's corpus. I argue there that the structure of *De adoratione* mirrors that of Exodus, with an emphasis on how the reader is to progress through this way of life as a way of spiritual maturity. Chapter 3 then considers Cyril's exegetical method in *De adoratione* and engages with scholarship on Cyril's interpretation of the Old Testament to look at how his method and theological claims support his goals. Among other things, I argue for the importance of Christophany in Cyril's understanding of Israel's history and their cultic worship especially. Chapters 4 and 5 then seek to consider the progressive character of *De adoratione* as a whole by sequentially following its broad structure and narrative while paying attention to key themes of the work. Extracting themes within any written work has genuine value, but a limit is reached if those themes are not considered together. That is especially true of *De adoratione*. Cyril himself warns the reader in the preface to "keep the sequence of the books in order". But regardless of his instructions, the overall structure of *De adoratione* is one of the most interesting and unique things about the work, enlivening its parts. Following that structure in Chapters 4 and 5 enables, I hope, a way to consider the work as a whole, allowing something of its force and importance to come through to the reader. Throughout the dissertation I have engage *De adoratione* with scholarly discussions outside the field of Cyrillian studies, and also with other patristic texts.

## INTRODUCTION TO DE ADORATIONE

Cyril of Alexandria's (*c*. 378–444) *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate* is one of the longest works of the patristic era, checking in at over 205,000 words and taking up a full

volume of the *Patrologia Graeca.* While it is typically known by its Latin title, the original title is ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑΣ, a version of the dominical words in John 4:24 with the notable addition of λατρεία.[2] Despite its notable length, the significance of its author as "the seal of the fathers" and with an influence on conciliar history shared only by Athanasius, and the likelihood that it is the earliest work Cyril ever wrote, *De adoratione* lacks a full critical edition and has not been translated into English. Out of the 17 books that make up the work, a welcome critical edition of the first book by Barbara Villani, along with German translation, was recently published.[3] But for the majority of the work, the *PG* contains the best available edition, that of Jean Aubert, originally published in Paris in 1638. Translations do exist in an early modern Latin edition reprinted in *Patrologia Graeca*,[4] and more recently into Romanian by Dumitru Stăniloae,[5] and into Russian by A. I. Sidorov.[6] An unpublished translation in French by Georges-Matthieu de Durand is mentioned in French scholarship but is not publicly available.[7] While no English translation has been published, Justin Gohl has in recent years made available his work-in-progress translations of Books 2, 9, and 16.[8] And George Dragas has published a kind of paraphrase translation of Books 11–13.[9]

One explanation for this relative lack of attention is both the size and complexity of the work. *De adoratione* is one and a half times the size of the New Testament and one third the size of the whole Septuagint. While Cyril wrote other long works, they are all more straightforward commentaries, easier to get a grasp of and navigate. *De adoratione*, by contrast, defies easy classification, so much so that scholars have had difficulty getting a handle on what the treatise is even about.[10] And Cyril's notoriously prolix and complex

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[2]  For a discussion of the title variations given in the manuscript tradition, see Barbara Villani, "Some Remarks on the Textual Tradition and the Literary Genre of Cyril of Alexandria's *De Adoratione Et Cultu in Spiritu Et Veritate*," *Studia Patristica* 96 (2017).

[3]  Barbara Villani, *De Adoratione Et Cultu in Spiritu Et Veritate, Buch 1* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2021).

[4]  PG 68.133A-1125D. The sixteenth century Reformer Johannes Oecolampadius published three volumes of selections of Cyril's works, translated into Latin, in 1528. The second volume includes a Latin translation of Book 1 of *De adoratione*. For a discussion of Latin translations of the text, see Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 118ff.

[5]  Dumitru Stăniloae, *Sfântul Chiril, Arhiepiscopul Alexandriei: Închinarea Şi Slujirea În Duh Şi Adevăr* (Bucureşti: Basilica, 1991).

[6]  *О Поклонении И Служении В Духе И Истине Святитель Кирилл Александрийский* (Москва: 2000).

[7]  E.g., Marie-Odile Boulnois, "Liberté, Origine Du Mal Et Prescience Divine Selon Cyrille D'Alexandrie," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 46, no. 1 (2000), 65.

[8]  See Justin M. Gohl, "St. Cyril of Alexandria, on the Veneration and Worship in Spirit and Truth, Book Nine." (2021): accessed 8 April, 2024, https://reseminary.academia.edu/JustinGohl; Justin M. Gohl, "St. Cyril of Alexandria, on the Veneration and Worship in Spirit and Truth, Book Sixteen." (2022): accessed 8 April, 2024, https://reseminary.academia.edu/JustinGohl; Justin M. Gohl, "St. Cyril of Alexandria, on the Veneration and Worship in Spirit and Truth, Book Two." (2023): accessed 8 April, 2024, https://reseminary.academia.edu/JustinGohl.

[9]  George Dion Dragas, *St Cyril of Alexandria's Teaching on the Priesthood* (Rollinsford: Orthodox Research Institute, 2003).

[10] For an important article that highlighted these difficulties, see Mark W Elliott, "What Cyril of Alexandria's *De Adoratione* is All About," *Studia Patristica* 50 (2011).

rhetorical style is on full display in *De adoratione*, creating a further barrier to reading and interpretation. The text is full of unusual syntax and *hapax legomena*. Anyone becoming familiar with G.W.H. Lampe's *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* will soon encounter *De adoratione*.[11] By my count, Lampe refers to *De adoratione* in over 500 different entries, an average of one reference every three pages. Often, one page of the dictionary will refer to *De adoratione* four or five times for as many different words.[12] Nor is this simply an idiosyncracy of Lampe. Many of Lampe's entries are for *hapax legomena* and rely on *De adoratione* alone for the use of a particular word.[13] At other times Cyril's polysemic diction is on display when *De adoratione* is referred to multiple times in one entry. For example, the entry for διάττω refers to *De adoration*e three times for three separate meanings – "rush or dart rapidly," "arrive, attain," and "surpass".[14]

Another reason for the lack of attention paid *De adoratione* is the mixed reputation that Cyril has been given in the modern era. Cyril's importance at the Council of Ephesus (431), and his posthumous influence over the Council of Chalcedon (451) has not been reflected in recent centuries. In *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Gibbon described Cyril as a ruthless politician, the "tyrant of Alexandria." Gibbon was especially affronted by Cyril's role in the death of Hypatia, a female pagan philosopher killed in Alexandria during his early episcopacy. Another nineteenth century work, this time a popular novel by Charles Kingsley, presented Cyril in such a poor light that when the English collection of patristic texts, the *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, was released, it included not one word from Cyril.[15] Cyril's *realpolitik*, and his role in the death of Hypatia continue to be a point of legitimate debate, but there have also been exaggerated polemics. The high watermark of Cyril the anti-intellectual tyrannical murderer is perhaps the Hollywood movie *Agora* the premise of which David Bentley Hart has called "almost all utter nonsense".[16]

While the *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* did not translate Cyril, a number of his works were translated in the twentieth century, especially those dogmatic contributions to the Christological debates of Ephesus and Chalcedon. These are important works but only make up three of the ten volumes of Cyril's collected works in the *Patrologia Graeca* series. In

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[11] G.W.H. Lampe, ed. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1961).

[12] See, e.g., page 117, 151, 251, 357, 392, 393, 400, and so forth. Page 1136 takes the cake for 11 references to *De adoratione* in as many different entries. This is not coincidental, for they are all verbs with the προανα- suffix "to do x in advance or beforehand", which as we will see is a way Cyril often refers to events of the Old Testament, bearing significant meaning for his exegesis.

[13] To take one example, somewhat at random, page 1168 of the lexicon has three references to *De adoratione*, all being the only reference for each entry: προσεπανορθόω, "set in a straight line for"; προσεπαντλέω, "pour upon"; προσεπινομοθετέω, "legislate further".

[14] See Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 362.

[15] Gregory K Hillis, "Introduction to the *Glaphyra*," in *Glaphyra on the Pentateuch*, ed. Gregory K. Hillis (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2018), 3.

[16] David Bentley Hart, "The Perniciously Persistent Myths of Hypatia and the Great Library." (2010): accessed 8 April, 2024, https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2010/06/the-perniciously-persistent-myths-of-hypatia-and-the-great-library.

recent decades, this omission has begun to be rectified. Twenty years ago Robert Louis Wilken lamented:

> Perhaps it is that they are so long that they are not read. But Cyril's commentaries on the Old Testament sit passively (and expectantly) alongside the other volumes of the *Patrologia Graeca (PG)* in libraries all over the world gathering dust.[17]

But that lament is no longer quite as valid. A number of works in the remaining seven volumes have now been translated into English either for the first time, or for the first time in over a century. Studies are published on the richness and depth of Cyril's exegesis. A greater awareness has emerged that while the Christological debates consumed Cyril's later years, it was biblical commentary and interpretation that established Cyril's reputation as one of the greatest scholars of the fifth century. The Cyril that is emerging from this recent, fuller portrait is of one of the greatest patristic exegetes, a theologian whom it seems had much of Scripture committed to memory.

But the charge against Cyril has not only been that he is anti-pagan but also that he is anti-Jewish. This charge is of much more significance when assessing the reception of *De adoratione*. While the lack of a critical edition and English translation has meant that *De adoratione* is rarely brought into broader discussions about patristic exegesis, mystagogy or theology of worship, that is not to say that the work has not been studied at all. The most dominant scholarly trend of the past fifty years has been to consider *De adoratione* as a work of anti-Jewish polemic. And it seems likely that this trend has contributed to the somewhat ambivalent attention that it has been given. It is a trend that we will need to examine.

## SCHOLARSHIP ON THE TREATISE

The most influential study of *De adoratione* in modern scholarship is in Robert Louis Wilken's 1971 book *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind: A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology*.[18] In the preface to that work, Wilken contextualises his study of Cyril's Old Testament exegesis by referring to his own growing intellectual friendships with Jewish people in New York City, his own realisation that Cyril "had little but contempt for the Jews," and the fact that Wilken's own book "will be and should be offensive to the Jewish reader."[19] Framing his book in this way is significant for his treatment of *De adoratione* in Chapter 4. Wilken focusses on the opening sequence of *De adoratione* – some seven columns out of 496 in the PG edition – and so his study is concentrated on Cyril's treatment of the

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[17] Robert L. Wilken, "Cyril of Alexandria as Interpreter of the Old Testament," in *The Theology of St Cyril of Alexandria: A Critical Appreciation*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy, and Daniel A. Keating (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 1.

[18] Robert Louis Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind: A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

[19] Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, ix-x.

relationship between the Old and New Testaments, a key feature of the opening dialogue as Cyril establishes his methodology and some trajectories of the work.[20] Much of Wilken's work is a helpful illumination of Cyril's task. Drawing also on other, later texts of Cyril which Wilken says form "an explicit polemic against Judaism," Wilken writes that in *De adoratione* Cyril employs metaphors "of a very anti-Jewish cast," concluding: "The relationship of Christianity to Judaism is not simply a concern in *Adoration in Spirit and in Truth*, it is a central theme of Cyril's exegesis."[21]

Viewing *De adoratione* in this way has proved to be influential. Norman Russell, in his introduction to Cyril wrote, citing Wilken, that "the ultimate purpose of the *Adoration* is to demonstrate the concordance of the two Testaments and to prove that the Christians, not the Jews, are the true heirs to the promises of God."[22] Lee Blackburn, in his 2009 dissertation, considers *De adoratione* within the anti-Jewish parameters established by Wilken. The dissertation begins by discussing Cyril's clashes with the Jews on "a turbulent weekend in Alexandria" in which Cyril is "furious", finds Jewish "insolence... intolerable", leads "a throng", and so forth. While Blackburn acknowledges that this account, drawn from Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, is "questionable," he also says it cannot be entirely dismissed before stating programmatically: "The present study takes as its point of depature the rather striking fact that at some point proximate to the tempestuous events just discussed, Cyril wrote a massive volume on the Pentateuch, the *De Adoratione et Cultu*, in which he extensively examines the cultic law of Moses."[23] Sebastian Schurig is another scholar who wrote a dissertation which stands broadly in this line of interpretation. He also stresses Cyril's antagonistic relationship with Alexandrian Jews as a key hermeneutical lens. The most important features (die wichtigsten Grundzüge) of *De adoratione* are critiques of the Jewish rejection of Jesus Christ:

> Die Grundfragen in diesem Verhältnis [between Christians and Jews] sind für Cyrill in theologischer Hinsicht neben dem Verständnis des Alten Testaments vor allem die Stellung der Juden zu Jesus Christus, ihre daraus resultierende derzeitige Stellung zu Gott sowie ihre Zukunft. Ihre entscheidende Verfehlung war die Verweigerung der

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[20] Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, 69–84. Elliott has shown that both Wilken and Schurig are too confident in their assessment that Cyril stresses discontinuity between the Old and New Testaments, finding instead that for Cyril "it is not that the OT is bad and the NT good, but that the OT is good and human, while the NT is perfect, angelic." Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 247–48. See Chapter 3 for my discussion of the relationship between Old and New Testaments in *De adoratione*.

[21] Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, 77,84.

[22] Norman Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria* (London: Routledge, 2000), 13.

[23] B. Lee Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue: Cyril of Alexandria on the Law of Moses," diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), 1–4.

Annahme Christi als Heiland, obgleich er zu ihnen gesandt worden war.[24]

Others have also considered that Schurig's reading of *De adoratione* depends on the context of Jewish polemics. Blackburn notes that "Schurig situates the *De Adoratione et Cultu* in the context of this wrangling with Judaism early in his episcopacy" and Matthew Crawford likewise finds that Schurig "persists in placing the work against the backdrop of Cyril's violent dispute with the Jews in the early years of his episcopal reign."[25]

Some scholarly readings of *De adoratione* as an anti-Jewish polemic have also acknowledged that something else is going on in the text. So while Schurig places the work in the context of Jewish disputes, he also finds that in the actual work, polemic against the Jews is mostly absent, "meist fehlt".[26] In a somewhat similar vein, Frances Young writes that "there can be little doubt that Wilken is right in seeing conflict with the Jews as the setting against which these works were produced," referring to both *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra*.[27] But she also considers the work as "a sort of biblical theology emerging from a kind of figural allegory which permits the two Testaments to cohere.*"*[28] Mark Elliott, in a 2011 article, developed this line of argumentation further, claiming that the Wilken emphasis on discontinuity between the Old and the New was a misreading of *De adoratione*. Instead, Elliott found that in *De adoratione* Cyril seeks to read the Old Testament as "good" and avoids "Christian triumphalism."[29]

Considering this history of scholarship on *De adoratione*, it is clear that Cyril is indeed critical of Jewish readings of the Old Testament in *De adoratione*. As we shall see, he argues that the mystery of Christ is present in the Pentateuch and essential for its proper understanding. As Christ puts it according to the fourth gospel, "Moses wrote of me" (John 5:46).[30] Wilken writes that for Cyril, "Christ imposes a new order on the Scriptures,"[31] although it should be noted that Cyril considered that order to be already present within the Old Testament, as I will argue in Chapter 3. Because the people of Israel did not discern that

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[24] Sebastian Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes Beim Frühen Cyrill Von Alexandria: Dargestellt an Seiner Schrift "De Adoratione Et Cultu in Spiritu Et Veritate"* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 32. ["For Cyril, the basic questions in this relationship are, in theological terms, not only the understanding of the Old Testament, but above all the position of the Jews towards Jesus Christ, their current position towards God and their future as a result. Their crucial misconduct was their refusal to accept Christ as Savior even though He had been sent to them."]

[25] Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 29; Matthew R. Crawford, "The Preface and Subject Matter of Cyril of Alexandria's *De Adoratione*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 64, no. 1 (2013), 163.

[26] Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 32.

[27] Frances M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and Its Background* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010), 305–06.

[28] Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1997), 263.

[29] Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 248–49.

[30] Cyril quotes this verse at a programmatic place in the opening dialogue, and then a further four times in *De adoratione*. PG 68.140C (Book 1), 220D (Book 2), 233A (Book 2), 260B (Book 2), 653C-D (Book 10).

[31] Wilken, "Cyril as Interpreter," 21.

mystery, Cyril can extemporise about Jewish people in ways that could certainly be regarded as anti-Jewish, such as this remark in the introductory dialogue: "To the minds of the Jews, still being rather thick [παχυτέραις], the exterior matters of the law were somehow still tolerable."[32] But then, after a Pauline quotation, Cyril adds, "But of the Jews, so be it,"[33] before moving on. This passage is representative of the whole work in its treatment of Jewish people. While there are parts that would be offensive to Jewish readers, Cyril is not writing a polemic focussed on attacking Jews directly, like, say, John Chrysostom (*c.* 345–407) a generation earlier. *De adoratione* has many other and more prominent aims that can be, and have been, occluded by focussing on the anti-Jewish elements of the text. Even comments like the one above concerning the thickness of Jewish minds appear to be somewhat downstream from his primary concern – that the mystery of Christ is present in the Old Testament within the exterior matters of the law. That is not to deny the anti-Jewish potential of the text, but it is a potential shared by similar patristic works like Origen (*c.* 186–225) on Leviticus, or Gregory of Nyssa (*c.* 331–395) on the *Life of Moses*. As such, any anti-Jewish polemic is not centre stage, nor is it clearly a motivating impetus of the text, much less providing the most helpful framework for the text. For there are more foundational and unifying themes at play in *De adoratione*.

Elliott's article raised the important question of what these themes are, shining a light on "What Cyril of Alexandria's *De Adoratione* is All About". He notes that while Schurig seems to treat "the theology of the cross" as central to much of *De adoratione*, Cyril's own themes appear to be different. While Elliott does not engage with Blackburn, a similar criticism could be levelled at Blackburn's focus on the mystery of the synagogue in *De adoratione*, a theme not evident in Cyril's book titles, and only marginally present in the body of the work. While both Schurig and Blackburn offer new insights into *De adoratione*, neither of them satisfactorily addresses the work as a whole, choosing instead a theme that is tangential at best according to Cyril's own stated goals in the work.[34] As Elliott put it, including Wilken in his frame of reference, "the question of the overall theme of *De adoratione* gets a little neglected by the literature, scant as it is."[35]

This question of the overall theme or argument of *De adoratione* has become even more compelling following the re-surfacing of Cyril's preface to *De adoratione*, omitted from the *PG*

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[32] PG 68.141B (Book 1). Ταῖς γὰρ Ἰουδαίων διανοίαις παχυτέραις οὔσαις ἔτι οἰστὰ μέν πως ἦν τὰ ἐξωφανῆ τοῦ νόμου.

[33] PG 68.141C (Book 1). Ἀλλ' ὧδε μὲν δὴ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστάτω.

[34] In the final paragraph of his dissertation, Blackburn states: "It may well be premature, I submit, to foreclose the possibility of isolating the strand of Cyril's exegesis that has been the subject of this dissertation from other strands in the *De Adoratione et Cultu* and the *Glaphyra* that have been outside my purview. These other strands may in fact not be logically dependent on the strand to which we have attended." Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 266.

[35] Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 245.

edition, but recently re-elevated by Crawford.[36] In this short, authentic preface Cyril commends his dedicatee and thus also his readers with the following:

> I have arranged the whole body of the treatise into seventeen books. And may your noble heart, most longed for brother, keep the sequence of the books in order and maintain the distinction between the characters of the dialogue without any confusion.[37]

Elliott's call for more attention to the "overall theme" of *De adoratione* was thus unexpectedly supported by Cyril himself, just two years after Elliott's article was published, with a call to keep the sequence of the books in order, considering them as a whole.[38] Cyril's desire for readers to observe the order and sequence within the whole of *De adoratione* has not been attempted, much less fulfilled, in recent scholarship. This dissertation seeks to overcome this lack. For Cyril himself evidently considers his own work as fundamentally constructive, including a positive evaluation of the law. There is an example from Book 7 that illustrates this approach. There, Cyril and Palladius are exegeting Exodus 21:33–4, concerning the punishment for someone who leaves an open pit uncovered which an animal then falls into. The meaning according to history (ἱστορία) is obvious – it is a matter of fair compensation. But unpacking the spiritual meaning (θεωρία πνευματικὴ) provides Cyril an opportunity to reflect on what is his own broader task in *De adoratione*. For the one digging a pit is like one seeking knowledge in the Scriptures:

> So the one encountering the more ancient writings, and inquiring closely with toil into the words of the divinely inspired Scripture, and investigating accurate and unadulterated knowledge, he would have the likeness much like the one digging the pit. For he seeks life-giving water, and a gladdening fount, and a torrent of delight [John 4:14; Psalm 45(46):5(4); Psalm 35(36):(10)9; Jeremiah 2:13]. And he who has thereafter arrived at this font of wisdom digs a well, so as also to be able to hand on the word of the mystery in his own writing. For he innovates, not building, as it

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[36] Crawford, "The Preface." As the preface has now been published in Villani's critical edition of Book 1, references to the preface will be to Villani's edition. References to Book 1 of *De adoratione* are a little trickier. For the sake of consistency, I will reference the *PG* edition for Book 1, as I do for the other 16 books. As Villani cross references the *PG* column numbers, those reference are easy to find in Villani. However, I will make reference to Villani's work when it provides an updated text for Book 1 references.

[37] Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.... ἐν βιβλίοις ἑπτακαίδεκα τὸ σύμπαν τῆς πραγματείας εἴργασμαι σῶμα. τῆς σῆς δ' ἂν εἴη παγκάλης φρενός, ποθεινότατε ἀδελφέ, τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων εὔρυθμον τηρῆσαι τάξιν καὶ προσώπων τῶν ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ἀσύγχυτον τὴν διαφοράν. Translation modified from Crawford, "The Preface," 158–59.

[38] It is thus no surprise that Crawford finds that the unearthed preface "lends further weight to Elliott's contention." Crawford, "The Preface," 164.

were, by the toils of others, but benefitting himself and others by his toils.[39]

Cyril, in his own terms, is seeking for his audience life-giving water, a torrent of delight. His toils are not for himself alone, and nor does he defer the hard work to others. But rather he seeks in *De adoratione* to provide life-giving wisdom for himself and his audience. In this spiritual reading, covering the well is akin to representing accurately the teaching concerning God, so that the teaching does not become a cause of scandal for anyone to fall into.[40] To be sure, that involves the polemical task of cutting off false interpretive paths. But the cover is there to protect what is inside. The polemical task is there to ensure the gladdening fount is kept pure and accessible to all. Contemporary scholarship may of course judge Cyril's self-evaluation to be wanting. But attention to the text, to the whole of the work, is needed before making such claims.[41] I am arguing that the text is indeed a constructive work, guiding the reader on a program of spiritual maturity in right worship by means of Pentateuch exegesis.

Understanding *De adoratione* in this way harks back to an older, pre-Wilken understanding of the treatise.[42] In 1945 Georges Jouassard wrote: "Le *De adoratione* est un exposé de morale générale exposé à base dogmatique mais présenté dans le cadre d'une explication spirituelle du culte mosaiqite."[43] Earlier in 1881 Joseph Kopallik wrote:

> Der Zweck desselben ist – wie schon erwähnt – die Darstellung der vorbildlichen Bedeutun des alten Testamentes, insoferne durch dasselbe die "Anbetung Gottes im Geiste und in der Wahrheit" [sic] angebahnt wurde – ein Gottesdienst, welcher erst

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[39] PG 68.529C-D (Book 7). Οὐκοῦν ὁ συγγράμμασι μὲν τοῖς ἀρχαιοτέροις ἐντυχὼν, καὶ σὺν πόνῳ πολυπραγμονῶν τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τε καὶ ἀκίβδηλον γνῶσιν ἀναζητῶν, πολλὴν ἂν ἔχοι τὴν ἐμφέρειαν πρός γε τὸν ὀρύττοντα λάκκον· ζητεῖ γὰρ ὕδωρ ζωοποιὸν, καὶ πηγὴν εὐφραίνουσαν, καὶ χειμάρρουν τρυφῆς· ὁ δέ γε εἰς τοῦτο λοιπὸν συνέσεως ἀφιγμένος, ὡς καὶ ἰδίᾳ δύνασθαι παραδοῦναι συγγραφῇ τοῦ μυστηρίου τὸν λόγον, λατομεῖ λάκκον· καινουργεῖ γὰρ ὥσπερ οὐ τοῖς ἑτέρων ἱδρῶσιν ἐποικοδομῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑαυτόν τε καὶ ἑτέρους ὠφελῶν.

[40] PG 68.529D (Book 7)... δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένως τὸν περὶ Θεοῦ ποιεῖσθαι λόγον, ὡς μηδενὶ γενέσθαι σκανδάλου πρόφασιν.

[41] In this regard, Henri Crouzel has written on historical methodology and patristics: "The historian's role is to interpret the passages he studies. But this interpretation must emerge from the text itself or from a confrontation with other texts of the same author or period. It cannot be projected from without, determined a priori on the basis of the ideas of the historian or of his time. Even more, they may not contradict the historical data. For example, it is a serious offense against history to interrogate an author about an issue that emerged after his time, or to ask him to resolve questions that he never asked."Henri Crouzel, "Divorce and Remarriage in the Early Church: Some Reflections on Historical Methodology," *Communio* 41, no. 2 (2014), 475.

[42] Elliott and Crawford have drawn attention to these earlier readings. See Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 163.

[43] Georges Jouassard, "L'Activité Littéraire De Saint Cyrille D'Alexandrie Jusqu'à 428: Essai De Chronologie Et De Synthèse," *Mélanges E. Podechard* (1945), 161. "*De adoratione* is a statement of general morality exposed on a dogmatic basis but presented as part of a spiritual explanation of the Mosaic cult."

im neuen Bunde seine Vollendung erreicht hat.[44]

Both of these descriptions stress Cyril's concern with cultic practice – "culte mosaiqite" and "Gottesdienst" – while Jouassard also draws out the dimension of "morale générale", or as Cyril puts it in his preface, "moral guidance" (ἠθικὴ ὑφήγησις).[45] Schurig himself has also highlighted this dual aspect of the work, writing that for Cyril transformation "hat also auch eine liturgische Dimension... also auch eine ethische Dimension."[46] This thesis seeks to build on these claims by arguing for the centrality of spiritual progress according to journey of Israel as a unifying theme, drawing together the cultic and the moral, with the presence of Christ in Israel as a foundational principle.

Two recent works on *De adoratione* deserve introduction here too. I have already mentioned the German translation and critical edition of Book 1 by Villani. In her introduction, she provides a brief overview of the 17 books making up *De adoratione*.[47] While she does not necessarily seek to make extensive arguments about the work as a whole, focussing instead on Book 1, she does make interesting comments about the genre and intended audience of the work that I will draw on. Indeed, she notes that is the *absence* of any anti-Jewish polemic (fehlt eine offene Polemik) that is a significant feature of the text and might be an important clue in its dating.[48] The other recent work of scholarship to take up *De adoratione* is Dimitrios Zaganas' *La formation d'une exégèse alexandrine post-origénienne: les Commentaires sur les Douze Prophètes et sur Isaïe de Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, published in 2019. While, as the title suggests, Zaganas spends more time with some of Cyril's other works on the Old Testament, Zaganas provides a brief introduction to *De adoratione* and refers to it throughout his work. His focus is on exegesis, and "la quête du sens spirituel" in *De adoratione*.[49] Rather than give attention to the whole of *De adoratione*, Zaganas considers portions of it as examples to illustrate Cyril's broader approach to Old Testament exegesis. In this way, his work is in some ways a continuation and updating of Alexander Kerrigan's classic study on Cyril's interpretation of the Old Testament.[50] Kerrigan also, like Zaganas, offers valuable insights into the way in which Cyril comments on the Pentateuch.

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[44] Joseph Kopallik, *Cyrillus Von Alexandrien: Eine Biographie Nach Den Quellen* (Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1881), 328. "The purpose of this is – as already mentioned – the representation of the exemplary meaning of the Old Testament, insofar as it initiated "Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth" – a "Divine Service" which has only reached its completion in the new covenant."

[45] Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132. We will discuss "moral guidance" in due course.

[46] Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 83. See Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 246.

[47] Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 29–33.

[48] Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 19.

[49] Dimitrios Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne: Les Commentaires Sur Les Douze Prophètes Et Sur Isaïe De Cyrille D'Alexandrie* (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 17.

[50] Alexander Kerrigan, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1952).

Considering *De adoratione* only, or foundationally, through the lens of anti-Jewish polemic fails to make sense of most of the work and is too dependent on considerations external to the text. Of course, *De adoratione* is a fitting text for study of Christian approaches to Judaism, which could include dimensions of anti-Judaism. But some scholarship has skewed recent readings of *De adoratione*, ignoring its broader goals. More recent scholarship has begun to dig deeper into this rich text, although a broad understanding of the text has remained elusive.

## WORSHIP AND THE SCRIPTURAL WAY OF LIFE

But why is a purported commentary on the Pentateuch called *Worship and Service in Spirit and Truth*? And why does Cyril himself call *De adoratione* not a commentary or a book about worship, much less a work of polemics, but rather a book of moral or ethical guidance?[51]

In this dissertation, I am arguing that *De adoratione* has three "threads" running through it – exegesis of the Pentateuch, spiritual or moral guidance, and a vision of the Christian life as one of worship – and that these three threads are interwoven throughout the text. The Pentateuch is, for Cyril, a text suitable for pedagogy, for growth in spiritual maturity, both for Israel and for Christians. The Pentateuch is also a text fundamentally concerned with cultic realities, offering right sacrifices and celebrating the prescribed feasts, just as the Christian life, for Cyril, is ordered towards right worship and the offering of spiritual sacrifices with the goal of eschatological Sabbath rest. While the work is one of moral or spiritual guidance, that guidance is understood within the larger context of the worship or service of God. Moral guidance is then also guidance in how to offer one's life as a spiritual sacrifice to God the Father on account of the sacrifice of Christ Jesus, by the power of the Holy Spirit. By structuring the whole work loosely around the journey of Israel in the book of Exodus, Cyril seeks not so much to offer a commentary on the Pentateuch, as a pedagogical journey in which the Scriptural texts of Israel are read "in Spirit and truth" and presented in a way to lead his Christian readers to live lives of right worship or service to God. By calling this "A Spiritual Exodus", I am attempting to draw these threads together in a unity. That is, that the journey of Israel in Exodus is also, in a spiritual sense, the journey of the Christian, a journey which is ordered towards right worship. The subtitle of this dissertation fleshes out this claim, with reference to the three "threads" – that the Christian way of life or πολιτεία is, for Cyril, ordered and given shape by the Scriptures and the Pentateuch in particular, and that this way of life is one of worship, finding its goal in a life of adoration and offering spiritual sacrifices in the holy presence of God. With a heavy focus on the explicitly cultic texts of the Pentateuch, Cyril does not take these texts and then

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[51] Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.... ἠθικὴν ὑφήγησιν.

render them in a purely moral way. Nor does he directly transpose the cultic service of Israel to the Divine Liturgy of the Alexandrian church. Rather, Cyril offers a vision in which the whole of human existence is conceptualised as encompassing either idolatry or right worship and service, and in which moral practices including acts of love and generosity are understood in this context. While baptism and holy communion, along with hearing the Scriptures, are significant dimensions to this life of worship, Cyril understands worship as extending beyond the limits of the Divine Liturgy proper, to embrace that which is also done "at home and at night," or to one's neighbour or brother, whether it be true or false worship.[52] While this project could be called mystagogical, it is such not in the narrower sense of pre-baptismal catechesis, but in the broader sense of a bishop leading his Christian readers on a path of spiritual maturity towards true worship and service of God, encompassing but not limited to the sacramental life of the church. In Cyril's view, this path of progress directly mirrors the progress of Israel in Exodus from slavery to union with God in the holiness of his presence in the tabernacle. *De adoratione* then offers a way of reading Scripture as a text concerned with worship, and a way of understanding the nature of humankind as *homo adorans*.[53]

All of these claims will require further definition as well as support from the text of *De adoratione*. The rest of this chapter is concerned with understanding the broader dimensions of the text. First, I will look at the headings to the 17 books as I begin to argue that the σκοπός of the work is ordered towards spiritual maturity and worship. Then, I will look at the title of the work as a way to define some of the key terms that will be used throughout. This will help us to get an understanding of Cyril's approach to the Pentateuch, and of what he means by worship. Finally, I will look at the Preface to *De adoratione* to see how Cyril presents his work as one of moral or ethical guidance.

## Seventeen Book Headings

Cyril divides *De adoratione* into seventeen books of unequal length, and gives each of them a title. The titles appear together at the beginning of the text, as well as at the beginning of each book. While not all book titles in antiquity are original, Barbara Villani has shown that the book headings appear in all manuscripts of *De adoratione* and she accordingly treats them as authentic to Cyril.[54] With respect to this study, the headings are sometimes not

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[52] PG 68.424C (Book 6). See also PG 68.833d (Book 12): "But we often make doxology alone, quietly at home, day and night. Such is fitting for the pious." [Ποιούμεθα δὲ τὰς δοξολογίας καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα πολλάκις ἠρεμοῦντες οἶκον, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρα, καὶ ἐν νυκτί· καὶ τὸ χρῆμά ἐστι τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν ἐν τριβῇ.] For one discussion of late antique understandings of worship extending beyond the divine liturgy, see Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity a.d. 200-400* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009)..

[53] See Alexander Schmemann, *For the Life of the World* (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973), 15. I engage with liturgical theologians in Chapter 5.

[54] See Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 29,36,134ff.

so straightforward, and instead come across as indications or clues as to how best to read the book. That is all the more reason to pay attention to them. That even these headings have never been translated into English in any publication shows the lack of attention that has been given to the internal structure and argument of *De adoratione*.[55] The following table shows that the book headings do not clearly align with seventeen discrete themes but rather that some books are division markers within a larger thematic unit. That is likely due to space constraints. The books also vary in size somewhat, with Books 1 and 10 around 16,000 words long, while Books 3 and 13 are closer to 8,000 and 9,000 words respectively. The rest of the books' lengths are between those extremes. At the conclusion of Books 6, 8, 14 and 17, Cyril gives a doxology to God, concluding with an Ἀμήν.[56] While doxologies can mark the end of a physical codex as indicators of the material dimensions of a work,[57] they can also be related to the thematic structure of a work. The function of these doxologies is not entirely self-evident in *De adoratione*.

**Table 1: *De adoratione* Table of Contents**

| | Book Title | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Concerning humankind's seduction into wickedness and captivity in sin, together with the call and conversion according to repentance, and the return to a better state. | Περὶ τῆς εἰς φαυλότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παρατροπῆς καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς εἰς ἁμαρτίαν καὶ ὁμοῦ περὶ κλήσεως καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς κατὰ μετάγνωσιν καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἄμεινον ἀναδρομῆς. |
| 2. | That it is impossible to escape the death which comes from sin and to escape the rapacious grasp of the devil except through sanctification according to Christ. And that justification is not in the law, but in Christ. | Ὅτι ἀμήχανον διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας θάνατον καὶ τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου πλεονεξίαν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Χριστόν. Καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ἡ δικαίωσις, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ. |

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[55] Justin Gohl has placed online his own translation of the book headings. Gohl, "Book Nine Translation," 12–14.

[56] PG 68.477C (Book 6), 588B (Book 8), 948C (Book 14), and 1125D (Book 17). While the doxology at the end of Book 8 is to Christ, the others are Trinitarian, directing glory to the Father, through and with Christ (δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ), together with the Holy Spirit (σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι). For a discussion of the precise formulation of Cyril's doxologies in *De adoratione*, see Thomas F. Torrance, "The Mind of Christ in Worship: The Problem of Apollinarianism in the Liturgy," in *Theology in Reconciliation: Essays Towards Evangelical and Catholic Unity in East and West*, ed. Thomas F. Torrance (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1996).

[57] See, for example, Cyril's *Cont. Jul.* 8.51 in which the book is concluded with a doxology before resuming the train of thought directly in Book 9.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3. | Still that it is impossible to escape the death which comes from sin and to escape the rapacious grasp of the devil except through sanctification according to Christ. And that justification is not in the law, but in Christ. | Ἔτι ὅτι ἀμήχανον διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας θάνατον καὶ τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου πλεονεξίαν, εἰ μὴ δι᾽ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Χριστόν. καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ἡ δικαίωσις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Χριστῷ.[58] |
| 4. | That the one who has been called to justification by God, and redeemed by him, must follow him and both reject the weakness which leads to wickedness, and instead make haste to live in accordance with the law and with youthful vigour. | Ὅτι τὸν κεκλημένον εἰς δικαίωσιν παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ λελυτρωμένον αὐτῷ κατακολουθεῖν χρὴ καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μὲν τὸν εἰς φαυλότητα μαλακισμόν, ζῆν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπείγεσθαι συννόμως καὶ νεανικῶς |
| 5. | Still concerning manly[59] courage, which is in Christ. | Ἔτι περὶ ἀνδρείας τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ. |
| 6. | That it is necessary that we devote ourselves to him who alone is God according to nature, and love him with a complete soul and heart. | Ὅτι χρὴ Θεῷ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἡμᾶς προσκεῖσθαι μόνῳ καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας. |
| 7. | Concerning the love towards brothers. | Περὶ τῆς εἰς ἀδελφοὺς ἀγάπης. |
| 8. | Still concerning the love towards brothers, and concerning the one who steals a calf or a sheep.[60] | Ἔτι περὶ ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ κλέπτοντος μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον. |

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[58] *PG* has a more concise title here, but I am following Villani. See Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 134.

[59] As Cyril himself regularly considers ἀνδρεία according to its gendered etymology by drawing analogies with maleness and femaleness, I am translating it as "manly courage" rather than simply "courage"

[60] Book 8 on brotherly love has a peculiar addition to its title: concerning the one who steals a calf or a sheep. This is simply because towards the end of Book 7, Cyril begins a list of different methods (τρόπους) by which the law introduces brotherly love (PG 68.528D-9A). Saying that he will present them one after the other, Cyril proceeds, for the remainder of Book 7 and for all of Book 8, to provide some 18 examinations of Pentateuchal texts for which he gives a spiritual and tropological interpretation on the matter of brotherly love. The third of these, concerning the theft of a calf of sheep in Exodus 22:1–4, happens to be the one that occurs at the beginning of Book 8, and so its theme is apparently brought into the book heading. Interestingly, Books 7 and 8 – which form the second doxological unit – are almost exactly the same length, within a mere 150 words of each other. So the addition of "the one who steals a calf of a sheep" to the Book 8 heading appears to be an anomaly among the headings, relating more to a book division that was itself perhaps the result of the spatial constraints, the unit having been divided almost perfectly in half to form two books.

| | |
|---|---|
| 9. Concerning worship in spirit and truth, and concerning the holy tabernacle that was a type of the church in Christ. | Περὶ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας σκηνῆς, ὅτι τύπος ἦν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκκλησίας. |
| 10. Concerning the things in the holy tabernacle. [In text: Concerning still the same things, and the things in the holy tabernacle.] | Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σκηνῇ. [In text: Περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἁγίᾳ σκηνῇ] |
| 11. Concerning the priesthood, and that the priesthood according to the law was a type of the priesthood according to Christ. | Περὶ ἱερωσύνης, καὶ ὅτι τύπος ἦν ἡ κατὰ νόμον τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ. |
| 12. Concerning the priesthood. | Περὶ ἱερωσύνης. |
| 13. Still concerning the priesthood. | Ἔτι περὶ ἱερωσύνης. |
| 14. That it is necessary for those desiring to spend time in the churches to be clean and washed from the stain from sin, and in such a state to be presented to God. | Ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς φοιτᾶν ἐθέλοντας ἐν ἐκκλησίαις καθαροὺς καὶ ἐκνενιμμένους εἶναι τὴν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας κηλῖδα καὶ οὕτω παρίστασθαι τῷ Θεῷ. |
| 15. That it is necessary to be presented to God clean and washed from sin. And that cleansing for us is again in Christ. | Ὅτι χρὴ καθαροὺς καὶ ἐκνενιμμένους τὴν ἁμαρτίαν παρίστασθαι τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ πάλιν ἡμῖν ἡ κάθαρσις. |
| 16. That it is necessary that we offer spiritual sacrifices and offerings to God. | Ὅτι χρὴ προσάγειν ἡμᾶς θυσίας πνευματικὰς καὶ δωροφορίας Θεῷ. |
| 17. Concerning the holy feasts. | Περὶ ἑορτῶν ἁγίων. |

Immediately these titles signify to the reader much about the nature of the work. *De adoratione* is presented in its book headings as a work of spiritual theology or mystagogy. It has a consequential structure, with perfect participles indicating completed action, in which the reader moves from sin to conversion and sanctification in Christ which in turn leads to a strengthening in virtue for a life of love to God and neighbour. From Book 9 the journey of the reader continues, through worship in the church, purity in approaching God and offering him spiritual sacrifices, before culminating in holy feasts. Only in Books 9–13, and perhaps Book 17, does the reader get any clear indication that this is a work considered with exegesis of the Pentateuch.

While this dissertation will be developing arguments about the nature of *De adoratione* that draw upon these book titles, it is helpful to have upfront a sense of how Cyril presents

the work to his readers. Unlike Cyril's biblical commentaries and other polemical treatises, whose order is governed by the sequence of another text, *De adoratione* follows a systematic order of topics devised entirely by Cyril. This gives *De adoratione* something of a unique place in the works of Cyril as a significant work in which Cyril devises the order and structure himself. Cyril's annual, episcopal festal letters provide a close comparison also, in terms of Cyril's freedom to set a structure himself. Indeed Jouassard drew attention to the thematic overlap of *De adoratione* with some of Cyril's early festal letters, suggesting a composition date within the first years of Cyril's episcopacy.[61] But the festal letters cannot compare in scope to *De adoratione*. When it comes to Cyril's long works, the closest comparison with respect to Cyril presenting a comprehensive account according to his own σκοπός is Cyril's *Dialogues on the Trinity*. Timothy Becker has written that in the *Dialogues on the Trinity* Cyril was "setting in place a literary and theological infrastructure" of "his own personal and synthetic approach" to issues of the time.[62] Much the same could be said of *De adoratione*, albeit with reference to different goals. For unlike in the *Dialogues on the Trinity*, the σκοπός of *De adoratione* is a journey of Christian initiation and spiritual maturity in moral guidance, ordered towards participation in the church in worship and feasting.[63]

And we can already in the book headings see the reciprocal relationship between these goals. On the one hand, the growth in courage and love in Books 4–8 leads to a life of worship in the church in Book 9 and beyond. But on the other hand, the purification needed for that moral growth in courage and love comes first from Christ, as shown in the headings to Books 2 and 3, and from the sacraments he gives in worship. This mutuality between a life of virtue and the church's sacramental life is a regular theme throughout the text of *De adoratione*. To give one example, this is what Cyril has to say in Book 17 concerning the eating of the lamb in the institution of the Passover in Exodus 12.

> The fact that he who has taken part in Christ by the communion of His holy body and blood should also have His mind and long to proceed through acts of internal reformation in understanding well what relates to Christ, [the text] suggests straightaway when it says that the head of the lamb must be eaten together with the feet and the entrails. Indeed were we not saying that the head is a type of the mind,

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[61] Jouassard, "L'Activité Littéraire," 170–71. For a recent study of the festal letters, see Hans van Loon, *Living in the Light of Christ: Mystagogy in Cyril of Alexandria's Festal Letters* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017).

[62] Timothy J. Becker, "The Holy Spirit in Cyril of Alexandria's Dialogues on the Trinity," diss., Union Theological Seminary, 2012), 8–9.

[63] For a perceptive essay that dwells on the liturgical stress in *De adoratione*, see Torrance, "The Mind of Christ in Worship.". In that essay Torrance offers his own unitive summary of *De adoratione*'s 17 books: "the first 5 books exhibiting the ground of worship in justification and sanctification in Christ; the following 5 showing the nature of worshipping God appropriately in Christ, while the concluding books draw out the spiritual counterparts to the tabernacle, the priesthood and the sacrifical oblations under the Old Covenant in the new [sic] Covenant, which are wholly centred in Christ and in the Spirit." Torrance, "The Mind of Christ in Worship," 179, n.5.

the feet altogether indicative of the course of a person's deeds, and the entrails of the victims that of the interior hidden life?[64]

In other words, ethical growth flows from the sacramental power given by Christ. I am here straying from the book headings alone in quoting a part of Cyril's text, but doing so helps to establish and illuminate the way in which the book headings move between moral progress, worship and Pentateuchal exegesis. Cyril continuously draws connections between Israelite cultic practices, the life of worship of his readers, as well as the "internal reformation" of the life of virtue.

## Title

Looking now at the title of the work, it is noteworthy that Robert Louis Wilken and others occasionally slip into referring to the treatise in English as *Adoration in Spirit and Truth*.[65] The mistake is understandable given that it reflects the actual text of John 4:24. In that text Christ tells the Samaritan woman that while in the worship dispute between Samaritans and Jews the Jews are right, for "salvation is from the Jews", the dispute is nevertheless now immaterial. "But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father is seeking such people who worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth" (John 4.23–4). The question of the right location for worship is now answered in a new way, not with reference to geographical space, but to "spirit and truth". The text of John's Gospel in all manuscript traditions renders this phrase as ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, which is how Cyril quotes the text in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*.[66] But, in his title, Cyril adds λατρεία, for which there is no evidence as a textual variant to John 4:24.[67] And so the actual title of the work is Περὶ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ

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[64] PG 68.1072A (Book 17). Ὅτι δὲ χρὴ τὸν Χριστοῦ γεγονότα μέτοχον, διά γε τοῦ μεταλαχεῖν τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκός τε καὶ αἵματος, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ νοῦν ἔχειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔσω κατορθωμάτων ἰέναι φιλεῖν, συνιέντα εὖ μάλα τὸ ἐπ᾽αὐτῷ, ὑπέφηνεν ἂν εὐθὺς, δεῖν ἐσθίεσθαι λέγων κεφαλὴν σὺν τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐνδοσθίοις. Ἢ γὰρ, οὐχὶ νοῦ μὲν εἰς τύπον ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τὴν κεφαλὴν, πόδας δὲ αὖ πανταχῇ, τῆς ὡς ἐν ἔργοις πορείας σημαντικούς; παρεδήλου δὲ πάλιν τὰ εἴσω τε καὶ κεκρυμμένα τῶν θυομένων τὰ ἐντόσθια;

[65] Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, 69,76,84. In the reference on page 76, Wilken writes: "By calling his commentary on the Pentateuch *Adoration in Spirit and in Truth* Cyril wished to demonstrate that the Jewish way of life had been superseded..." Wilken uses "*Adoration*" as a short title throughout the chapter, and opens with the fuller, but still inaccurate, title of "*Adoration and Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth*." Young slips into a similar shorthand, calling the treatise "*On Worship in Spirit and Truth*." See Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*, 304. So too Dragas. See Dragas, *St Cyril on the Priesthood*, vi.

[66] *Comm. Jo.* (Pusey 1.284).

[67] The only time that a cognate of λατρεία appears in John's Gospel is the verbal form λατρεύειν in 16:2.

προσκυνήσεως καὶ λατρείας.[68] Villani has shown that the manuscript tradition provides a kind of subtitle as well, with reference to both author and genre – something that I will look at in the next chapter.[69] But notwithstanding that information, the principal title – and the title which Cyril himself uses to refer to the work[70] – contains these four nouns. Each of them is used throughout the work and so defining them now will provide a window into what Cyril means by worship, and how it is that a work of Pentateuchal exegesis could also be a text on worship and moral guidance.

προσκύνησις

Προσκύνησις carries with it an original meaning of prostration, of bowing down in an act of homage or worship.[71] In the context of John 4 this accords with the question of the right location for prostration or worship for the Samaritans and Jews, and Cyril uses προσκύνησις and its cognates many times in *De adoratione*. In the title it immediately signifies a work dedicated to worship, cult, ritual, adoration. It is sometimes rendered in discussion of this work as "adoratio" in Latin and "adoration" in English, from which comes the common shortened title which I am following, *De adoratione*. Translating προσκύνησις as "adoration" is fine in the context of this work, but I have chosen to render it as "worship". This is largely because Cyril pairs the word with λατρεία, a word which is better translated as "service" rather than worship, as I will shortly argue. As it is fitting for one of the broad synonyms to be translated as "worship", προσκύνησις is the most suitable. Throughout the text, Cyril does not use προσκύνησις to denote a discrete action that some people engage in at certain times. Rather, it is something that all people do. The question at stake is what kind of προσκύνησις one engages in. The shortcoming of the English word "worship" is that it is hard to pin down what it might precisely mean, but in the case of *De adoratione*, that is more of a feature than a bug. While Cyril follows LXX in using the verbal form to describe Lot's prostration to the angels, with his face to the ground,[72] Cyril also describes προσκύνησις as

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[68] We can be confident the title is original because Cyril quotes it in full in the *Glaphyra*, PG 69:16B. We can also be confident that Cyril was consciously adding λατρεία to the biblical text in the title because his use of John 4:24 in the heading of Book 9 omits λατρεία and holds to the original text of John 4:24. However, it must be noted that in Cyril's *Expositio in Psalmos* he does include λατρεία in his paraphrase of John 4.24: "For when he set aside the shadow in the law, he said that he himself is the truth, and he taught the worship and service in spirit and truth." Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παρωσάμενος τὴν ἐν νόμῳ σκιὰν, ἑαυτὸν ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐδίδασκε δὲ τὴν ἐν πνεύματί τε καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκύνησίν τε καὶ λατρείαν (PG 69.1028D-1029A).
[69] Villani, "Some Remarks," 218ff.
[70] In the *Glaphyra*, PG 69.16B.
[71] See the entry for προσκυνέω in Henry George Liddell, *et al.*, *A Greek-English Lexicon, With a Revised Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1518.
[72] See PG 68.172A (Book 1).

νοητός.[73] The Christian is to approach the house of the Lord and his courts according to spiritual worship (κατὰ νοητὴν προσκύνησιν), there to offer spiritual sacrifices.[74] Προσκύνησις then encompasses a whole mode of approaching God both with reference to the body and also the interior life. It is something which a person offers to God (or to another god) both in their actions and in their interior disposition. And it is something that then affects a person's actions and dispositions. Here is how Cyril puts it in Book 16:

> And we who walk in Christ by faith, in the best and most upright way, will offer up worship [προσκύνησις] to God in spirit and truth, unfurling all the sails as it were [i.e. straining every effort] so that we may courageously do what is necessary, and to honour God with spiritual and holy offerings.[75]

Worship has within it the whole orientation of a person. It is not an optional part of existence but reflects the direction in which one lives, and the God or gods before whom one acts. And while everyone engages in worship, the right kind of worship requires courage and effort. Προσκύνησις sets the tone for what Cyril wants to accomplish in *De adoratione*, guiding his readers in a godly orientation. But it must also be considered with its pair, λατρεία.

### λατρεία

Cyril's addition of λατρεία to the title has not been remarked upon and has even been omitted in translations, as we have seen. The fact that Cyril amends a biblical quotation, and in the title no less, suggests that the word bears no little significance for his project and so will require a longer examination. Indeed, according to the extant works listed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, Cyril uses the term much more than any other writer in antiquity, almost one thousand times (606 noun, 375 verb). This usage is roughly six times more frequent than Chrysostom, and three times more than Theodoret of Cyrus (*c.* 393–460). Among Cyril's works, λατρεία/λατρεύω is used most prominently in *De adoratione* (99/36) and the Commentary on Isaiah (97/85). So no other extant work by Cyril, or in antiquity, uses the noun λατρεία as many times as *De adoratione*. The significance of this usage is not merely numerical, but rather shows that Cyril is self-consciously building a theology of λατρεία, drawing from scriptural usage, but then developing this in his project of moral guidance.

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[73] While νοη- words typically mean "intellectual", I have decided to translate νοητός as "spiritual", following common translations of Romans 12:1, and because Cyril often uses it as a synonym for πνευματικός.

[74] PG 68.888B (Book 14).

[75] PG 68.1040B-C (Book 16)... ἡμεῖς δὲ λοιπὸν οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ διὰ πίστεως, τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ προφερεστέραν ἰόντες τρίβον, τὴν ἐν πνεύματί τε καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκύνησιν ἀναθήσομεν τῷ Θεῷ, πάντα μὲν ὥσπερ σείοντες κάλων, εἴς γε τὸ δύνασθαι γεννικῶς διαπεραίνειν ἃ χρῆν, ἀναθήμασι δὲ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς τε καὶ ἱεροῖς καταγεραίρειν Θεόν.

In his article for the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Hermann Strathmann notes that with respect especially to LXX usage "[i]t is not enough to say that λατρεύειν has religious significance. One must say that it has sacral significance. λατρεύειν means more precisely to serve or worship cultically, especially by sacrifice."[76] He adds that the definition of λατρεύειν goes even beyond this cultic service to also incorpate "the demand for right disposition of the heart and the demonstration of this in the whole of religious and moral conduct."[77] And this usage is extended to the New Testament.[78] The best example is Romans 12:1, not least because in *De adoratione* Cyril quotes or refers to this verse some seven times.[79] In Romans 9:4 Paul uses λατρεία to refer specifically to Israel's cult, but then three chapters later he seeks to extend its definition beyond the cultic practices of Israel:

> Therefore I appeal to you, brothers, by the mercies of God, to offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual service. [Romans 12:1][80]

Commentators seem to be of one mind that in τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν, "the continued use of cultic language is clearly deliberate", to use James Dunn's phrase.[81] Or, as Thomas Schreiner has put it, "What is remarkable is that Paul has applied the language of the cult to everyday existence."[82] What Paul seeks to do is to apply cultic language to the "worship expressed in

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[76] Hermann Strathmann, "Λατρεύω, Λατρεία," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), 60.

[77] Strathmann, "Λατρεύω, Λατρεία," 61. This usage is somewhat distinct from classical usage, in which λατρεία/λατρεύω can encompass human affairs, including in a negative sense. So in Xenophon's Cyropaedia, λατρεύω has the sense of being put into slavery (3.1.36). But Plato could also use the term in a more positive and cultic sense, referring to the prayers and service to the gods (πρὸς θεῶν εὐχάς τε καὶ λατρείας) in the *Phaedrus* (244e), the work which Cyril himself echoes in the opening of *De adoratione* (see the discussion on 'Dialogue'). Finally, Plutarch employed λατρεία in a different sense, to simply mean quotidian tasks and even drudgery (see, e.g., Romulus, 19.9).

[78] Citing Hebrews 9:14 and 12:28, Strathmann describes λατρεία expanding to include a "manner of life which is pleasing to God and which is sustained both by gratitude and by a serious sense of responsibility." Strathmann, "Λατρεύω, Λατρεία," 64. David Peterson writes in relation to the expansion of λατρεία in Hebrews 9:14 and 12:28: "This means that the Christian's service is not restricted to prayer and praise, either individually or corporately, but involves a lifetime of acknowledging his name (13:15) and of pleasing God in practical obedience (13:16)." David Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection: An Examination of the Concept of Perfection in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 140.

[79] PG 68.169A-B (Book 1); 197C (Book 1); 632C (Book 9); 820D (Book 12); 908A (Book 14); 941C (Book 14); 1113A (Book 17).

[80] Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν.

[81] James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (Dallas: Word Books, 1988). See also Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans,* trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 327.

[82] Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2018), 614.

the bodily reality of everyday living."[83] In relation to the Old Testament, Schreiner notes that the...

> ... activity and language that focused on the cult in the OT is now extended to embrace every facet of the believer's existence. [Jacob] Neusner (1971) has emphasized how the Pharisees expanded their conception of purity so that it included everyday life. Paul does much the same thing but in a very different way. The worship and sacrifices of the OT can no longer be confined to the cult. The cultic language is spiritualized to include the whole of one's existence.[84]

This Pauline tradition is taken up by Cyril in *De adoratione*. While Cyril does not use ἡ λογική in his title, his titular use of ἡ λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι does not seem to depart in any significant way from Romans 12:1, and even seems to be consciously referencing it, bringing Romans 12:1 and John 4:24 together in a way that sets the tone for the whole work. At one stage in *De adoratione* when paraphrasing Romans 12:1, Cyril even uses both ἡ λογική and ἐν πνεύματι as interchangeable.[85] And his usage of λατρεία consistently seeks to extend the cultic practice of Israel given in a Pentateuchal text to the way of life now to be practiced by Christians. So just as Romans can both attest to the cultic (9:4) and spiritual/ethical (12:1) dimensions of λατρεία to God, so too Cyril in *De adoratione* seeks to ground the spiritual and ethical dimensions of Christian λατρεία in the cultic λατρεία of Israel. It is not that Christian λατρεία is divorced from the cultic λατρεία of Israel, but rather, as *De adoratione* seeks to show, that the λατρεία which Christians are to practice is best revealed through readings of the cultic texts which deal with Israel's λατρεία.

Before we look at an example, I should note that while λατρεία is often translated as "worship" in the English title of *De adoratione*,[86] "service" better incorporates both the ethical and the cultic, and so is the translation I am preferring.[87] Today Christians might both attend a cultic "service" (cf. Gottesdienst) and seek to love and "serve" God and neighbour, and Cyril's use reflects these two dimensions of service.

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[83] Dunn, *Romans 9-16*. Dunn comments on Romans 12:1 in ways that could just as easily be describing the animating vision of *De adoratione*: "The sacrifice God looks for is no longer that of beast or bird in temple, but the daily commitment of life lived within the constraints and relationships of this bodily world. The boundary of cultic ritual is transposed from actual cultic practices to the life of every day and transformed into nonritual expression, into the much more demanding work of human relationships in an everyday world." Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 717.

[84] Schreiner, *Romans*, 614. The in-quote reference, without page number, is to Jacob Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions About the Pharisees Before 70* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

[85] PG 68.169A-B (Book 1). "… and present the body to him as a living sacrifice and pleasing to God, which is the rational, and in spirit, service acceptable to God." [παραστῆσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα, θυσίαν ζῶσαν καὶ εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἐν πνεύματι λατρείαν τὴν ἀπόδεκτον παρὰ Θεῷ.]

[86] E.g. "On Adoration and Worship in Spirit and Truth", Alberto Rigolio, *Christians in Conversation: A Guide to Late Antique Dialogues in Greek and Syriac* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 141.

[87] The Latin translation "cultus" (as in *De adoratione et cultu...*) draws nearer to this ritual dimension of λατρεία.

Let us look now at example of Cyril's Pauline theology of λατρεία. In the opening dialogue of *De adoratione,* Palladius provides his longest speech of the whole work, asking a host of questions on the place of the law in the Christian life, before concluding that Christians must discontinue a service according to the law (λατρείας τῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον).[88] That Cyril and Palladius are encompassing cultic activity within this usage is evident by them going on to reference circumcision, offering oxen, incense, turtledoves and pigeons.[89] But Cyril is not here excluding reference to the ethical. As the opening dialogue reaches its end, Palladius summarises by proposing that they now delve into an examination of the types given in the law, so that the mystery of service in spirit (τῆς ἐν πνεύματι λατρείας τὸ μυστήριον) will no longer be obscure. With God's help, they proceed. Palladius had begun by dismissing λατρεία according to the law. But now Cyril has led their discussion to the point where Palladius is seeking an examination of a constructive λατρεία. By framing the text this way, Cyril situates the whole work within the expansion of λατρεία/λατρεύω attested in Romans. Palladius' initial Marcion-like supersessionism – seeking to do away with the law – has now been corrected, and the λατρεία according to the law is now seen as a type of spiritual λατρεία (ἐν πνεύματι) and thus a means by which Christians can understand the way of life now in Christ.

Cyril's use of λατρεία, like προσκύνησις, is also not limited only to what Cyril might consider to be right practice. In another of his works, the *Expositio in Psalmos*, Cyril relays a part of the baptismal liturgy presumably as practiced in Alexandria. He writes:

> Therefore the one coming to saving baptism, after turning to the west, we urge them to cry aloud: "I renounce you, Satan, and all of your works and all of your messengers, and all of your pomp, and all of your service [λατρεία]."[90]

In Cyril's own understanding, λατρεία is something which can be offered to the devil, as well as to God. And, we can here observe, baptism re-orients one to a right performance of λατρεία. In *De adoratione,* the possibility of wrong λατρεία is often stressed with reference to Romans 1:25 which is quoted some 9 times in 8 different books, namely the temptation to serve (λατρεύειν) the creature rather than the creator.[91] Then, in a discussion of the Israelite forsaking of God at Mount Sinai, Cyril refers to their turning to the useless, vain service of

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[88] PG 68.137A (Book 1).
[89] PG 68.137D (Book 1).
[90] PG 69.1044B. Εἰσιόντας γοῦν ἐπὶ τὸ σωτήριον βάπτισμα, εἶτα στραφέντας πρὸς δυσμὰς, βοᾶν ἀναπείθομεν·«Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου. While the fragments of *Expositio in Psalmos* are of uncertain authority, Cyril repeats versions of this baptismal formula also in the *Glaphyra* (see PG 69.284B) and *Cont. Jul.* 7.43. Each of these formulas refer to demonic λατρεία.
[91] See PG 68.200B (Book 1), 400C (Book 5), 421C (Book 6), 425A (Book 6), 576B (Book 8), 677D (Book 10), 736A (Book 11), 1045B (Book 16), 1084D (Book 17).

idols (πρὸς ἀνόνητον εἰκαιολατρείαν), coining a hapax legomenon in εἰκαιολατρεία.[92] Cyril is also the first to use a similar term, ψευδολατρεία, which he uses some 28 times in his works. If *De adoratione* is his earliest work, then its two uses of ψευδολατρεία would be the first, referring in both cases to the Egyptian cultic service of idols.[93] Cyril also uses εἰδωλολατρεία ten times in *De adoratione* – a word with a long history –, using it to refer to divination,[94] illicit purification by fire,[95] Canaanite service of idols,[96] and Egyptian service of idols.[97]

How is λατρεία different from προσκύνησις? The two are often used interchangeably by Cyril. But λατρεία has a more penetrating dimension to it, involving both cultic and ethical action that engages also the heart, as is on display in Deuteronomy 11:13 where God instructs Israel to serve (λατρεύειν) him with their whole heart and soul.[98] This is a distinction that Origen, to whom Cyril is clearly indebted,[99] makes most clearly. In his homilies on Exodus, Origen comments on Exodus 20:5 regarding idols: "You shall not worship [προσκυνήσεις] them nor serve [λατρεύσῃς] them." Origen teases out the distinction:

> It is one thing to serve, another to worship. One can sometimes worship even against his will, as some fawn to kings when they see them given to fondness of this kind. They pretend that they are worshipping idols when in their heart they are certain that an idol is nothing. But to serve is to be subjected to these with total desire and zeal. Let the divine word, therefore, restrain both, that you may neither serve with desire nor worship in appearance.[100]

This Origenian distinction is present in Cyril. The breadth of worship (προσκύνησις) is complemented by the dedication of service (λατρεία). This concern with λατρεία in the treatise is also of a piece with another favourite word of Cyril's in *De adoratione* – ἀπαρχὴ, or first fruits. Cyril uses it dozens of times as a way of speaking about an offering that is pre-eminent and the best, that involves a dedication of the whole person encompassing both worship and morality.

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[92] PG 68.424A (Book 6).
[93] PG 68.592B (Book 9); PG 68.693B (Book 10).
[94] PG 68.425B (Book 6).
[95] PG 68.448D (Book 6).
[96] PG 68.468A (Book 6).
[97] PG 68.1084B (Book 17).
[98]  Quoted at PG 68.485C (Book 7).
[99] "Cyril's exegesis is heavily dependent on that of Origen." John A. McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria (*c*. 378–444)," in *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 340. But note also the more recent work of Zaganas, who contends that Cyril develops a "post-Origenist" spiritual exegesis. Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 357–64.
[100]Origen, *Hom. Ex.* 7.4. Heine (trans.), 322 (modified). Ronald Heine notes there that: "The same distinction is made in *Origenis adnotationes in Exodum* (PG 17.16D)."

Cyril's use of λατρεία also contributes to his picture of humankind as *homo adorans*. For Cyril in *De adoratione*, everyone is engaged in some form of λατρεία, albeit with important differences which he qualifies in various ways. Beyond Christians and Jews, Cyril refers to the λατρεία in Egypt, Canaanites, Greeks, and also simply "worldly" λατρεία. In Book 9, Cyril considers the women described in Exodus 38 who present mirrors to be refashioned into the bronze washbasin of the tabernacle. He describes these mirrors as remnants of the λατρεία in Egypt (λείψανα τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λατρείας), describing a cultic practice that closely resembles that of Isis.[101] When describing the incident of the golden calf, Cyril can also describe the Israelites as falling back into the λατρεία in Egypt (τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λατρείας).[102] When exegeting Leviticus 20:1–3, in which Israelites are forbidden to give their children in marriage to local rulers, Cyril names Moabites and Midianites, but also "Gergesians", "Hagarites" and "some other nations of Barbarians", who all lived by Hellenic or pagan customs. All these nations, Cyril says, had a worship (προσκύνησις) and λατρεία that they each saw fit in their own minds.[103] Regarding Greeks, Cyril at one point refers to "the craziest children of the Greeks" (Ἑλλήνων μὲν γὰρ ἀνούστατοι παῖδες) who grew their hair long before offering the cuttings to mountain nymphs or a river. "This was a mode of their λατρεία", Cyril remarks.[104] Finally, Cyril can simply describe a more generic, "worldly" λατρεία. Sephora, because she is the daughter of a priest of Midian, is a type of those called to God "from a worldly λατρεία".[105] In other words, everyone is committed to one form or another of λατρεία. Forsaking right λατρεία can only lead to shameful λατρεία. In Book 6, Cyril writes that "those departing from the service to God, serve creation in place of the Creator and Maker," or even worse, serve the works of their own hands.[106]

Different kinds of λατρεία are potentially tempting for Christians, according to Cyril's reckoning. At one point he describes the temptation for "one enrolled in the class among us" who "at home at night, what I mean by that is secretly, is devoted to the services of demons".[107] At another place, Cyril describes Satan tempting Christians to a λατρεία that is "not exact" (οὐκ ἀκριβῆ), and so he instead instructs his readers "to accomplish a pure and

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[101]PG 68.632A (Book 9). For the Isiac descriptions, see Thomas Pietsch, "St Cyril of Alexandria and the Mysteries of Isis in *De Adoratione*," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 74, no. 4 (2023).

[102]PG 68.144C (Book 1).

[103]PG 68.517A (Book 7). Μωαβῖται καὶ Μαδιηναῖοι, Γεργεσαῖοί τε καὶ Ἀγαρηνοὶ, καὶ βαρβάρων ἕτερα ἄττα γένη, τὴν Ἰουδαίων προσοικοῦντα χώραν, ἔθεσιν ἐπολιτεύετο τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, καὶ ἦν ἑκάστῳ θρησκεία τὸ δοκοῦν, καὶ τὸ εἰς νοῦν ἦκον ἁπλῶς, προσκύνησις καὶ λατρεία. Cyril later describes Moabites as having been the greatest enemy of those seeking to serve God. PG 68.897A-D (Book 14).

[104]PG 68.1044B (Book 16)... καὶ λατρείας ἦν τρόπος τὸ χρῆμα αὐτοῖς.

[105]PG 68.257D (Book 2).

[106]PG 68.423C (Book 6)... οἵ γε τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀποφοιτῶντες λατρείας, τῇ κτίσει λατρεύουσι παρὰ τὸν Κτίστην καὶ Ποιητὴν...

[107]PG 68.424B-C (Book 6)... ὁ μέν τις ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε τῶν τελούντων ἐν ἡμῖν... ὡς οἴκοι καὶ νυκτί, φημὶ δὴ τὸ λεληθότως, ταῖς τῶν δαιμονίων προσκεῖσθαι λατρείαις.

unblemished λατρεία to God, the Master of all".[108] But when it comes to the distinction between Israelite and Christian λατρεία, Cyril never suggests that these are distinguished by being in service to different gods. Rather than distinguishing by an objective genitive, Cyril typically distinguishes λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι or κατὰ Χριστόν, from that λατρεία which is κατὰ νόμον and κατὰ τὸ γράμμα. In Cyril's understanding of salvation history, both kinds of λατρεία are given by God, and both were present in the Old Testament. At one point Cyril rejects two possibilities regarding the relationship between these two kinds of λατρεία. The first is that God initially erred in giving a λατρεία κατὰ νόμον and so needed to correct his mistake in Christ. The second is:

> Or that he chose formerly as in shadows the things that had amply pleased him, but then suffered from a novelty-loving sickness like us, turning his inclination to different things, and innovating for us a service that was not recognized in ancient time?[109]

Both of these positions are marked by rupture, with one kind of λατρεία completely replacing the other. Cyril's position, however, is that both kinds are already present in the Old Testament, and that in Christ only the λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι is now efficacious and pleasing to God. The reason why both kinds were initially given was because "the law was a pedagogue", and although God desired λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι from the beginning, he gave to the Israelites a λατρεία that was accessible to their immaturity. To take one example, we have just seen Cyril describing one τρόπος of Greek λατρεία as growing one's hair long. The context of that passage is Cyril's exegesis of the Nazarite vow of Numbers 6, which includes a vow to keep one's hair long. Cyril goes on to discuss how the Nazarite vow was a way of God channelling the desire for a custom that was devoted to demons towards one that is devoted to God, because it was difficult for the Israelites to cleanse themselves of this desire. One of the τρόποι of Greek λατρεία, then, is redeemed by God for Israelite practice as a concession.[110] While this concession is given, Cyril sees within the Old Testament God indicating that he prefers λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι to λατρεία κατὰ νόμον, and that a change is taking place. Sometimes he does this by referring to prophetic passages indicating God's displeasure with burnt offerings. For example,

> That the mode of service will pass and change into a better one, that is, into what is

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[108]PG 68.197A (Book 1)... καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμώμητον ποιεῖσθαι λατρείαν τῷ πάντων κρατοῦντι Θεῷ.

[109]PG 68.221C-D (Book 2). ἢ γοῦν ἑλέσθαι μὲν τότε τὰ ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς, ὡς διαρκῶς ἔχοντα τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ, φιλόκαινον δέ τι καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ὑπομεῖναι πάθος, ἑτέροις νέμοντα τὴν ῥοπὴν, καὶ λατρείαν ἡμῖν τὴν οὐ πάλαι διεγνωσμένην κεκαινουργηκότα;

[110]PG 68.1044B (Book 16). Μωσῆς γε μὴν ὁ σοφώτατος, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ Μωσέως ὁ πάνσοφός τε καὶ ἀριστοτέχνης Θεός, δυσαπόνιπτον ἔχουσι τοῖς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλάνησιν, τὰ ἴσα νομοτεθεῖ, διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἠθῶν τε καὶ τρόπων κατὰ βραχὺ μεθιστὰς, εἴς γε τὸ δαίμοσι μὲν οὐκέτι, Θεῷ δὲ τῷ πάντων, ὡς διὰ τύπου καὶ σκιᾶς, ἀνάπτειν τὸ σέβας.

new and in Christ, is clearly seen from what Malachi writes to us about God.[111]

Cyril then quotes Malachi 3:3–4, but this follows on immediately from quotations also of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Joel, Hosea and Amos on the limitations of burnt offerings and sacrifices.[112] Other times Cyril sees hints within the λατρεία κατὰ νόμον itself that God is showing Israel its limitations. That the tabernacle altar, for instance, is made with bronze and not gold is an indication that the λατρεία κατὰ νόμον is without the Holy Spirit who only comes with the resurrection.[113] Further, this altar of the service of law (τῆς κατὰ νόμον λατρείας τὸ θυσιαστήριον) was only placed at the entrance to the Holy of Holies, indicating that the law leads us only to the beginning of the mysteries of Christ.[114]

The change, for Cyril, happens with Christ's resurrection and the granting of the Holy Spirit. He writes that the Scriptures divide all time (τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον) into two, a time of law and a time of Christ, or perhaps into three, with a middle period for the prophets. But in both the time of Moses and the prophets "there was the same manner of service, still in the shadows according to law" (λατρείας ἦν τρόπος ὁ αὐτός, ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς ἔτι ταῖς κατὰ νόμον). But with Christ, and specifically his resurrection, Christ has now brought the saints to a spiritual service (εἰς λατρείαν τὴν πνευματικὴν), so that the former manner of service is no longer acceptable (οὐκέτι δεκτὸς τῆς τὸ τηνικάδε λατρείας ὁ τρόπος).[115] Cyril does not treat ongoing λατρεία κατὰ νόμον in his own day the same way that he treats the λατρεία of demons that he finds in Greek or pagan practices of his day. Nowhere in *De adoratione* does he ascribe to Jewish λατρεία this same level of divergence from right λατρεία. Rather, as this passage shows, he declares such λατρεία κατὰ νόμον simply no longer received or acceptable (οὐκέτι δεκτὸς). In a similar passage a bit further on in *De adoratione*, Cyril provides a warning to those who are still lovers of shadow and letter (οἱ

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[111]PG 68.228C (Book 2). Καὶ ὅτι μεταχωρήσει καὶ μεταστήσεται πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον τῆς λατρείας ὁ τρόπος πρὸς τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ νέαν, σαφὲς ἂν γένοιτο, γράφοντος ἡμῖν περὶ Θεοῦ τοῦ Μαλαχίου.

[112]See PG 68.224A-228D (Book 2) for the fuller discussion.

[113]PG 68.613B-C (Book 9).

[114]PG 68.665D (Book 10). Ἀποφέρει γὰρ ὁ νόμος μόλις ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀρχὰς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων. In this passage Cyril also says that the washbasin's placement outside the Holy of Holies also shows that "the fullness which seemed to be in law was incomplete" [ἡ ἐν νόμῳ δοκοῦσα πλήρωσις, ἀτελὴς], foreshadowing the cleansing by baptism. PG 68.668A (Book 10). A similar passage can be found at PG 68.628C-D (Book 9), where Cyril says that Aaron, though holy by law, nevertheless still had to wash his hands and his feet before entering the Holy of Holies, again showing both the insufficiency of the law while also foreshadowing baptism.

[115]PG 68.700B (Book 10). Cyril makes a similar claim at PG 68.768A (Book 11), saying that "When Christ was shown forth on the eighth day, the things of Moses came to an end. For we no longer serve in types and shadows." [Ἀναδεδειγμένου δὲ ἤδη Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην, καταλήγει μὲν τὰ Μωσέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τύποις ἔτι καὶ σκιαῖς λατρεύομεν.] In the final Book 17, Cyril also quotes a number of Pentateuchal passages which command that no work of service (λατρευτόν) be done on the Sabbath. Cyril understands this to mean that that were no longer be any ἡ ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς λατρεία on the eighth day, when Christ arose. PG 68.1124C (Book 17).

σκιᾶς ἔτι καὶ γράμματος φίλοι) that the zeal of their service in type will lead them to nothing (εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐν τύπῳ λατρείας καταλήξει τὸ σπούδασμα).[116]

The contemporary theologian Aidan Kavanagh has provided a broad definition of worship by expanding the definition of "liturgy" from its typically narrow confines within the Sunday morning cultic service: "A liturgy of Christians is thus nothing less than the way a redeemed world is, so to speak, done."[117] And, then, in his lectures: "liturgy is doing the world the way the world was meant to be done."[118] In Chapter 5 I will be co-opting some of the language from the liturgical theology movement further, but for now we can observe that this expansive understanding of liturgy and worship gets to the way in which Cyril considers worship and service in *De adoratione*. By inserting λατρεία into his title, Cyril anticipates a work concerned with the disposition of the heart encompassing both worship and ethical action not as separate aspects of life, but as different dimensions of the one reality – "doing the world" in the right way. The three "threads" that my dissertation is tracing – Old Testament exegesis, moral guidance, and worship – converge in λατρεία, as a key word of LXX incorporating both cultic action and service in the world.

## πνεῦμα

The word "spirit" does some heavy lifting in *De adoratione*. In an opening passage that is often quoted (and rightly so), Cyril writes that the difference between the Old and New Testaments is not as great as some might imagine:

> ... the New Testament is sister and kin to the things spoken of old through the most wise Moses, and made up of the same elements, and life in Christ is not greatly different from the way of life according to the law, if those things declared to the ancients are subjected to spiritual contemplation [θεωρίαν... τὴν πνευματικὴν].[119]

I will return to this passage to unpack its important statements. But as we now consider what Cyril means by "spirit" and "spiritual", this passage shows that much hinges on its definition. The Pentateuch, which is the focus of Cyril's exegesis in *De adoratione*, is profitable for his Christian audience on the proviso that it is read "spiritually". For, as he puts it in Book 11, in a phrase that Paul in 1 Corinthians 2:13, "the law is spiritual to the

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[116]PG 68.728D (Book 11). In another place Palladius says, and Cyril agrees, that the ἡ ἐν σκιαῖς λατρεία is now "unwilled" (Ἀβούλητος) by God. PG 68.225B (Book 2).

[117]Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1984), 100.

[118]See David W Fagerberg, *Consecrating the World: On Mundane Liturgical Theology* (Kettering: Angelico Press, 2016), 4.

[119]PG 68.137A (Book 1)... ὡς τοῖς πάλαι τεθεσπισμένοις διὰ τοῦ πανσόφου Μωσέως, ἀδελφὴν οἷά περ καὶ γείτονα, καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰοῦσαν πραγμάτων, τὴν νέαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι Γραφὴν, καὶ τῆς νομικῆς πολιτείας οὐ σφόδρα διῳκισμένην τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴν, εἰ πρὸς θεωρίαν ἄγοιτο τὴν πνευματικὴν τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διωρισμένα. In Villani's recent critical edition of Book 1, this sentence is framed as a question. Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 144.

spiritual, and it always speaks of the mystery of Christ".[120]

And not just the law, but also the service (λατρεία). Building on our study of λατρεία, Cyril consistently contrasts λατρεία κατὰ νόμον with λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι, highlighting the centrality of the "spiritual" to his whole argument and approach to exegesis. For while the λατρεία κατὰ νόμον was only received before the resurrection of Christ, it points within itself to a God-pleasing λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι, albeit in shadows (ἐν σκιαῖς). The λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι is fully present in the Old Testament in a way that makes its validity not simply a post-resurrection affair but one that is present throughout the Old Testament. To take an example from Book 15, Cyril has just quoted Leviticus 22:17–25 on the necessity of offering an animal sacrifice without blemish, including a list of various blemishes. The following exchange then takes place:

> PALLADIUS: Should these also translate to our customs and manners?
>
> CYRIL: Of course. For the law cannot be spiritual to us in a way other than that. And a principle of service in shadows would be of no value to God, and He would not have once determined these laws for this service, if He had not foreshadowed in it the all-wonderful beauty of truth.[121]

The λατρεία κατὰ νόμον is also a λατρεία ἐν σκιαῖς, and its ongoing value lies in its ability to be also understood spiritually. The whole project of *De adoratione* is, in one sense, a realisation of this ongoing importance of the λατρεία given in the Old Testament for the λατρεία ἐν πνεύματι in which Cyril wants to guide his readers, uncovering for them the beauty of truth. Cyril is explicit about this "spiritual" continuity of λατρεία both before and after Christ when discussing priestly sacrifices as described in Leviticus 6:20–3. The regulations there are described as an "eternal law" (LXX: νόμος αἰώνιος). Cyril reads these regulations as relating to all Christian saints, and the offering of a holy life. He then adds:

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[120]PG 68.768A (Book 11)... πνευματικὸς γὰρ ὁ νόμος τοῖς πνευματικοῖς, καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ Χριστοῦ λαλεῖ μυστήριον.

[121]PG 68.953C-D (Book 15).   P: Ἆρ' οὖν εἰς ἤθη καὶ τρόπους τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς μεταληπτέον ταυτί; K: Πάνυ μὲν οὖν· εἴη γὰρ ἂν οὐχ ἑτέρως ἢ οὕτως ἡμῖν πνευματικὸς ὁ νόμος. Γένοιτο δ' ἂν οὐδεὶς παρὰ Θεῷ λόγος τῆς ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς λατρείας, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ὡρίσατό ποτε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νόμους, μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς ἀληθείας προανατυπῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐκπρεπέστατον κάλλος.

And this law extends forever, being fulfilled by successive ranks of priests. For one must follow the meritorious deeds of the ancestors, and must show themselves imitators of the glory of the fathers, following in the footsteps of their service, and offering to God in an undivided manner, whole, the good fragrance much loved by Him.[122]

Christians, then, are to follow in the footsteps of the λατρεία which the Aaronic priesthood once trod, continuing the eternal law laid down in Leviticus. Palladius then adds the qualifier, with which Cyril agrees, that this is the case when understood as imitating their priestly works (ταῖς ἐκείνων ἱερουργίαις) which are clearly spiritual (δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ταῖς πνευματικαῖς).[123]

But what does "spiritual" mean? Who are the spiritual? How can the law and the service be spiritual? There are three realities present in Cyril's use of "spiritual".[124]

First, to read the text of Scripture ἐν πνεύματι is to read "in the Spirit", as someone who has received the Holy Spirit. So also the one who worships and serves ἐν πνεύματι needs the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Matthew Crawford has written most fully about Cyril's stress on the reception of the Holy Spirit for a profitable reading of the Scriptures.[125] And this theme pervades *De adoratione*, namely that the Spirit dwells in those who have received holy baptism and communion,[126] and that they are lead to read the Old Testament in a new way.[127] But for a work concerned with moral guidance and worship, Cyril also stresses that it is only by the Holy Spirit that one can follow the way of Christ in right worship and service. When discussing the way of boldness and courage that Christ leads us on, in contrast to the former way of service according to the letter and law, Cyril comments that this can only be achieved with the Holy Spirit:

And that which makes us so astonishingly courageous would be among all things nothing else than the power from on high [cf. Luke 24:49], that is, the participation in

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[122]PG 68.828D-829A (Book 12). Ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ὁ νόμος, ταῖς τῶν ἱερατευόντων διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενος· ἕπεσθαι γὰρ δεῖ ταῖς τῶν προλαβόν των εὐδοκιμήσεσι, καὶ μιμητὰς ἀναφαίνεσθαι τῆς τῶν πατέρων εὐκλείας, κατ' ἴχνος ἰόντας τῆς ἐκείνων λατρείας, καὶ τὴν φιλαιτάτην τῷ Θεῷ προσκομίζοντας εὐωδίαν, οὐ μεμερισμένως, ἀλλ' ὁλοτελῶς.

[123]PG 68.829A (Book 12).

[124]For accounts of Cyril's pneumatology, see Brian E. Daley, "The Fullness of the Saving God: Cyril of Alexandria on the Holy Spirit," in *The Theology of St Cyril of Alexandria: A Critical Appreciation*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy and Daniel A. Keating (London: T&T Clark, 2003); Gregory K Hillis, "'The Natural Likeness of the Son': Cyril of Alexandria's Pneumatology," diss., McMaster University, 2008); Gregory K Hillis, "The Holy Spirit and Episcopal Teaching Authority According to Cyril of Alexandria," *Theoforum* 40, no. 3 (2009); Gregory K Hillis, "Pneumatology and Soteriology According to Gregory of Nazianzus and Cyril of Alexandria," *Studia Patristica* 48 (2010).

[125]Matthew R. Crawford, *Cyril of Alexandria's Trinitarian Theology of Scripture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 67–114.

[126]See, e.g., PG 68.656B (Book 10).

[127]See, e.g., PG 68.141C (Book 1).

and communion with the Holy Spirit.[128]

Service in the spirit is pursuing a way of life enabled and empowered by communion with the Holy Spirit. Often words to this effect are stated when Cyril and Palladius are about to embark upon a new discussion on a particular theme that could be difficult. In these moments they comment that they can proceed only with the help of the Holy Spirit, but also the other members of the Trinity. At one time Palladius says that they can proceed in their discussion without too much difficulty because Christ is instilling the divine light in them.[129] And then at another point Cyril says that the discussion ahead of them is going to require hard work and sweat. But it is nevertheless possible to proceed, "relying on God" (Θεῷ πίσυνοι).[130] In Book 9 Cyril is discussing the altar of the tabernacle and highlights that it is commanded to be covered not in gold but brass. Taking gold to be the Holy Spirit, Cyril writes that human nature was only gilded by the Holy Spirit after Christ rose from the dead. And thus, that the service according to the law did not have the Holy Spirit.[131] Cyril's comments here show both that spiritual worship and service comes as a fruit of the resurrection of Christ with the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, and also point to the second reality present in the word "spiritual."

To be "spiritual" is something that can only happen with Christ, who has brought about a new and interior kind of worship. The text of John 4 which inspires the title of the work is itself a confession of there being a new hour which has now come in Christ, where worship will be done "in spirit". And so spiritual worship and service is always for Cyril centred on Christ, and comes from Christ. "The service according to Christ is not in legally codified service, but in holy and spiritual service."[132] That which is done in Christ is always spiritual. This extends also to the Eucharist which Cyril says is to partake of Christ "through the ineffable and spiritual sacrifice".[133] Cyril is likely here referring to the eucharistic action of the priest at the liturgy. So what is spiritual can be physical, like the Eucharist, or the self-offering of Christ on the cross, or even the the offering of oneself in spiritual worship and service.[134] Keeping that in mind, Cyril does nevertheless move towards a greater interiorisation of the actions prescribed in the Pentateuch. He does not typically translate

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[128]PG 68.265C (Book 3). Τὸ δὲ δὴ τὴν οὕτως ἡμῖν ἀξιάγαστον εὐτολμίαν ἐμποιοῦν εἴη δή που πάντων ἂν ἕτερον οὐδὲν, παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μέθεξίν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν.

[129]PG 68.221B (Book 2)... Χριστοῦ τὸ θεῖον ἡμῖν ἐνιέντος φῶς.

[130]PG 68.592A (Book 7).

[131]PG 68.613C (Book 9).

[132]PG 68.224C (Book 2). Οὐκ ἐν νομικῇ μὲν λατρείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν, ἀλλὰ ἁγίᾳ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ.

[133]PG 68.832A (Book 12)... μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ ἁγίου Χριστοῦ διά τε τῆς ἀποῤῥήτου καὶ πνευματικῆς θυσίας.

[134]So also for Cyril of Jerusalem, "spiritual sacrifice" was the Eucharist. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), 196.

external cultic practices of Israel to external cultic practices of the church. Rather, cultic prescriptions in the Pentateuch are often presented to the Christian as ways of understanding or dedicating oneself to God. As I have already noted, Cyril is drawn not just to πνευματικὸς but also words like λογικός and νοητός as a part of this aim to shift readers from a physical or bodily reading of the law to a spiritual, rational or intellectual one. For example, Cyril says to Palladius at one point:

> For I will demonstrate [this] well, as I am able, interpreting skilfully what happened to the ancients into a type of intellectual/spiritual [νοητῶν] realities. For that which is subject to the senses and indicative of the visual, will become brilliantly and clearly for us images of those things perceived by subtle contemplation.[135]

There is a movement here towards that which is perceived by the intellect which is evident through *De adoratione*. Offering spiritual worship to God is a kind of dedication of one's heart, mind and action according to the mystery of Christ and the Scriptures. "Spiritual" exegesis can often concern objects which are not perceptible to the senses.[136] Elliott thinks that in *De adoratione* Cyril observes a "gradual spiritualization of religion", and Elliott makes especial reference to Book 2's long catalogue of prophetic texts anticipating the end of animal sacrifices.[137] While this cannot mean that for Cyril the Holy Spirit was not present in the inspired Pentateuch, Elliott does rightly identify this second dimension of being "in Spirit". Appropriating Israel's cult "in Spirit" is a concept that flourishes in Cyril's writings, including *De adoratione*, but was also present in earlier Christian tradition. Paul Bradshaw has written of how second century Christian apologists sought to refute the charge of atheism by insisting that Christians still had sacrifices, albeit of a different kind.[138] So Athenagoras in *Plea for the Christians*, argued that "the Framer and Father of this universe does not need blood, nor the odour of burnt-offerings, nor the fragrance of flowers and incense" but rather the "bloodless sacrifice and spiritual worship" offered by Christians.[139] In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin Martyr (*c.* 100–165) argued that "prayers and thanksgivings that are made by the worthy are the only perfect and pleasing sacrifices to God".[140] Tertullian (*c.* 155–220) also spoke of prayer as "a spiritual victim (hostia) which has abolished the former sacrifices… This [victim], devoted from the whole heart, fed on faith, tended by

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[135]PG 68.149C-D (Book 1). Παραδείξαιμι γὰρ ἂν ὡς ἔνι καλῶς τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις συμβεβηκότα, διαμορφῶν εὐτέχνως εἰς τύπον τῶν νοητῶν. Εἰκόνες γὰρ ἐναργεῖς καὶ ἀριδηλότατοι γένοιντο ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν ἐν θεωρίᾳ λεπτῇ, τὰ ὡς ἐν αἰσθήσει τε καὶ ὡς ἐν ὄψει σημαντικῇ.
[136]See David R. Maxwell, "Translator's Introduction," in *Cyril of Alexandria: Commentary on John, Volume 1* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2013), xxii.
[137]Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 247.
[138]Paul F. Bradshaw, "Influence on Early Christian Worship," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ritual and Worship in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Samuel E. Balentine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 382.
[139]Athenagoras, *Legatio* 13.2 (SC 379.110–112). Pratten (trans.), 134–135.
[140]*Dialog. Tryph.*, 117.2.

truth, entire in innocence, pure in chastity, garlanded with love, we ought to escort with a procession of good works, amid psalms and hymns, to God's altar, to obtain for us all things from God."[141] In the same way, "spiritual" for Cyril means something not bound to a place.[142] That does not necessarily mean esoteric, but rather full of the Holy Spirit, and the gifts that the Spirit brings in Christ. As Wilken writes for Cyril,

> [Spiritual] refers to the kind of gifts brought by Christ, forgiveness, participation in the divine life, hope of eternal salvation, that is, goods that cannot be discerned by the senses, hence spiritual.[143]

And then as Cyril himself writes in his *Commentary on Isaiah*:

> The word of the holy prophets always represents things that can be seen and actions which are known by the senses. It contains, however, reference to things that are beyond [ὑπὲρ] the senses and which are spiritual [νοητά]. Hence when it uses the word Zion, it is not speaking solely to the earthly city, it also must be understood as referring to something that is spiritual [νοητὴν], the church of the living God. If not, how would any know that the words of the prophets lead to truth?[144]

While Cyril is here speaking of the prophets, the same approach to the Pentateuch is evident in *De adoratione*. What is "beyond" the sense is higher, and thus spiritual. While Cyril does deal with sacramental actions perceivable by the senses, it is the spiritual realities that are not accessible to the senses, in the sacramental action, that Cyril is concerned with. Spiritual birth in baptism, spiritual food in holy communion, spiritual and heavenly community in the church and the saints.

This brings us to a third dimension of what being "spiritual" seems to mean in *De adoratione*. Something is spiritual if if participates in the Holy Spirit, is dependent on the mystery of Christ, and also accords with the entirety of the Scripture, both Old and New Testaments. Cyril puts this clearly in his *Commentary on Isaiah* where he declares: "The entire Scripture is one book and was spoken by one Holy Spirit."[145] Worship and service "in spirit" is to receive the Law, but now also understood with the New Testament. So the whole text of *De adoratione*, while in part an exercise in exegesis of the Pentateuch, has almost as many references to the Old Testament as the New Testament. There are more references to Romans than there are to Genesis. And more to John than Deuteronomy. This is not just a phenomenon between Old Testament and New Testament, but also within the Old Testament. For there are also as many references to the Psalms as there are to Leviticus.

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[141]*De or.*, 28.
[142]See Wilken, "Cyril as Interpreter," 3.
[143]Wilken, "Cyril as Interpreter," 18.
[144]*Comm. Is.* 51:3. PG 70.1108B. Quoted in Wilken, "Cyril as Interpreter," 19.
[145]*Comm. Is.* 29:11–12. PG 70.655A.

Reading spiritually involves hearing the one book spoken by the one Holy Spirit. And so this reality also extends to the hearer's own time. To worship and serve "in the spirit" is to participate in the life of the Old and New Testaments.[146] Cyril in his text does not connect the New to the Old solely in an abstract way, but rather for the pastoral guidance of his readers. The way of life of the Old is understood in the light of the New, as a way for his Christian reads to spiritually participate in this way of life. Henri de Lubac, in his work on the senses of Scripture in medieval exegesis, describes the high medieval understanding of this connection in the following terms, which evocatively and provocatively describe the reading strategy that Cyril is animated by.

> Each day, deep within ourselves, Israel departs from Egypt; each day, it is nourished with manna; each day it fulfills the Law; each day it must engage in combat; each day the promises that had been made to this people under a bodily form are realized spiritually in us. Each day also the Gentiles give themselves over to the worship of their idols; each day the Israelites themselves are unfaithful; each day, in this interior region, the land devours the impious… Each day again, there is the Lord's visit; each day, he approaches Jerusalem… each day is his advent.[147]

What de Lubac here describes is never so lucidly stated in *De adoratione*. But it describes the presupposition with which Cyril approaches his task. The Law is understood in the light of the New Testament, but is enacted in the lives of his readers, united as they are with the Holy Spirit and the one book of the Holy Spirit.

While I have considered at length the relationship of $\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \varepsilon \acute{\iota} \alpha$ $\kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha}$ $\nu \acute{o} \mu o \nu$ and $\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \varepsilon \acute{\iota} \alpha$ $\grave{\varepsilon} \nu$ $\pi \nu \varepsilon \acute{\upsilon} \mu \alpha \tau \iota$, Cyril's distinction between them serves his large goal of providing spiritual guidance to his readers. He does this by both stressing that while $\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \varepsilon \acute{\iota} \alpha$ $\kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha}$ $\nu \acute{o} \mu o \nu$ is no longer acceptable to God, Israel's $\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \varepsilon \acute{\iota} \alpha$ nevertheless does provide guidance for Christians in their $\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \varepsilon \acute{\iota} \alpha$ $\grave{\varepsilon} \nu$ $\pi \nu \varepsilon \acute{\upsilon} \mu \alpha \tau \iota$, because the latter is revealed in the former. Cyril's real goal, then, is to exegete cultic passages in a way that provides spiritual guidance. So when he comes, for example, to the law for burnt offering in Leviticus 6:8–13, Cyril seeks to attribute ($\check{\alpha} \gamma \varepsilon \iota \nu$) this word to those sanctified by faith in Christ. Just as the fire on the altar described in Leviticus shall burn perpetually, so too the saints shall be like the altar.

> For it is proper that the holy men, who have offered their lives to Christ, should appear hot and burning with the Spirit, and this for ever; not descending to coldness

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[146]Cf. Origen, writing in his *Commentary on John*: "Now, the person who is enslaved to the letter that kills and has not partaken of the spirit that makes alive, and who does not follow the spiritual meanings of the law would be the one who is not a true worshipper and does not worship the Father in spirit." For Origen, as for Cyril, reading Scripture itself is an act of worship, the means through which God draws people into participation with Him, as an offering of spiritual worship. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 4.23–4, 13.110. Heine (trans.), 90–91.

[147]Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture, Volume 2,* trans. E. M. Macierowski Mark Sebanc (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 138.

through worldly pleasures, but rather inflaming the mind in holiness towards the love of God and the desire for virtue. For this is the manner of rational/spiritual service.[148]

The cultic λατρεία of Israel is not here rendered as narrowly ethical, concerning simply action. Rather, λατρεία is, for Cyril, now performed in holiness, in love and in virtue. In a passage from earlier in the *De adoratione*, Cyril says that already this λατρεία was present in Hosea's rejection of whole burnt offerings. For, Cyril adds, "the love for brothers is much better before God than a burning calf or a slaughtered sheep."[149] The Christian life, or the life of the saints, is then itself an acting out of Israel's cult, a continuation of the λατρεία given to Moses, and now fully revealed by the resurrection of Christ and the granting of the Spirit. *De adoratione* in this way teases out Paul's claim in Romans 12:1 that the offering of one's life is an act of λατρεία.

And so in *De adoratione*, Cyril's way of reading Scripture – and the Pentateuch especially – is enmeshed with Christian practices, with an enactment of the word in spiritual service to God. The way to read the Scriptures is therefore not an intellectual enterprise alone but fulfilled in holy service to God. Cyril does not engage in an erasure of Old Testament cultic λατρεία, but rather brings it to bear on the lives of his Christian readers, guiding them into a liturgical life in Christ, broadly understood. Thus, the cult of Israel as given in the Pentateuch finds its goal in the life of the Christian, living out the holy service of God in spirit and truth, which brings us to our final noun in the title.

## ἀλὴθεία

Early Christians read a Trinitarian structure in John 4:24, a worship and service to the Father that is done in the Spirit and in Truth. Thus ἀλὴθεία is personified as the Son, just as πνεῦμα refers to the Holy Spirit. This Trinitarian structure is reflected in *De adoratione* which has a consistent orientation of worship to the Father, through the Son and by the power of the Holy Spirit.[150] The kind of worship and service in which Cyril is instructing his readers is that which is Trinitarian: "and we will serve him, and worship him, calling on the Father, and on the Son, and on the Holy Spirit."[151] The relations between the members of the Trinity are not flat, but reveal a dynamic:

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[148]PG 68.821C-D (Book 12). πρέπει γὰρ, ἄνδρας τοὺς ἱεροὺς, καὶ Χριστῷ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀναθέντας ζωήν, θερμοὺς καὶ ζέοντας ὁρᾶσθαι τῷ Πνεύματι, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ παντός, οὐκ εἰς ἀπόψυξιν καταφερομένους διὰ κοσμικῶν ἡδονῶν, ἀναζωπυροῦντας δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ἁγιασμῷ τὸν νοῦν εἰς φιλοθεΐαν καὶ ἔφεσιν ἀρετῆς. Λατρείας γὰρ οὗτος τῆς λογικῆς ὁ τρόπος.

[149]PG 68.225D (Book 2). Πολὺ γὰρ ἄμεινον παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ μόσχου πίπτοντος, καὶ προβάτου σφαγῆς, ἡ εἰς ἀδελφοὺς ἀγάπη...

[150]See Torrance, "The Mind of Christ in Worship," 179–80.

[151]PG 68.412D (Book 6)... καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσομεν, αὐτῷ προσκυνήσομεν, ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

For after we have received through the all-wise Moses the types of the truth, the Truth itself, that is, Christ enlightened us in his time, through Whom and in Whom we have been enriched with blessings from above and from the Father, sealed to sonship in the Holy Spirit, and this is again accomplished in Christ.[152]

Christ is the Truth, enlightening and blessing, a mystagogue leading his church into the truth.

Cyril also uses ἀλήθεία in a way that might better be translated as "reality". It is the opposite of mere appearance, according to the physical sense alone, and instead signifies what in fact lies beneath. In this sense, it can also mean something like antitype in relation to type. So, for example, in the final Book 17, Cyril proposes that he investigate the feasts of Israel "in type and according to the law", and then transform the meaning "into the truth", explicating what the law is more deeply revealing.[153] This usage of ἀλήθεία gets to the heart of Cyril's project in *De adoratione*. The law is profitable for Christians insofar as within it, it bears ἀλήθεία. As he writes in his programmatic opening dialogue:

> For just as those who are looking in a mirror would see an image and type of the truth, and not the real thing itself, in the same way, I think, those longing to see the beauty of the way of life in Christ would attain what they desire in the best way possible by using the law as if it were a mirror. For by remolding the very image of things into the truth, they will see clearly that which seems best and well-pleasing to God.[154]

Here Cyril says that the law is valuable when it is understood as an image of the truth, requiring a remolding in the truth in order to have a clear picture of what is true and well-pleasing to God. In another passage, he writes that the service in the shadows "would be of no value to God, and He would not have established these laws in this way if He had not foreshadowed in this the all-wonderful beauty of truth."[155] God gave the law, then, ultimately because within it was ἀλήθεία. Cyril's task is to fulfil this divine plan by

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[152]PG 68.593A (Book 9). Παραδεξαμένοις γὰρ ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ πανσόφου Μωσέως τῆς ἀληθείας τοὺς τύπους, καὶ αὕτη κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπέλαμψεν ἡ ἀλήθεια, τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἄνωθεν εὐλογίαν καὶ παρὰ Πατρὸς πεπλουτήκαμεν, κατεσφραγισμένοι πρὸς υἱοθεσίαν ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐν Χριστῷ δὲ δὴ πάλιν καὶ τοῦτο διαπεραίνεται.

[153]PG 68.1061C (Book 17).

[154]PG 68.141C (Book 1). Ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ βλέποντες εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, καὶ οὐκ αὐτό που τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐγκαταθρήσειαν ἄν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπον, οἱ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πολιτείας τὸ κάλλος ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἰδεῖν, καθάπερ ἐσόπτρῳ τῷ νόμῳ χρώμενοι κατορθώσειαν ἂν ὡς ἄριστα τὸ ποθούμενον. Τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τῶν πραγμάτων εἰκόνα μεταπλάττοντες εἰς ἀλήθειαν, εἴσονται καθαρῶς τὸ ὅτι μάλιστα δοκοῦν καὶ εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ.

[155]PG 68.953C (Book 15). Γένοιτο δ' ἂν οὐδεὶς παρὰ Θεῷ λόγος τῆς ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς λατρείας, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ὡρίσατό ποτε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νόμους, μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς ἀληθείας προανατυπῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐκπρεπέστατον κάλλος.

testifying to the reality within the law.[156] This helps to explain also why Cyril can sometimes refer to episodes in the Pentateuch as "parables". For example, in Book 8 of *De adoratione*, Cyril discusses Deuteronomy 23:24–5 in which picking a handful of neighbour's grain or grapes is permitted, whereas using a sickle or a container to take a larger quantity is forbidden. Cyril describes this as the law teaching "in the form of a parable and clear example" (ἐν εἴδει παραβολῆς καὶ σαφοῦς παραδείγματος) "that we should not abuse the love of our brothers, but honor the love of one another with moderation".[157] Cyril is here standing within a broader patristic tradition of reading the Old Testament. Young, for example, describes this same use of "parable" for the Old Testament as typical of Melito of Sardis, with an attendant commitment to discovering the ἀλὴθεία.[158]

These two dimensions of ἀλὴθεία – Christ and the true reality within the law – are of course connected. For Cyril, Christ is the Truth personified, and it is Christ who is now the new site of worship and service. The Pentateuch bears witness truly to Christ, revealed in the temporary types given in the law. This way in which Cyril uses the word "law" suggests that it is somewhat different from the word of the Old Testament. The words of the Old Testament, and the Pentateuch especially, have within them both the law and the mystery of Christ. The law is the old way of reading the text, but now the same text is to be read in spirit and in truth, bearing witness to Christ and the way of life that is in Christ. I will be exploring this more in due course. For now, we can note that Cyril can both talk of the Pentateuch as good, perfect and enduring, while also speaking of the law as obsolete. Instead it is the worship and service in spirit and truth, as given in the whole of the Scriptures, which endures.

## Preface

While we are looking at the beginning of *De adoratione*, we need to attend also to the fact that as well as a title and chapter headings, Cyril gave a preface. As I have already noted, this preface was only recently re-discovered by Crawford (following an earlier article by Georges-Matthieu de Durand) who presented and translated the preface with the intention that "future studies of *De adoratione* may take into account its significance for interpreting the treatise," as I intend to do here.[159]

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[156]See also PG 68.144D-145A (Book 1) for an important passage on exploring "the beauty of truth" in the types of the law in order to bring about a service in the spirit.

[157]PG 68.557B-C (Book 8). Οὐκοῦν ὑπόδειγμα τοῦτο σαφὲς τοῦ μὴ κατακεχρῆσθαι δεῖν ταῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀγαπήσεσίν ἐστι, τιμᾶν δὲ ταῖς αὐταρκείαις καὶ τὸ φιλάλληλον.

[158]Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 195–96.

[159]Crawford, "The Preface," 155. Georges-Matthieu de Durand, "Un Prologue Inédit Au *De Adoratione* De Cyrille D'alexandrie?," *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989).

Why include a preface in the first place? Cyril's practice in his other writings is also to include a preface or prologue, so *De adoratione* is not unique in that respect.[160] But it is nevertheless important to see that Cyril is seeking in his preface to guide his readers as they begin, providing them with a σκοπός of the work so that they can read the text as he wishes it to be read, and so that he can instruct his readers clearly. It is also likely that the preface is speaking to copyists. The preface begins with Cyril saying that he had determined to "provide moral guidance" to those seeking to walk "the way of life in Christ". For that reason, Cyril has decided to write "this treatise upon the divinely inspired Scripture". Addressing a certain "most longed for brother", Cyril then asks the reader to "keep the sequence of the books in order" and "maintain the distinction between the characters of the dialogue without any confusion" owing to the fact that precision is required with revealing the subtleties of the shadow of the law. To aid comprehension of this "it was necessary for the treatise to be relaxed by taking the form of a question addressed to us and an answer".[161] Let us unpack these dimensions of the preface.

Cyril calling *De adoratione* a work of "moral guidance" (ἠθικὴ ὑφήγησις) is a significant contribution of the preface in reading the text.[162] While readers before the re-discovery of the preface had no trouble seeing that *De adoratione* was concerned with exegesis of the Pentateuch, and, to a lesser extent, that it was concerned with worship, the preface has given us Cyril's own understanding of his work. And it is a work of moral guidance that is also a treatise on Scripture. Cyril evidently doesn't feel the need to explain how the work can be both of those things. He takes it as a given that the Scriptures themselves provide moral guidance. As Frances Young has put it, for the fathers, "paraenetic exegesis had primacy of place. The scriptures were always treated as the Word of God and as the guide to life."[163] This is how Cyril considers his work in the preface. Indeed, *De adoratione* stands as one of the most ambitious undertakings of paraenetic exegesis in the early Christian world. Keith Stanglin has written that for both John Cassian (*c*. 360–433) and Gregory the Great (*c*. 540–604) this moral sense of Scripture was the final sense of Scriptural reading. For them, the whole purpose of the literal, allegorical, anagogical, and spiritual senses was moral guidance, for the text was ultimately realised in action and worship.[164] And a similar reality is at play in *De adoratione*, in which the Scriptures instruct in the way of moral guidance which is itself given to lead the reader in offering their lives as spiritual worship. So while Cyril sets out to give moral guidance, that is almost a foil for something more profound, that the excellent way of life is found in worship to God the Father in Spirit and Truth.

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[160]Crawford, "The Preface," 154.

[161]I am using Crawford's translation, slightly modified. Crawford, "The Preface," 159.

[162]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.

[163]Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 248.

[164]See Keith D. Stanglin, *The Letter and Spirit of Biblical Interpretation: From the Early Church to Modern Practice* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2018), 92–96.

Cyril also mentions in the preface those who are seeking to follow the "way of life" (πολιτεία) that is in Christ. Πολιτεία occurs frequently in *De adoratione* and encompasses a few dimensions. As a cognate of πόλις, it is etymologically corporate in orientation, referring to membership within a civic body. While the activity of one's πολιτεία could well be individual, it is always nevertheless contextualised within a larger body. In the preface, Cyril says that he is writing for those, in the plural, who wish to walk the way of life, in the singular, in Christ. I shall explore this more in Chapter 5, but already we can intuit here that Cyril's moral guidance is not simply for a solitary path, but for a corporate one, realised most fully in the church and in the eschatalogical heavenly city. For example, in Book 1, Cyril states that the law of God leads a person to a blameless way of life (πολιτείαν), becoming like a lamp (λύχνος) that guides others to dwell also in the holy city (ἁγίαν... πόλιν).[165] Both the singular and corporate dimensions of πολιτεία are on display here, which reflects patristic usage in the 5th century. Claudia Rapp has written of a change in understanding of πολιτεία in the 4th to 6th centuries. While πολιτεία in the context of the church continued to emphasise the communal aspect of Christian living, when used in the monastic context, she finds that "it is the exercise of appropriate conduct by the individual, through asceticism, that comes to the fore."[166] She notes that the *Life of Anthony* is titled not just a life, βίος, but βίος καὶ πολιτεία, life and what Rapp translates as "ascetic conduct". Following this, some 78 Greek lives of the saints use the same title.[167] In the monastic world, saints do πολιτεία against the demons as a kind of individual struggle, while, by means of a contrast, Chrysostom and Basil (*c.* 330–378) tell their hearers that it is their baptism that draws them into the πολιτεία of the church, of the Jerusalem above.[168] *De adoratione* combines both the personal dimensions of πολιτεία with also the corporate reception of sacramental grace through the church.[169]

While Cyril never uses the precise term "Scriptural way of life", I have used that phrase in the subtitle of this dissertation as it is nevertheless Cyril's approach, reflected at times in less concise phrases. From the outset, Cyril seeks to lay down a pattern of living according to the Scriptures, both Old and New Testament. One of Palladius' programmatic questions in the introductory dialogue is the following:

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[165]PG 68.157B-C (Book 1). For another connection of πολιτεία with πόλις, see 180A (Book 1). Paul's declaration of Christian citizenship (πολίτευμα) being in heaven (Philippians 3:20) is quoted by Cyril five times throughout the work. PG 68.144A (Book 1), 165A (Book 1), 177A (Book 1), 268A (Book 3), 964D (Book 15).

[166]Claudia Rapp, "Monastic Jargon and Citizenship Language in Late Antiquity," *Al-Masāq* 32, no. 1 (2020), 55.

[167]Rapp, "Monastic Jargon," 60.

[168]Rapp, "Monastic Jargon," 56.

[169]For a rich study of πολιτεία and related terms, see Michael Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah: Christian Exegesis in the Age of Constantine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 103–30.

How are we to live [πολιτεύεσθαι] on the one hand in an evangelical way, and at the same time in the mode of appearing to be attached to the ancient commandment and of thinking we are fulfilling the decrees that came through Moses?[170]

This framing question concerns how to live a Scriptural way of life, committed not just to the New Testament but the Old as well. There is no crass supersessionism here, discarding the Old Testament. On the contrary, Cyril seeks to mount a defence of the Old Testament, not intellectually or even theologically in a purely abstract fashion, but practically. The law of Moses is engaged as a guide to living in an evangelical way.

In the final section of the preface, as have seen, Cyril asks the reader to "keep the sequence of the books in order" and "maintain the distinction between the characters of the dialogue without any confusion". It seems reasonable to assume that Cyril is addressing scribes and copyists here. He wants to ensure that the two characters of the dialogue are noted in copies made of *De adoratione* so that their comments are not confused, and that the books maintain their original sequencing.[171] I will later explore the importance of this in enacting a didactic or pedagogic dialogue between a teacher or bishop and an ideal reader. But it is also reasonable to assume that this is a word to the reader, in how best to consider the work they are embarking on. In this, Cyril has not necessarily been well served either by his copyists or readers. Regarding his copyists, a glance at the manuscript tradition shows that while some preserved all of the books, many chose only a few books, typically from the first half of the treatise.[172] Regarding his readers, as we have seen, modern readers of Cyril have either focussed on just one section of the treatise (Wilken, George Dragas), or read the treatise for one particular theme (Sebastian Schurig, Lee Blackburn). This is understandable not just because of the unwieldiness of the text, but also given that Cyril's injunction in the preface was not well-known until Durand's and Crawford's unearthing, owing to it surviving in only one Greek and one Syrian manuscript.[173] But the preface makes it clear that Cyril has written his work in a way that is to be read sequentially, that the seventeen books build on each other and need to be read in their context with the larger σκοπός of the work. I will attend to this in the next chapter.

Finally, Cyril in the preface explains that owing to the complexities of his project, he has made the decision to write *De adoratione* in the "form of a question addressed to us and an answer". That is, that the text has been written as one long dialogue between Cyril and a

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[170]PG 68.137B (Book 1). Ἢ τίς ὁ τρόπος τοῦ *πολιτεύεσθαι* μὲν Εὐαγγελικῶς ἐξῆφθαι ἔτι δοκεῖν τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐντολῆς, καὶ πληροῦν οἴεσθαι τὰ διὰ Μωσέως;

[171]Katarzyna Jażdżewska has argued for Theodoret of Cyrus as the first to use names for dialogue speakers in manuscript notation. *De adoratione* pre-dates Theodoret's work and the preface here indicates that Cyril could have been earlier than Theodoret. Katarzyna Jażdżewska, "Indications of Speakers in Ancient Dialogue: A Reappraisal," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 138 (2018).

[172]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 94ff.

[173]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.

certain Palladius. While we will look at this reality more in the following chapter, including by considering *De adoratione* according to the genre of questions-and-responses, for now we can note that the preface makes it clear that Cyril has written a dialogue to help the reader. Cyril is not writing an esoteric text, but is taking on the role of a teacher, not just in the dialogue, where Palladius is the disciple and Cyril the teacher, but also in Cyril's motivation of shaping the treatise in this way in the first place.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overview of scholarship on *De adoratione* and also an overview of the key themes that Cyril pursues in the treatise. By looking at the title, the book headings, and the preface, I have argued that modern scholarship on *De adoratione* has not adequately come to grips with the broader goals of the text, and has been occasionally side-tracked into focussing disproportionately on anti-Jewish polemic in the text. Instead, I have shown that Cyril maps a path of moral guidance by means of Pentateuchal exegesis, reading the law "in spirit and in truth" so as to present a way of life for his Christian readers. Moreover, I have shown Cyril understands this way of life to be fundamentally a way of worship and service, rendering cultic texts of the Pentatuech in a way that shows the path of spiritual worship for his readers.

In the next chapter, I will continue this aerial view of *De adoratione*, considering its genre and structure, as a way of understanding further what Cyril is doing in this treatise.

# 2.

# A Spiritual Exodus: Genre and Structure

In the previous chapter I drew out three threads running through *De adoratione* and explicated how they are shown in the title, book headings and preface. Building on that understanding, in this chapter I consider the genre and structure of *De adoratione*. What kind of book is *De adoratione*? What other works share features with this work and how are other works differentiated from it? While seeking to classify complex works definitively can be a fool's errand, considering questions of genre can shed light on the how a text functions, and in the case of *De adoratione*, how also Cyril's exegesis of Pentateuchal texts functions.[174] When it comes to the structure of the text, we will see that Cyril's goal in *De adoratione* is to guide his readers on a journey of spiritual progress, from idolatry to right worship of the Triune God, following the journey of Israel in Exodus in their own spiritual progress. I will consider how this goal is evident in the way in which Cyril has structured *De adoratione*, revealing a progressive programme of formation and moral guidance. This chapter will, then, provide a broad argument for considering *De adoratione* as a spiritual Exodus, with subsequent chapters to analyse further dimensions of this key claim.

## GENRE

In considering the genre of *De adoratione*, the task is to identify distinctive features that it may share in common with a group of texts, although not necessarily only one group of texts. It is not the case that all texts must be placed solely in one genre. As Alastair Fowler, in his classic work, writes, genre as "a means of classification" is an error, even if "a venerable error". For genres are not mutually exclusive from each other, and when looking at actual texts, it is common to find that they overlap with others. "When we assign a work to a generic type, we do not suppose that all its characteristic traits need be shared by every other embodiment of the type. In particular, new works in the genre may contribute additional characteristics."[175] By exploring those generic intersections, we can delve more deeply into understanding how the text functions. Genres, in this way, are means by which an author can communicate expectations to a reader, to guide them in their reading process. As Carol Newsom has written, genres are "contracts between writers and readers, laying out

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[174]For a recent exploration of the various genres in which patristic exegesis of the Bible took place, see Miriam and DeCock, and Elizabeth Klein, eds. *Patristic Exegesis in Context: Exploring the Genres of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2023).

[175]Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 37,38.

common expectations for what the text in question is intended to do and what means it is likely to use".[176] This is certainly the case with *De adoratione*, and one dimension of its importance as a patristic text is that it does not fit solely within one generic group. Instead it shares some characteristics with the different genres of dialogue and questions-and-responses, as well as biblical commentary and moral exhortation. As we look at genre, then, we can consider the nods that Cyril gives to his readers in the preface and the opening sentences of *De adoratione*.

## Dialogue

That Cyril is self-consciously writing a dialogue,[177] and also wanting his readers to know as much, is clear from the first words of Book 1.

> *CYRIL:* It would, I suppose, be superfluous to ask where you have come from and where you are going, since I am sure you would say without hesitation that you have come from home and are on your way to our place.
>
> *PALLADIUS:* True.
>
> *CYRIL:* What is this little book you have in hand?
>
> *PALLADIUS:* A Gospel book, a writing of Matthew and John.[178]

The exchange intentionally echoes the opening of Plato's *Phaedrus,* in which Socrates also asks Phaedrus "where have you come from and where are you going",[179] only to a little while later ask him what book he is holding in his left hand under his cloak.[180] Choosing to open his work with an obvious nod to a famous dialogue is a clear indication of genre. But is Cyril alluding to any overlap in theme with the *Phaedrus* as well? Villani, who also notes the Phaedrus resonances, is no doubt right in saying "Kyrill bedient sich gern der Form klassischer Vorbilder, distanziert sich aber vom Inhalt".[181] She quotes Lionel Wickham to the

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[176]Carol A. Newsom, "Rhetorical Criticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 199. Quoted in Molly M Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 131, no. 2 (2012), 276.

[177]Alberto Rigolio begins his entry on *De adoratione* by calling it an "extensive dialogue". Rigolio, *Christians in Conversation*, 141–43. Averil Cameron calls *De adoratione* a "series of dialogues". Averil Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity* (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2014), 49.

[178]PG 68.133A (Book 1). Ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν ἔρεσθαι μὲν δὴ, περιττὸν οἶμαί που. Φαίης γὰρ ἂν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, μελλήσας οὐδὲν, ὡς οἴκοθέν τε καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς. {ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΣ.} Ἀληθές. {ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ.} Δέλτιον δὲ δή σοι τουτὶ τὸ ἐν χεροῖν, ὅ τι; {ΠΑΛΛ.} Βίβλος Εὐαγγελικὴ, Ματθαίου τε καὶ Ἰωάννου συγγραφή.

[179]*Phaed.* 227a... ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν.

[180]*Phaed.* 228d-e.

[181]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 24. "Cyril likes to use the form of classical models, but distances himself from the content." Likewise Cameron finds *De adoratione* is "less convincingly" described as a Platonic dialogue rather than simply as having an Atticizing style. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, 49.

same effect:

> [Cyril] valued the forms, but not the content, of ancient culture, turning his expositions of the Trinity and the Incarnation, for the benefit of refined audiences, lay and clerical, into dialogue and forging thus a tenuous, external link with the traditions of Plato. The foundations of his learning were laid by Christian writers and beyond them he seems to have ventured only little.[182]

If one was pushed to find a thematic connection between the *Phaedrus* and *De adoratione*, the most fruitful place to look might be in Plato's elevation of the power of speech in forming other people, as famously discussed in the *Phaedrus*.[183] For Socrates, dialogue allows interlocutors to craft their speech according to their dialogue partner:

> ... the dialectician chooses a proper soul and plants and sows within it discourse accompanied by knowledge – discourse capable of helping itself as well as the man who planted it, which is not barren but produces seed from which more discourse grows in the character of others.[184]

Cyril obviously has no disdain for the written word, especially the word of Scripture, in contrast with Plato's elevation of the oral word over the spoken in the *Phaedrus*. But by structuring his treatise as a dialogue, Cyril does seek to foster a growth in the character of Palladius and so by extension in his actual readers. That growth is not realised in the characterisation of Palladius, whose responses remain largely the same throughout the dialogue, as I shall show. Rather, the growth is revealed in the successive stages that Cyril leads the discussion in, building on the previous one as he goes forward. One dissimilarity with Plato is that Platonic dialogues are never interested in exegeting an authoritative word, and so the nature of their discourses are in this way distinct from Cyril's. Instead of two partners searching for the truth, throughout *De adoratione*, Palladius functions as "a proxy for the (ideal) reader" in Robin Whelan's phrase describing another of Cyril's dialogues.[185] Palladius is regularly depicted in the process of being educated and growing in understanding. And while there is no final clarity that Palladius explicitly reaches at the end of the work, no dramatic dialogic conclusion, he consistently performs the function of an understanding disciple. In this way, the form of dialogue enables Cyril to present the Scriptures not as the subject of abstract exegesis, but as concrete "moral guidance" in the life of a Christian. But any potential resonance with the *Phaedrus* is not the main point here.

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[182]Lionel R. Wickham, ed. *Cyril of Alexandria: Select Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), xiv.
[183]See *Phaed.* 274c-277a.
[184]*Phaed.* 276e-277a. Cooper (trans.), 553.
[185]Robin Whelan, "Surrogate Fathers: Imaginary Dialogue and Patristic Culture in Late Antiquity," *Early Medieval Europe* 25, no. 1 (2017), 31. Whelan is referring to Cyril's interlocutor Hermias in *Dialogues on the Trinity*.

Instead, as we consider *De adoratione* as a dialogue, we must also consider the common dialogic goal of education and formation. A key reason why Cyril seems to write *De adoratione* as a dialogue is to support his goal of providing moral guidance and leading his readers on the way of life that is in Christ.

In the first instance, the way that the dialogue is structured clearly establishes Cyril as an authoritative figure, apt to teach and exegete the Scriptures. While I have shown that Cyril in the preface stresses his desire to "maintain the distinction between the characters of the dialogue without any confusion,"[186] it is difficult to see how one could confuse the two characters. Palladius is always the disciple, and typically gives short responses to Cyril's long passages of exegesis and exhortation which affirm what Cyril has just said, and which lead him on to a following point. For example, here are the first few comments of Palladius in Book 17, put together.

> PALLADIUS: Thus far, you speak well.
>
> PALLADIUS: It is fitting, and the statement is true.
>
> PALLADIUS: I wish it, how could I not?
>
> PALLADIUS: Now then go where you see fit, for you will bring benefit also very richly.
>
> PALLADIUS: I agree fully.
>
> PALLADIUS: Yes, certainly.
>
> PALLADIUS: You speak correctly.[187]

And so on and so forth. Cyril is always the authority on the subject, and Palladius is his disciple who enquires, affirms, delights, learns and grows in constant subordination to Cyril's teaching.

But the dialogic form also works to open up the reader to participate in this program. With Palladius as the ideal reader, the actual reader is helped themselves by the dialogue in overcoming the significant gap between the Israelite cult and their own contemporary context. As we have seen Cyril put it in his preface, his goal is to bring the Pentateuchal texts under consideration "into the most manifest knowledge" (εἰς ἐμφανεστέραν ἄγοντες γνῶσιν) of his readers. Timothy Becker has written that in the *Dialogues on the Trinity*, "[w]hat Cyril claims is that he is a mystagogue initiating his readers through the Dialogues into his vision of ascent to God," a description we can also give to *De adoratione* as Cyril

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[186] ... προσώπων τῶν ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ἀσύγχυτον τὴν διαφοράν. Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.
[187] PG 68.1061B-1068B (Book 17). P: Ὡς εὖ γε δὴ φής... P: Πρέποι γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος... P: Βουλοίμην ἂν· πῶς γὰρ οὔ;... P: Ἴθι δὴ οὖν ὅποι φίλον· ὀνήσεις γὰρ καὶ μάλα πλουσίως... P: Σύμφημι... P: Καὶ μάλα... P: Ὀρθῶς ἔφης.

employs the dialogic form to guide his readers in participating in the Scriptures.[188] One way this is seen is in the way that Cyril does not instruct Palladius with imperative commands, but rather regularly employs the plural to model to his readers how to receive and participate in the texts under question. In Book 4, for example, Cyril has just quoted at length from 2 Kingdoms 24, in which David chooses the punishment from God of three days of death in the land. In the episode, the angel of God spends a morning of destruction in Israel, encroaching upon Jerusalem at the time of the midday meal. At this point God calls the angel to stop, when he was on the threshing floor of Orna. As a result, David buys the threshing floor from Orna, on which he builds an altar for sacrifice. Cyril commences his reading of the passage, telling Palladius that only "when the time of the holy table was upon us" did death stop. This is the table "from which we eat the bread that is from heaven and life-giving".[189] Jerusalem, in Cyril's reading, is the church, and David is Christ, "for Christ has dwelt among us" and "has delivered us, understood in the person of David".[190] "For since he saw death destroying those on the earth, he became an intercessor for us to the Father. For he brought himself as a gift for us… and 'he became a curse for us'."[191] Cyril then brings his reflections together, further employing the plural:

> And since he himself is the liturgist – for he has become a high priest [Hebrews 6:20] – he also offered himself as the sacrifice, as in the image and type of the threshing ox, and he became the whole burnt offering and peace offering. For in Christ that which divides has been destroyed, and we who were long ago separated and cut off because of sin are entering together through him and also in him to our God and Father, having destroyed that ancient enmity. For He is our peace, as the

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[188]Becker, "Holy Spirit in Cyril," 27. Juliette J. Day writes that in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, a new genre become visible in the literary evidence, that of mystagogical catechesis. She defines this as "a series of lectures on baptism and the eucharist delivered to the newly baptized in the days following their baptism." This genre is typically, she adds, the domain of bishops. While Cyril is concerned with baptism and the eucharist, they are just a part of his larger Christian vision, and as we will see later in this chapter it is not settled that Cyril is yet a bishop when he writes *De adoratione*. Nevertheless, it is possible to see *De adoratione* as a part of the same impulse as catechetical lectures, trying to accomplish broadly the same kind of baptismal catechesis. Juliette Day, "The Bishop as Mystagogical Teacher," in *Teachers in Late Antique Christianity*, ed. Olga Lorgeoux and Maria Munkholt Christensen Peter Gemeinhardt (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 56.

[189]PG 68.289B (Book 3). Ὅτε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐνέστη καιρὸς τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης... ἐφ' ἧ τὸν ἄρτον ἐσθίομεν τὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ζωοποιόν.

[190]PG 68.289C (Book 3). Κατῴκησε γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν Χριστὸς... Ἐξείλετο τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς ἐν προσώπῳ νοούμενος τοῦ Δαβίδ.

[191]PG 68.289C-D (Book 3). Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐθεᾶτο δαπανῶντα τὸν θάνατον τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, παράκλητος γέγονεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα· προσεκόμιζε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν… «καὶ γέγονεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα.»

Scripture says [Ephesians 2:14].[192]

The exposition continues in a similar vein, with Palladius also employing the plural, albeit one from a quotation from Isaiah, in an interjection:

PALLADIUS: True. "For he was wounded for our sins, and was in calamity and ill-treatment" [Isaiah 53:3–5].[193]

In employing this kind of rhetoric, Cyril is using the dialogue not only as a two-way exchange between Cyril and Palladius, but as one that reaches out to his readers seeking to walk the Christian way of life. The dialogue form allows Cyril to engage his readers in this unique way – that David's altar and sacrifice is the altar that "we" approach and eat from. The location of the episode is Jerusalem, but also the church which "we" dwell in, for Christ has dwelt among "us". David's intercession is Christ's intercession to the Father "for us". "We" are the stricken Israelites who have now regained peace in Christ, and Christ is the ox who was wounded "for us".

Cyril's dialogical rhetoric here thus also goes to the heart of his project in *De adoratione* of providing spiritual guidance for his readers through a participatory exegesis. Dialoguing with Palladius allows him to bring the Old Testament "into the most manifest knowledge" of his readers, allowing them to re-cast their own lives in the church as participating in the life of Israel.[194]

## Questions-and-Responses

In his preface to *De adoratione*, Cyril describes his work as one of questions-and-responses, giving reasons for why he has structured the treatise this way.[195]

For since one must speak precisely and attend to extremely subtle thoughts when unfolding the shadow of the law and bringing those things spoken in enigmas into the most manifest knowledge, for this reason it was necessary for the treatise to be

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[192] PG 68.292C-D (Book 3). καὶ ἐπείπερ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἱερουργὸς (γέγονε γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς), καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ θῦμα προσεκόμισεν ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐν εἴδει καὶ τύπῳ τοῦ ἀλοῶντος μόσχου, καὶ γέγονεν ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ εἰρηνικὴ θυσία. Λέλυται γὰρ τὸ μεσολαβοῦν ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ οἱ πάλαι διεστηκότες τε καὶ ἀφωρισμένοι διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν συνεισδυόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐκείνην καταλύσαντες ἔχθραν. Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς.

[193] PG 68.296A (Book 3). P: Ἀληθές. «Ἐτραυματίσθη γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ γέγονεν ἐν κακώσει καὶ ἐν πληγῇ.»

[194] Averil Cameron has suggested that the doxologies which end some of the books in *De adoratione* take away from any attempt at verisimilitude in the dialogue rhetorical form. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, 49, n.62. But Palladius' simplistic responses suggest that Cyril is not necessarily aiming for realism, but for other, pedagogic purposes.

[195] For an overview of the genre see Annalie and Claudio Zamagni Volgers, ed. *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-And-answer Literature in Context* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004); Lorenzo Perrone, "Questions and Responses," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. and Peter W. Martens Blowers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

relaxed by taking the form of a question addressed to us and an answer.[196]

Questions-and-responses, or *erotapokriseis*, is then another genre that *De adoratione* has strong resonances with, and with which Cyril himself identifies the work. And not only in the preface. Villani has argued convincingly that an authentic addition to the title of *De adoratione* is κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν clearly suggesting a genre that Cyril wanted his readers to have in mind.[197] While it was more common to use the word ἐρώτησις, Cyril uses πεῦσις, and the two are essentially synonyms.

Questions-and-responses was a literary genre not uncommon to Christian writing in late antiquity, and so Cyril is writing within a clear tradition.[198] The genre could be employed in a variety of contexts, but among those contexts, commentary on Scripture is prominent. Eusebius of Caesarea (*c*. 260–340) provides the typical example with his *Gospel Questions and Solutions*, with Pseudo-Caesarius' *Questiones et responsiones* (mid-sixth century) another key work representative of the genre.[199] Questions-and-responses was both a genre, and a method of dealing with Scriptural commentary. Lorenzo Perrone writes that questions-and-responses naturally carries within it "a teaching activity," whereby a teacher responds authoritatively to a disciple. Thus, works of the genre pursue "primarily a teaching activity more than a spiritual or pastoral orientation".[200] Cyril stretches this in *De adoratione*, as his teaching is of a spiritual and moral nature, albeit with the clear distinction between disciple and teacher. Perrone acknowledges that the kind of teaching that occurs in questions-and-responses can unfold "with a whole range of different modalities", but that in Scriptural interpretation the proper responses to questions were those which "relied primarily, if not exclusively, on the letter" rather than an allegorical interpretation. But, again, a tight definition must be resisted, and Perrone notes the prevalence of allegorical interpretations in one of the archetypes of the genre for Christians, Philo of Alexandria's (*c*. 20 B.C.–50 A.D.) *Questions on Genesis and Exodus*.[201] It is telling that Philo's work of questions-and-responses concerned the Pentateuch, and also in the fashion of a continuous commentary, a tradition that lasted until Cyril's day. There are two fifth-century works of questions-and-responses that are concerned with the Pentateuch (aside from *De adoratione*). In Greek there is a work from Theodoret of Cyrus, who wrote *Questions on the Octateuch* in the years immediately

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[196]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132. ... ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνάγκη λεπτοεπεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἄγαν ἰσχναῖς προσβάλλειν ἐννοιαῖς διαπτύσσοντες τοῦ νόμου τὴν σκιὰν καὶ εἰς ἐμφανεστέραν ἄγοντες γνῶσιν τὰ ὡς ἐν αἰνίγμασιν εἰρημένα, ταύτητοι καὶ χρειωδέστατα πρὸς πεῦσιν ὥσπερ ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τὸ εἶδος τοῦ λόγου συντέθειται καὶ ἔστιν ἀνειμένον.

[197]Villani, "Some Remarks," 220.

[198]See Perrone, "Questions and Responses."

[199]Eusebius of Caesarea, *Quaestiones ad Stephanum et Marinum*, SC 523. See Yannis Papadogiannakis, "'Encyclopedism' in the Byzantine Question-And-answer Literature: The Case of Pseudo-Kaisarios," in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?*, ed. Peter and Caroline Macé Van Deun (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

[200]Perrone, "Questions and Responses," 199.

[201]Perrone, "Questions and Responses," 199–200.

after the Council of Chalcedon (451).[202] And in Latin there is Augustine of Hippo's (354–430) *Questions on the Heptateuch*, written around the year 419, likely not long after *De adoratione*. Perrone writes that the questions-and-responses method and genre tended to be favoured when treating Scriptural texts that were seen as problematic.[203] The opening dialogue of *De adoratione,* which I will look at closely in Chapter 4, begins indeed with a Scriptural problem of how to interpret the law of Moses. And throughout *De adoratione* Palladius peppers Cyril with questions that are regularly declared to be difficult, requiring much of Cyril to address as he seeks to respond with the right reading of difficult or obscure passages of the Pentateuch.

When Cyril indicates to his readers that they are reading a work of questions-and-responses, these are the kinds of dimensions that Cyril is invoking – that difficulties in the biblical text will be addressed in a didactic context, both raising critiques of the text while also guiding the reader in a right reading of the text. In the questions-and-responses form Cyril is, in part, mounting a defence of the Pentateuch in *De adoratione*. Against readings, like the one Palladius opens with, that would sideline the Pentateuch from the Christian life, Cyril both responds to those critiques and then models a way of considering the text as authoritative and inspired, and also as a text that is rich in providing guidance for the reader's own pursuit of the way of life in Christ.

Alberto Rigolio considers Cyril's dialogues to be very similar to the questions-and-responses genre, even while lacking some of the formal qualities inherent in the genre:

> Other dialogues that do not take the question-and-answer form nonetheless feature the primary and the secondary speakers in a teacher-pupil relationship similar to that of *erotapokriseis*: the instructional nature of these texts indicates particular pedagogic concerns behind their composition and circulation, and it does not necessarily preclude an apologetic character in their subject matter, as is shown by the dialogues by Cyril of Alexandria and by the Syriac Book of the Laws of the Countries.[204]

That Cyril identifies the work as being κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν has to go some way in identifying the work as such, even if it does not fit the generic definition employed by all

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[202]Theodoret of Cyrus, *Quaest.* John Petruccione surmises that the depth of scriptural knowledge Theodoret presumes upon suggests he is addressing clerics, but nevertheless in part for the purpose of catechesis of the laity. See John M. Petruccione, "The Audience of Theodoret's *Questions on the Octateuch*," in *La Littérature Des Questions Et Réponses Dans L'antiquité Profane Et Chrétienne: De L'enseignement À L'exégèse*, ed. Bussières (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

[203]Perrone, "Questions and Responses," 199.

[204]Rigolio, *Christians in Conversation*, 23.

scholars today.[205] Nevertheless, as I observed at the beginning of our discussion on genre, new works can develop a genre in new directions. If considering *De adoratione* as a dialogue, one has to note the asymmetry of the characters who are acting out a moment of teaching. If considered as questions-and-responses, one must note the aspects of character among the interlocutors and the dimension of moral and spiritual guidance at play. Or, considered together, a hybrid genre of dialogical questions-and-responses is not out of the question.

### *De adoratione* Genres

But as I noted, the goal of genre analysis is not necessarily to identify a text with just one genre. That Cyril makes his readers aware both of the dialogue and questions-and-responses genres can be two realities that can sit together. Some readers of *De adoratione* have sought to bring these two dimensions together. Lee Blackburn, drawing on the classifications of Dorothea Weber, has suggested the genre of "didactic dialogue."[206] Weber defines this genre as a "halfway" form in late antique dialogues between the more Platonic philosophical-theological dialogue, and the controversy dialogue which is more of a departure from ancient models. According to Weber, the philosophical-theological dialogue has a more "carefully weighted distribution of roles", whereas the controversy dialogue does not seek to harmonize apparently divergent viewpoints but rather seeks victory for the orthodox Christian disputant. The "didactic dialogue" sits halfway between because its subjects do not necessarily represent opposing positions, and so resemble those of a philosophical-theological dialogue, but, in resemblance of the controversy dialogue, one of the dialogue partners "knows 'the truth' from the outset, while the other achieves full understanding only at the end." Weber says that this form is also "halfway" between the dialogue and questions-and-responses form.[207] With reference to *De adoratione,* Rigolio has recently acknowledged that calling it a "didactic dialogue" addresses some of the difficulties in classification, but has also suggested that "the relation between the form of the dialogue and Cyril's exegetical principles calls for further analysis."[208] Considering the work as "didactic dialogue" has merit, but it does run the risk of creating a narrower classification than is

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[205]See Caroline Macé's comments that would exclude *De adoratione* from the genre: "The genre of questions-and-answers in Greek Christian literature is easier to understand if one defines it as a series of questions-and-answers, presented as such (and not as letters or dialogues, for example) dealing with a large variety of topics, which cannot be reduced to one single category of contents (biblical exegesis or scientific explanations, for example)." Caroline Macé, "Pseudo-Césaire, Anastase, Pseudo-Athanase : Quelques Réflexions Sur Les Collections De Questions-Et-réponses Dans La Littérature Grecque Chrétienne," *SHS Web of Conferences 22* Les séries de problèmes, un genre au carrefour des cultures : une première synthèse (2015).

[206]Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 33.

[207]Dorothea Weber, "Dialogue," in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1998), 168–69. See Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 33; Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 20f.

[208]Rigolio, *Christians in Conversation*, 143.

necessary. That Cyril alludes to both the dialogue and questions-and-answers genres is not necessarily a problem awaiting harmonization. *De adoratione* shows experimentation with genres, employing a stylised, Platonic opening, with a master-pupil dialogue, with Cyril both responding to Palladius' questions, and also posing questions of his own, all according to a structure which Cyril himself directs. Through the use of dialogue and questions-and-responses, the work leads the reader on a journey of moral guidance, drawing the reader into Christian virtue, and provoking growth in the Christian way of life. Moreover, as a text which looks especially at the Pentateuch, it has clear resonances with the questions-and-answers genre, seeking to understand difficult texts concerning worship according to the law. Both genres are at play, and both fit with Cyril's goals in *De adoratione*.

Nor do these two genres exhaust the possible resonances in *De adoratione*. In the next section, as I look at the structure of *De adoratione*, we will also consider how *De adoratione* both is, and is not, like a biblical commentary, through an analysis of a complementary work, the *Glaphyra*. And we can mention here one other work from late antiquity that also bears similarities to the three genres of commentary, dialogue and questions-and-answers. Porphyry's (*c.* 234–*c.* 305) *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* is, obviously, a work seeking to comment on a prior text. And its full title indicates that it is a work of questions-and-answers (Εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους Κατηγορίας κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν).[209] The text indeed is divided up into what an unnamed questioner asks and the responses of an unnamed answerer. But the back-and-forth between the pupil and master also has dialogic aspects. The modern translator can refer to one exchange as "perhaps the only instance of real dramatisation in the dialogue", which rightly implies less dramatic dialogic exchanges throughout.[210] And at least one paper has been written on the dialogic dimensions of the text, comparing it to Plato's dialogues in particular.[211] A follower of Porphyry's, one Dexippus (*fl.* 350), also wrote a *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* that is partially extant. Dexippus follows Porphyry in content, but also in genre, combining dialogue, questions-and-answers, and commentary. John Dillon writes that "the origins of this form of commentary are obscure", combining both the questions-and-answers commentary seen in Philo's *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus*, and the philosophical dialogue tradition. But Dillon describes this kind of "catechetical" commentary as originating with Porphyry, even if Dexippus "makes considerable more effort to give his work literary form than does Porphyry".[212] For our purposes, this shows that the combination of these three

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[209]Porphyry, *Comm. Ar.*, 55.

[210]Steven K. Strange, *Porphyry: On Aristotle Categories* (London: Bloomsbury, 1992), 104.

[211]Goncharko Yu. and Dmitry N. Goncharko Oksana, "The Dialogue *on Aristotle Categories* By Porphyry as a Platonic Dialogue," *ΣΧΟΛΗ* 13, no. 1 (2019).

[212]John Dillon, *Dexippus: On Aristotle Categories* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1990), 8–9.

genres – dialogue, questions-and-answers, and commentary – is present in works earlier than *De adoratione* even if it is a rarer combination.

Finally, there is also the genre of paraenesis or moral exhortation to consider. When he refers to *De adoratione* in the *Glaphyra* – a work we are about to turn to – he describes it as a work of "moral exhortation" (τὴν ἠθικὴν παραίνεσιν).[213] As Clarence Glad writes, while the genre can be broad, in a patristic context it typically concerned exhortation in a "post-baptismal or post-conversion instructional setting."[214] Certainly those are the kinds of readers Cyril has in mind. As he put it in his preface, he has written his work of moral guidance for "those who have chosen to live their life in the most excellent way".[215] By calling the work one of exhortation, Cyril is also flagging it as one of Christian instruction.

Bogdan Bucur has written: "Early Christians understood Scripture as divine revelation, dispensed pedagogically and designed for mystical appropriation."[216] Such is the way that Cyril approaches the Pentateuch in *De adoratione.* He composes a work of biblical exegesis that employs a pedagogical questions-and-answers style, along with a dialogic form that leads the reader in personal appropriation of the text, all while being a work also of moral exhortation, aimed at Christians seeking maturity.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF DE ADORATIONE TO THE GLAPHYRA

As a way of entering into consideration of *De adoratione*'s structure, I will here compare it with Cyril's other work of Pentateuchal exegesis, the *Glaphyra*. The question of the relationship between the two works is interesting in itself, but it will also help us to see what *De adoratione* is and what it is not. The two works have sometimes been described by scholars as commentaries on the Pentateuch,[217] although most have stopped short of calling *De adoratione* a commentary in any conventional sense.[218] And they are right to do so. While there is some merit in considering the genre of commentary especially when looking at both

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[213]PG 69.385B.

[214]Clarence E Glad, "The Rhetoric of Moral Exhortation in Clement's *Pedagogue*," in *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context*, ed. James and Troels Engberg-Pedersen Starr (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 433. See especially the introductory essays in the volume for discussion on the nature of the paraenetic genre.

[215]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132. Translation from Crawford, "The Preface," 159.

[216]Bogdan Gabriel Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned: Christophanic Exegesis and the Making of a Christian Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 4.

[217]Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, 69,76,79. See also Hillis, "Introduction," 4.

[218]Elliott and Villani are two examples. Elliott: "It might require special pleading to include [*De adoratione*] as belonging properly among [Cyril's] commentaries as Robert Wilken would suggest, since it is rather a treatise on various questions which then find their answers by a quotation from Scripture or three, and then a following interpretation." Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 245. Villani: "These writings were sometimes, especially in the past, classified by scholars as exegetical commentaries, but this classification is not wholly justified as they are far from being systematic interpretations of the bible like for example verse-by-verse exegesis." Barbara Villani, "Creation of the Universe and Creation of Man in Cyril of Alexandria's Early Works on the Pentateuch," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 26, no. 1 (2022), 146–47.

*De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra* together, a close look at their structure reveals that something else is going on, and that in the case of *De adoratione* Cyril is not so much seeking to equip the reader with commentary on the Pentateuch, as lead them to see their own lives in Israel's cult, reframed and adapted for their own spiritual growth.

Some scholars have considered that in both *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra* Cyril refers to the other work, thus showing that he was writing them, or at least composing them, concurrently. Georges Jouassard gave two passages in *De adoratione* where he considered that Cyril explicitly deferred a particular exegesis to a later date as evidence that he was referring to the *Glaphyra*.[219] Barbara Villani has rightly pointed out that both passages refer to texts that are taken up later in *De adoratione* itself, and so are not references to the *Glaphyra*.[220] Nevertheless, Villani does think – following Rober Louis Wilken – that in one passage in *De adoratione* dealing with Numbers 15:17–21 Cyril is indeed referring to the *Glaphyra* when he defers his discussion to a later time.[221] This is plausible, as Numbers 15:17–21 is taken up in the *Glaphyra* and not again in *De adoratione*.[222] But the fact that other deferrals of discussions in *De adoratione* refer to a later place in the same work needs to be considered. And, in the passage under focus, while Cyril has quoted Numbers 15:17–21, he has also just quoted Leviticus 24:5–9, both of which concern the bread offering. And the bread offering is indeed a subject that Cyril raises later in the work when discussing Leviticus 23:17–21.[223] It seems more likely he is deferring to later in *De adoratione* than referring to a new unnamed work. Consideration must also be given to the fact that when Cyril refers to *De adoratione* in the *Glaphyra*, he expicitly names the treatise, whereas there are no references in *De adoratione* to the *Glaphyra* by name.[224] For these reasons, it seems premature to conclude that in this one passage of *De adoratione* Cyril is obliquely directing the reader to a different work of his. My argument that the *Glaphyra* is a secondary work, and a derivative one at that, does not depend on Cyril including no reference to it in *De adoratione*, but the fact that Cyril never mentions the treatise explicitly, much less by name, indicates that it was not in his mind.

While there are no explicit references to the *Glaphyra* in *De adoratione*, Cyril does refer to *De adoratione* in the text of the *Glaphyra*. At the beginning of Book 8 of the *Glaphyra*, as he commences his commentary on Exodus, Cyril refers to his earlier work *De adoratione*. He clearly refers back to an earlier time, in the perfect tense, "when we composed

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[219]Jouassard, "L'Activité Littéraire," 161. The references Jouassard lists are PG 68.512 (Book 7) and PG 68.625 (Book 9).

[220]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 13.

[221]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 13; Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, 69. The text in question is PG 68.605B (Book 9).

[222]See PG 69.617C-Dff.

[223]See PG 68.1097B-1100C (Book 17).

[224]See PG 69.16B, 537D.

[συντεθεικόσιν] our moral exhortation [i.e., *De adoratione*]." As he mentions his process of writing *De adoratione*, he also mentions the significance of the Pentateuch:

> For having delineated each of the topics [κεφαλαίων] that comprise the five books of Moses, and having first carefully considered the matter in them intended for contemplation, we gathered together at the right moment those things in some way necessary for moral guidance and things that were especially profitable, in what I would say was the most appropriate order for each matter.[225]

In this summary, Cyril describes a writing process for *De adoratione* that draws topics (κεφάλαια) from the Pentateuch and arranges them in a new order with the goal of moral guidance, reiterating the "moral guidance" (ἠθικὴν ὑφήγησιν) of *De adoratione*'s preface.[226] While the Gospels did have established κεφάλαια in the patristic era,[227] Cyril here describes a process of doing something similar for the Pentateuch. While he is not here seeking to devise a paratextual system of segmentation like the Gospel κεφάλαια, he is nevertheless seeking to demarcate textual pericopes according to theme. The suggestion is not that he was working from established Pentateuch κεφάλαια but that he was himself constructing them (ἀποδιαιρέω). The text of *De adoratione* indicates that these κεφάλαια were constructed according to similar topics that can be found across especially the Pentateuchal books. So, for example, when discussing the Levitical priesthood in Book 13, Cyril comes to talk about how priests and Levites were not given an allotment of land, but rather the tithe and offerings. Cyril quotes both Numbers 18:20–24 and Deuteronomy 18:1–5 as passages that are on the same topic, "having repeated, as it were, the same word" (τὸν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἀνακυκλώσας λόγον).[228] Or, to take another example, in Book 5 Cyril writes on how a Christian's resolve must not deviate. He exegetes two texts, Deuteronomy 20:1–8 and most of Numbers 13, which concern somewhat different matters – laws concerning warfare and spies sent into Canaan respectively – but which Cyril unites under his topic of the need for single-mindedness and the rejection of cowardice.[229] According to Cyril's description of his compositional method, he had been at work first collating these κεφάλαια, studying the Pentateuch in order to bring common themes together. And then after he had done this, he arranged the κεφάλαια in a particular order that he considered most profitable for a work of

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[225]PG 69.385B-388A. Ἀποδιελόντες γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν ἐγκειμένων κεφαλαίων τοῖς πέντε Μωσέως βίβλοις, καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρίας τὸν σκοπὸν εὖ μάλα προαθρήσαντες, τὰ μὲν ὅσα ταῖς ἠθικαῖς ὑφηγήσεσιν ἀναγκαῖά πως ἦν καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα χρειωδέστατα, συντεθείκαμεν ἐπὶ καιροῦ, καὶ ὡς ἐν τάξει δὴ λέγω τῇ ἑκάστῳ πρεπωδεστάτῃ. Translation adjusted from Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 3.

[226]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.

[227]For a recent treatment of the κεφάλαιον in patristic writings, see Charles E. Hill, *The First Chapters: Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 42–50.

[228]PG 68.861A-C (Book 13).

[229]PG 68.369A-376A (Book 5).

moral guidance.

## Scripture Re-Envisioned

As we are considering questions of genre, the category of "rewritten Scripture" suggests itself according to Cyril's own designation here. This term comes from discussions of the literature of Qumran in the Second Temple period. Whether "rewritten Scripture" is actually a genre or more of a procedure or technique is a matter for ongoing debate, and is not immediately relevant to us here.[230] For our purposes, "rewritten Scripture" is a way of describing texts that re-order canonical Scriptural texts for a different purpose. Among "rewritten Scripture" texts there is not necessarily a common form, other than that they comprise re-ordered texts. As Molly Zahn has put it: "In effect, [the label "rewritten"] is based on a judgment about the compositional history of a work rather than directly on formal features of the work itself."[231] Given that we have just seen Cyril describing in the *Glaphyra* his compositional technique for *De adoratione* as re-ordering Pentateuchal texts first thematically, and then according to his chosen goal of moral guidance, *De adoratione* clearly has common characteristics with "rewritten Scripture". Some scholars consider that rewritten Scripture is not a category confined only to the Second Temple Period, but can be extended also to the patristic era. Richard Zaleski has recently made the case that "[t]he way that Gregory [of Nyssa] retells the biblical narrative has much in common with rewritten scripture."[232] This is because Gregory "interweaves multiple scriptural passages into a new narrative based on thematic connections between texts".[233] That retelling of the biblical narrative is something that *De adoratione* shares in common with the *Life of Moses*, and so it is no stretch to see the two texts as sharing broadly a family resemblance we might call rewritten Scripture.

But there are also dissimilarities. Within scholarship on rewritten Scripture there are debates about whether works of rewritten Scripture seek to replace or supplement their originals. In her discussion of the "so-called replacement issue", Zahn distinguishes between scholars who argue that rewritten texts "were intended to usurp the authority and essentially take the place of their base texts" and scholars arguing "that the rewritten text was meant simply as a complement to the older text".[234] The very existence of such a debate

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[230]For a paper that clearly demarcates the issues at stake, see Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture."
[231]Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture," 275. See also Zahn's more recent book, Molly M Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
[232]Richard A. Zaleski, "Moses's Damascus Road Theophany: Rewriting Scripture in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 26, no. 2 (2018), 274.
[233]Zaleski, "Moses's Damascus Road Theophany: Rewriting Scripture in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*," 250–51.
[234]Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting*, 200.

among scholars of rewritten Scripture reveals a distance from Cyril (and Gregory) who is clearly not trying to replace the text of the Pentateuch. Instead, he wishes to re-structure it for a purpose, using pastiches of texts to guide the reader in a particular direction of moral guidance, framed also as an enactment of right worship. Bogdan Bucur has recently addressed whether patristic texts can be rightly called rewritten Scripture.[235] While in his earlier writings Bucur had employed this term, he has written of the problems in employing a term from the Second Temple period, and the freight that that brings. Bucur writes that patristic exegetes did not so much wish to re-write the Bible in a way that would compete with the Biblical text or at least seek to blur the distinction. They did not want to "upgrade" the Biblical text, but rather, especially for accounts that included theophanic dimensions – which I will explore in Chapter 3 in reference to *De adoratione* –, they sought to find a reading "more ancient", since the pre-Incarnate Logos predates the figures of the Old Testament.[236] Patristic exegetes were not seeking to constitute new texts, then, so much as offer readings of existing texts that were new, but also more original. And this is clearly the case for Cyril. The reverence that he has for the biblical text is such that it is impossible to imagine he wishes to enhance or supplant the Pentateuch. Instead his project is one of revealing what is going on "in truth". Returning to Bucur, just as the disciples on the road to Emmaus only retrospectively had it revealed to them that Christ had been with them all along, opening their eyes to discerning Christ "in all the Scriptures" (Luke 24:27), so too the patristic exegetical method that Bucur seeks to provide resources for was one in which the exegetes would reveal the presence of Christ retrospectively in the Old Testament.[237] Bucur instead proposes considering patristic works as "re-envisioned Scripture", a suggestion that I want to take up with *De adoratione.* What rewritten Scripture could seek to supplant, re-envisioned Scripture seeks to look at in a new light, or in Cyril's understanding "in Spirit and truth". Conceiving of *De adoratione* as re-envisioned Scripture allows us to see that the κεφάλαια that Cyril has divided up the Pentateuch into, and the order that he has then given them as described in the *Glaphyra*, is in order to illuminate rather than replace the Pentateuch text. The preponderance of New Testament texts in *De adoratione* that I have already noted and will have recourse to examine further, shows that Cyril is seeking to read the Pentateuch in a way that corresponds to the revelation of the New Testament. As we have already noted, Christ's words that "Moses wrote of me" (John 5:46) are regularly quoted in *De adoratione*.[238] "Moses" here is both for the author of the fourth gospel and for Cyril a reference to the whole of the Pentateuch, which is the raw material for *De adoratione*. Cyril certainly wants to re-contextualise the Pentateuch as attesting to Christ, opening it up to his Christian readers

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[235]See Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned*.
[236]Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned*, 270.
[237]Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned*, 6–41.
[238]PG 68.140C (Book 1), 220D (Book 2), 233A (Book 2), 260B (Book 2), 653C-D (Book 10).

seeking to grow in virtue and holiness, but he does not consider this a work of effacing the text. "[The law] itself also proclaims the High Priest and Apostle of our confession, according to the Scriptures."[239] Cyril even uses terminology similar to "re-envisioned". Just after his first programmatic quotation of John 5:46, Cyril writes that he considers his task in *De adoratione* to be a "remaking" (μεταπλασμός) of the law, an alteration of what existed in types into what is true (μεταχάραξιν τῶν ἐν τύποις ἐπὶ τὸ ἀληθές).[240]

So, coming back now to the relationship of *De adoratione* to the *Glaphyra*, we can see that by Cyril's own terms, *De adoratione* had a different compositional process that he deemed worthy of mentioning in the *Glaphyra*. The κεφάλαια and the goal of moral exhortation in particular are what Cyril wants to draw attention to as he distinguishes *De adoratione* from the *Glaphyra*. And, as we look into the texts themselves, it is soon evident that the works are structured differently.

The following table is long, but important in considering *De adoratione* in comparison with the *Glaphyra,* including seeing *De adoratione* as a work of re-envisioned Scripture. While both works are full of Scriptural quotations, in the following table I have included only those texts from the Pentateuch that Cyril explicitly quotes as subjects for his exegesis in both works. Occasionally that means that Cyril is referring to a wider pericope or κεφάλαια even if he only explicitly quote the verses listed here. While in *De adoratione* I have tended to list a range of columns to highlight not just the quotation but the discussion of the text also (which is not always straightforward), for the *Glaphyra* I have referenced simply the column number of the quotation. Following this table I will be able to make some important arguments about the kind of work *De adoratione* is.

**Table 2: *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra* Pentateuch pericopes compared**

| | Pericope | De adoratione | Glaphyra |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Genesis** | | (Book Number: PG 68 column) | (Book Number:[241] PG 69 column) |
| **1** | Genesis 1:9 | | 1:17 |
| | Genesis 1:14–17 | | 1:17 |

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[239]PG 68.492B (Book 7). Διακηρύττει γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς. Cyril is referring to Hebrews 3:1, "Therefore, holy brothers, you who share in a heavenly calling, consider Jesus, the Apostle and High Priest of our confession."

[240]PG 68.140C (Book 1). Zaganas notes that μεταπλασμός and μεταχάραξιν are often used in the negative sense, to change something in a way that degrades. But here Cyril uses them in a positive way. Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 114.

[241]The *Glaphyra* is divided into five sections for each book of the Pentateuch. Within those section divisions, 7 books are given to Genesis, 3 to Exodus, and then one each for Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. To emphasise the sequential way in which Cyril addresses the texts in the *Glaphyra* (in contrast to *De adoratione*), and for the sake of simplicity, I have numbered those books 1–13. In doing so I am keeping with the way Nicholas Lunn has numbered the books in his translation.

| 2 | Genesis 2:7, 16–17 | | 1:20 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Genesis 2:16–17 | | 1:20 |
| 3 | Genesis 3:16–17 | | 1:21 |
| 4 | Genesis 4:1–16 | | 1:32–33 |
| | Genesis 4:17–19, 23–24 | | 1:44–45 |
| | Genesis 4:25 | | 1:44 |
| | Genesis 4:26 | | 1:45, 1:48, 2:49 |
| 5 | Genesis 5:1 | | 1:37 |
| | Genesis 5:3 | | 1:44 |
| | Genesis 5:6 | | 1:45 |
| | Genesis 5:8–18 | | 1:45 |
| | Genesis 5:29,32 | | 2:52 |
| 6 | Genesis 6:1–4 | | 2:52 |
| | Genesis 6:5–20 | | 2:56 |
| 7 | Genesis 7:2 | | 2:57 |
| | Genesis 7:7–9 | | 2:68 |
| 8 | Genesis 8:4–12 | | 2:57 |
| | Genesis 8:20–22 | | 2:57, 2:72–73 |
| 9 | Genesis 9:1–2 | | 2:57, 2:73 |
| | Genesis 9:18–27 | | 2:73–76 |
| 10 | | | |
| 11 | Genesis 11:1–4 | | 2:77 |
| 12 | Genesis 12:1–7 | 1:165–169 | |
| | Genesis 12:10–17 | 1:149–156 | |
| 13 | Genesis 13:1–4 | 1:184–185 | |
| 14 | Genesis 14:13–15:5 | 4:352–357 | |
| | Genesis 14:17–20 | | 2:84 |
| | Genesis 14:21–23 | | 2:105 |
| 15 | Genesis 15:1–6 | | 3:116 |
| | Genesis 15:7–8 | | 3:124 |
| | Genesis 15:7–17 | | 3:117–120 |
| 16 | Genesis 16:7–9 | | 3:121 |
| | Genesis 16:8–9 | | 3:132 |
| 17 | | | |
| | Genesis 17:9–14 | 14:940–944 | 3:121 |
| | Genesis 17:10,14 | | 3:133 |
| 18 | Genesis 18:1–5 | 14:940–944 | |
| 19 | Genesis 19:1–4 | 1:169–184 | |
| 20 | | | |

| 21 | Genesis 21:9–20 | | 3:121–124 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Genesis 22:1–3 | | 3:137 |
| | Genesis 22:4–13 | | 3:137 |
| | Genesis 22:17,18 | | 3:153 |
| 23 | | | |
| 24 | Genesis 24:1–4, 14 | | 3:148–149 |
| | Genesis 24:67 | | 3:152 |
| 25 | Genesis 25:19–34 | | 3:153 |
| 26 | Genesis 26:32–33 | | 4:185 |
| 27 | Genesis 27:1–40 | | 3:165–168 |
| | Genesis 27:11 | | 3:157 |
| | Genesis 27:41–46 | | 4:180 |
| 28 | Genesis 28:1–4 | | 4:180–181 |
| | Genesis 28:10–19 | | 4:185 |
| 29 | Genesis 29:1–14 | | 4:192–193 |
| | Genesis 29:15–30 | | 4:201–204 |
| 30 | Genesis 30:14–16,22–24 | | 4:212 |
| | Genesis 30:25–26,29–36 | | 5:228–229 |
| | Genesis 30:37–43 | | 5:237 |
| | Genesis 30:43–31:1 | | 5:244 |
| 31 | Genesis 30:43–31:9 | | 5:244 |
| | Genesis 31:10–12 | | 5:237 |
| | Genesis 31:14–16 | | 5:245 |
| | Genesis 31:17–25,30–35 | | 5:248 |
| | Genesis 31:43–50 | | 5:249 |
| 32 | Genesis 32:1–2 | | 5:252 |
| | Genesis 32:3–12 | | 5:256 |
| | Genesis 32:23–31 | | 5:268 |
| 33 | Genesis 33:4 | | 5:257 |
| | Genesis 33:17 | | 5:277 |
| | Genesis 33:18 | | 5:280 |
| | Genesis 33:18–34:3 | 14:900–904 | |
| 34 | Genesis 34:30 | | 5:280 |
| 35 | Genesis 35:1–4 | | 5:281 |
| | Genesis 35:14–15 | | 5:281 |
| | Genesis 35:16–18 | | 4:212–213 |
| 36 | | | |
| 37 | Genesis 37:2–4 | | 6:285 |
| | Genesis 37:6–8 | | 6:289 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Genesis 37:9–11 | | 6:292 |
| | Genesis 37:13–14,19–24 | | 6:292–293 |
| | Genesis 37:24 | | 6:305 |
| | Genesis 37:25–35 | | 6:293 |
| **38** | Genesis 38:1–7 | | 6:308–309 |
| | Genesis 38:9–18 | | 6:309 |
| | Genesis 38:24–30 | | 6:312 |
| **39** | Genesis 39:6–15 | 14:945–948 | |
| | Genesis 39:21 | | 6:321 |
| **40** | | | |
| **41** | | | |
| **42** | | | |
| **43** | | | |
| **44** | | | |
| **45** | Genesis 45:17–20 | 1:160–165 | |
| **46** | | | |
| **47** | | | |
| **48** | Genesis 48:1–7 | | 6:325–328 |
| | Genesis 48:8–16 | | 6:332 |
| | Genesis 48:19–20 | | 6:333 |
| **49** | Genesis 49:1–4 | | 7:336–337 |
| | Genesis 49:5–7 | | 7:341 |
| | Genesis 49:8–12 | | 7:349 |
| | Genesis 49:13 | | 7:356 |
| | Genesis 49:14–15 | | 7:360 |
| | Genesis 49:16–18 | | 7:361 |
| | Genesis 49:19 | | 7:365 |
| | Genesis 49:20 | | 7:368 |
| | Genesis 49:21 | | 7:369 |
| | Genesis 49:22–26 | | 7:376 |
| | Genesis 49:27 | | 7:381 |
| **50** | | | |
| **Exodus** | | | |
| **1** | Exodus 1:7 | | 8:388 |
| | Exodus 1:11,22 | | 8:388–389 |
| | Exodus 1:11–22 | 4:301–309 | |
| **2** | Exodus 2:1–10 | | 8:392 |
| | Exodus 2:11–22 | | 8:400 |
| | Exodus 2:23–25 | | 8:412 |

| 3 | Exodus 3:1–5 | 14:937–940 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Exodus 3:2–5 | 2:232–240 | |
| | Exodus 3:1–6 | | 8:412–413 |
| | Exodus 3:6 | | 9:468 |
| | Exodus 3:7–11 | 2:240–249 | |
| 4 | Exodus 4:1–4 | 2:240–249 | |
| | Exodus 4:1–5 | | 9:469 |
| | Exodus 4:6–7 | 2:240–249 | |
| | Exodus 4:6–7 | | 9:472 |
| | Exodus 4:8–9 | 2:240–249 | |
| | Exodus 4:9 | | 9:476–477 |
| | Exodus 4:10–13 | 2:249–256 | |
| | Exodus 4:19,13 | | 9:480 |
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Considering this table, let us first turn our attention to the pericopes exegeted in the *Glaphyra*. The texts that Cyril exegetes clearly follow the order in which they appear in the Pentateuch. Numbers 11 and Exodus 32 are two exceptions, but they are exceptions that prove the rule. Throughout the thirteen books of the *Glaphyra* Cyril seeks to work through the Pentateuch in order.

But the coverage of the Pentateuch is not uniform. Genesis, for example, is disproportionally represented, taking up more than half of the *Glaphyra.* And then there are large gaps. Considering now *De adoratione* and its pericopes in the parallel column, it is clear that there is a complementary relationship between the two works. Pericopes that are not addressed in one work are addressed in the other. Examples abound, but to take just two, the *Glaphyra* in Book 1 skips over Genesis 18–20, which includes the judgement of Sodom. That κεφάλαια, however, had already been addressed by Cyril in *De adoratione*, with exegeses of pericopes from Genesis 18 and 19 in Books 14 and 1. Genesis 20, however, is commented on in neither work. While in the two works Cyril has in mind a broad, largely non-overlapping coverage of the Pentateuch, he is not committed to quoting every chapter

or verse. Then, to take a second example, consider Deuteronomy. The *Glaphyra* on Deuteronomy, Book 13, is a relatively short work, comprising 17 columns in the *PG* edition. And the pericopes are wholly ones that fill in the gaps of what was not covered in *De adoratione*. Cyril is not averse to duplicating his treatment of pericopes in both texts, but the exceptions, again, prove the rule. As is shown in the *Glaphyra* on Deuteronomy, the *Glaphyra*'s treatment – and non-treatment – of texts can only be properly understood with reference to *De adoratione*.

But the opposite is not the case. Table 2 alone suggests it is more plausible for a text like the *Glaphyra* – which works through the Pentateuch texts in the order that they are given – to address pericopes skipped over in a work like *De adoratione* that has a non-sequential approach to exegeting Pentateuch pericopes. In other words, *De adoratione* was written first and can be understood on its own terms, without reference to the *Glaphyra*. And this is the way that Cyril himself describes his texts.

In the same paragraph of the *Glaphyra* that referenced κεφάλαια in the quotation above, Cyril describes *De adoratione* as a work in which he sought "to show how we are to understand the manner of worship in spirit and truth".[242] In contrast to this description of *De adoratione*, Cyril is nevertheless happy to describe the *Glaphyra* as a commentary on the Pentateuch in the opening paragraphs of that work:

> So we now begin our comments [γλαφυρωτέρων] upon Genesis, and [henceforward thus] make our way through the five books of Moses in order.[243]

So while Pentateuchal κεφάλαια feature in Cyril's exegesis in *De adoratione*, the work is not concerned with the five books of Moses in the same way that the *Glaphyra* is. Rather, Cyril says that for *De adoratione* he has used the Pentateuch to find "things that were especially profitable" for his task of "moral guidance". And, in *De adoratione*, he has put these passages from the Pentateuch together in the order "most appropriate" for each matter. This is essentially the point made by Cyril again at the beginning of the *Glaphyra*.

> And at this point one ought to be aware that since we have composed seventeen books on the theme "Concerning Worship and Service in Spirit and in Truth," and assembled a considerable mass of thoughts in them, we have deliberately omitted the topics [κεφάλαια] covered there from the present work and have included what was left unexamined [ἀβασάνιστα], though for necessary reasons it sometimes happens

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[242] PG 69.385B... καταδεικνύειν... τίς ἂν νοοῖτο πρὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῆς ἐν πνεύματί τε καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνήσεως τρόπος. Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 3.

[243] PG 69.16B. Ἀρξόμεθα τοίνυν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ Γενέσει γλαφυρωτέρων· οὕτω τε λοιπὸν ἐφεξῆς τὰ πέντε Μωσέως δραμόντες βιβλία. Translation adjusted from Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 1, 52. It is difficult to translate γλαφυρωτέρων, which literally means something like "more refined" or "more subtle". Lacking a noun, it is here a substantival, and so could also be translated as "more refined comments" or "discriminating commentary".

that mention is made of some of the same things.[244]

Cyril is here saying that the *Glaphyra* was composed after *De adoratione* and is a work concerned with the topics "left unexamined" in *De adoratione.* He feels it necessary at the outset to draw the readers attention to *De adoratione*, and to describe the *Glaphyra* with reference to it. Appropriate to this purpose, the *Glaphyra* has a more clearly lemmatic commentary structure, working through what was left unexamined "in order". While in *De adoratione* Cyril structured his text in a way appropriate to the topic or matter at hand, the *Glaphyra* is a more straightforward treatment of the remaining texts, working through them in order. Villani has rightly identified that the "topics which are omitted in *De adoratione* should therefore be dealt with in the *Glaphyra*" according to Cyril's descriptions. The *Glaphyra* is a "complementary extension" to *De adoratione*. But there is a greater difference in structure between the two works than is necessarily suggested by the following sentence: "Cyril nevertheless abandons the dialogue form for the subsequent work *Glaphyra*, retaining, however, the former structure by commenting on chosen parts of the Pentateuch."[245] To be sure, both are structured around selected pericopes of the Pentateuch, but the pericopes in *De adoratione* have an order of Cyril's own design.

How are pericopes ordered in *De adoratione*? I will examine this structure in detail shortly, but for now we can observe that Cyril has first brought together those κεφάλαια he deemed most useful for moral guidance, and ordered them appropriately. Looking at the table, it is noteworthy that for a work concerned with Pentateuch exegesis, Genesis pericopes are largely absent from *De adoratione.* Instead Cyril has gravitated more to texts concerned with cultic laws in engaging with Exodus, but also Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. This concentration on cultic texts from Exodus onwards helps to explain why in the *Glaphyra* Cyril refers to *De adoratione* not just at the beginning of the work, but also again at the beginning of his treatment of Exodus. His treatment of Genesis in the *Glaphyra* has taken some 186 columns in the *Patrologia Graeca* reprint of Aubert's edition,[246] whereas the remaining four books of the Pentateuch will only take 146 columns combined.[247] As Table 1 shows, this is because Cyril only addressed the text of Genesis a few times in *De adoratione*, thus leaving most of the book for treatment in the *Glaphyra*. While there are a few Genesis texts that Cyril has skipped over in the *Glaphyra* due to their treatment in *De adoratione* (e.g.

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[244]PG 69.16B. Ἰστέον δὲ δὴ, ὅτι Περὶ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ λατρείας ἑπτακαίδεκα συνθέντες βιβλία, καὶ πολλὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀθροίσαντες νοημάτων πληθὺν, παρήκαμεν οἰκονομικῶς τῇ προκειμένῃ συγγραφῇ τὰ ἐντεταμένα κεφάλαια, καὶ ἀβασάνιστα τετηρήκαμεν· κἂν εἴ που συνέβη μνημονεῦσαί τινος ὡς ἐξ ἀναγκαίου λόγου. *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Glaphyra on the Pentateuch, Volume 1, Genesis,* trans. Nicholas P. Lunn (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2018), 52.
[245]Villani, "Some Remarks," 222.
[246]PG 69.13A-385A.
[247]PG 69.385B-677C.

Genesis 12–13; 18–19), he has largely proceeded chapter by chapter through the whole book. So as he begins to deal with Exodus and the rest of the Pentateuch in the *Glaphyra*, Cyril flags a change in approach. He writes:

> Having just concluded, as best as we were able, the book of Genesis with a great deal of attention to detail, and having done so "from strength to strength," as we sing in the Psalms, we did not, as they say, let the pen, well practiced in good and hard labour, have even a brief respite, but we persuaded it that it had to strive further. For, if God wills and grants the wisdom, we will now deal with the sections in Exodus that can be seen to have been omitted when we composed our moral exhortation [i.e. *De adoratione*].[248]

It is noteworthy here that Cyril describes *De adoratione* as a work of παραίνεσις rather than a commentary. But also that Cyril again reiterates that the *Glaphyra* is a text dealing with what was omitted when composing *De adoratione.* Then a little further on, he adds:

> In carrying out the writing of this book we shall leave out some topics and will not go through every section in successive order (for, as I said just now, many of the matters that we have decided not to include here will be found treated more explicitly in the other composition). Those things, however, that would appear to be helpful for the purpose at hand we shall examine with as much precision and in as much detail as circumstances permit, and come straight to the truth.[249]

The two works are thus complementary, but nevertheless different in genre, composition and structure. *De adoratione* is a work of exhortation to worship in spirit and truth, a work of moral guidance, while the *Glaphyra* employs the seriate structure of a commentary. While together the two works do address most of the Pentateuch, it is the *Glaphyra* that has the greater concern for coverage, and so, as such, pulls *De adoratione* into the commentary genre. As I have noted, Table 1 shows that Cyril is not a slave to coverage, and is comfortable leaving some sections of the Pentateuch without comment. Notable omitted sections include

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[248]PG 69.385B. Ἄρτι καὶ μόλις τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Γενέσει βιβλίον διὰ πολλῆς ἄγαν ἰσχνομυθίας ὡς ἔνι διαπεράναντες, «ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν,» κατά γε τὸ ἐν Ψαλμοῖς ὑμνούμενον, οὐδ', ὅσον εἰπεῖν, βραχὺ διαπνεύσαντα, τὸν ἀγαθοῖς ἱδρῶσιν ἐντριβῆ μετοίχεσθαι δεῖν ἀναπείθομεν κάλαμον. Ἁπτόμεθα γὰρ, ἐθέλοντός τε καὶ σοφοῦντος Θεοῦ, τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ κεφαλαίων, ἃ παραλελεῖφθαι δοκεῖ συντεθεικόσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἠθικὴν παραίνεσιν. Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 3.

[249]PG 69.388A-B. Ποιησόμεθα δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου συγγραφὴν οὐκ ἀπαραλείπτως καὶ ἐφεξῆς διὰ παντὸς ἐρχόμενοι κεφαλαίου (πλεῖστα γὰρ ὅσα, καθάπερ ἔφην ἀρτίως, ἀπολέγδην εἰσπεποιήμεθα, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ συντάξει περιφανῶς εὑρήσομεν)· ἃ δ' ἂν ὁρῷτο λοιπὸν τῷ προκειμένῳ σκοπῷ χρήσιμα, ταῦτα κατά γε τὸ ἐγχωροῦν βασανίζοντες ἀκριβῶς τε καὶ διεσμιλευμένως, κατευθὺ τῆς ἀληθείας ἥξομεν. Modified translation from Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 4.

Genesis 40–7,[250] Exodus 6–11, 33, 35–9; Numbers 2, 23, 27, 34; and Deuteronomy 1–10,[251] 19, 26, 28–30, 32–4. But, if we look at the first major omission, Genesis 40–7, we can see that Cyril does spend time on the Joseph cycle, exegeting Genesis 37, 39 and 48–9 at some length in the *Glaphyra* especially.[252] This matters for our purposes because it shows a concern less with lemmatic coverage as with coverage of the topics, κεφάλαια, into which Cyril has delineated the Pentateuch.

One more text in the *Glaphyra* further describes his process of writing the two works. At the beginning of the *Glaphyra* on Exodus, Cyril signals that in the *Glaphyra* he is concerned with a different kind of exegesis to *De adoratione*:

> Yet those things by means of which the mystery of Christ seems to some degree to be depicted in advance, albeit in shadows relating to the law, we reserved for the work to be written later [i.e. the *Glaphyra*]. In regard to this I know, beloved Palladius, that you will also labor in prayer with us who have chosen to make such an effort.[253]

These words echo those with which Cyril began the *Glaphyra*, calling Christ the pearl hidden in the Old Testament, to be sought diligently, and describing his project in the *Glaphyra* as gathering together elements from the Pentateuch "through which the mystery of Christ is especially represented to us".[254] But in this account, Cyril doesn't suggest the *Glaphyra* pericopes are merely what was left over, but rather what he reserved as they depict the mystery of Christ. This is difficult to square with his other comments. According to this passage it seems that *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra* were conceived of together, with Cyril reserving passages that spoke especially to the mystery of Christ for the *Glaphyra*. However, it is not as if the mystery of Christ is ever far from Cyril's concerns in *De adoratione*. For example, here he is introducing a pericope: "By focusing your keen mind on the Holy Scriptures, you, Palladius, will very clearly perceive here, too, the mystery of Christ."[255] One way of harmonizing Cyril's various remarks on the *Glaphyra* is to imagine him organising κεφάλαια for *De adoratione* while also setting aside for the *Glaphyra* some pericopes that he considered dealt with the mystery of Christ in a way different from the mystery of Christ in the *De adoratione* passages. That is possible, although the passage above also has another

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[250]The one exception is Genesis 45:17–20, a short speech from Pharaoh to Joseph, in *De adoratione*, PG 68.160D-161A (Book 1).

[251]The one exception is Deuteronomy 7:1–4, addressed in *De adoratione,* PG 68.900B-D (Book 14).

[252]PG 69.284D-308B, 320D-385A.

[253]PG 69.388A... τὰ δὲ δι' ὧν ἦν εἰκὸς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς ἔτι ταῖς κατὰ νόμον, ὡς ἔνι, προαναφαίνεσθαι, τῇ μετ' ἐκείνην τετηρήκαμεν συγγραφῇ· ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ νῦν ἱδροῦν ἑλομένοις, ἀγαπητὲ Παλλάδιε, συναθλήσεις οἶδ' ὅτι διὰ προσευχῆς. Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 3.

[254]Cyril furthers adds: "Now we shall first present the literal events in a helpful way, making them suitably clear. Then, refashioning the narrative by bringing it out of type and shadow, we shall explain it with reference to the mystery of Christ, having him as the goal, since it is true that Christ is the end of the law and the prophets." PG 69.13B-16A. Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 1, 52.

[255]PG 68.765D (Book 11). Λεπτὸν, ὦ Παλλάδιε, τοῖς ἱεροῖς Γράμμασι τὸν νοῦν ἐνιεὶς περιαθρήσεις εὖ μάλα κἂν τῷδε διαφανὲς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον.

curious feature. As we saw, it includes an address to "beloved Palladius" (ἀγαπητὲ Παλλάδιε), the only such reference in the whole *Glaphyra*. Palladius is Cyril's dialogue partner in *De adoratione*, and so, coming as it does in a discussion of the differences between *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra*, Cyril could be alluding to the complementary nature of the two works, with Cyril seeking to also commend this work to his former interlocutor from *De adoratione*. The possibility that the two works are here somewhat confused cannot necessarily be rejected out of hand, either.

All of which suggests that *De adoratione* is of a more novel and independently imaginative genre and structure compared to the *Glaphyra*. The point here is not to measure the value of one against the other, but to understand *De adoratione* as a work in which Cyril is setting out with some ambition, to create a work of moral guidance, following his own contemplation of the κεφάλαια of the Pentateuch, "in what I would say was the most appropriate order for each matter", rather than an order constrained by other factors. That brings us to one final point on the relationship between the two works.

While the mystery of Christ is central to exegesis in both *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra*, there is a discernible difference in the way Cyril presents this mystery according to the different goals of the respective works. We can see this distinction especially when considering one of the few instances in which Cyril addresses a text in both works. Exodus 4:6–7 tells of the episode at the burning bush in which the Lord instructed Moses to put his hand into his bosom and then remove it, at which turned it leprous, and then to repeat this, at which Moses' hand was restored to its original state. Cyril deals with the passage both in *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra*. In *De adoratione*,[256] Cyril first gives an interpretation according to the historical sense, to the effect that such a miracle would bring confidence to Israel as they saw that Moses their leader wielded potent and miraculous abilities. The spiritual interpretation that Cyril then gives relates to the salvation history of humankind. Created pure and holy, humanity then departed from the bosom of God through sin, becoming inclined to what is unholy and disgusting. However, in Christ, humanity has been adopted into the Father's bosom and clothed again with grace, and so has thus been restored to its initial state. When Cyril approaches this text in the *Glaphyra*,[257] he gives essentially the same historical reading. The miracle would bring confidence to Israel, with Cyril adding that the episode also provides something of a foretaste to Israel of what would happen when they left the depraved lands of Egypt, namely that they would be received by God and their deadness removed from them. But then Cyril moves on to show how the mystery of Christ is also sketched (σκιαγραφέω). In this reading, Christ is the right hand of the Father and in the bosom of the Father. Yet by taking on flesh, Christ also took on human infirmities, and

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[256]PG 68.245Cff (Book 2).
[257]PG 69.472Cff. See Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 73ff.

the impurity of human nature. Yet in his ascension, Christ cast off his appearance (ἐν δοκήσει) of deadness and impurity, and is now glorified as God, and as the holy of holies. The similarities between the two treatments are noteworthy, with respect to the historical reading, but also the spiritual reading's concern with the redemption of humanity in Christ. Nevertheless, *De adoratione* is more concerned with the journey of humanity, whereas the *Glaphyra* is more Christological in that it is concerned with the economy of Christ. In this way, the *Glaphyra* bears some more resemblance to the kind of "dogmatic exegesis" (δογματικωτέραν ἐξήγησιν)[258] that Cyril sought to give in his *Commentary on John*, with *De adoratione* emphasising more the progress of humankind's state, corresponding to the "moral exegesis" Cyril contrasts with the dogmatic kind of exegesis.[259]

But what distinguishes the two works most is not a radically different approach to exegesis. Rather, the two works differ in their structure and σκοπός. On Cyril's own terms, *De adoratione* is not a commentary on the Pentateuch in the way that the *Glaphyra* is. Rather, in *De adoratione* he has chosen and re-organised certain κεφάλαια from the Pentateuch, in order to present a work of moral guidance. Moreover, we can see that those κεφάλαια are especially concerned with the cultic practices of Israel, providing a map for the kind of ecclesial life that Cyril evidently wanted to foster. In comparing the two works, then, already we can see that *De adoratione* has in focus a project of reframing Israel's cult in a way that provides moral and spiritual guidance for his Christian readers. As such, we have argued that *De adoratione* was written to be read independently and on its own terms, with the *Glaphyra* written in a way that complements it. So while it can share pericopes with the *Glaphyra*, *De adoratione* is significantly different in structure and approach, elevating moral paranaesis in the way that it approaches the mystery of Christ.

## Dating

Looking at Cyril's two works of exegesis on the Pentateuch inevitably raises questions about the dating of the works. A scholarly consensus is growing that these two works are likely Cyril's earliest works, meaning that *De adoratione* is his first. Schurig suggests a date for *De adoratione* between 412 and 418, a proposal which Blackburn supports.[260] Villani has written the most recent summary of the case for this early dating, drawing from the earlier

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[258]*Comm. Jo.,* Preface (Pusey 1.7).
[259]See Crawford, "The Preface," 167–68. There he quotes Cyril saying that Scripture provides a "twofold form of instruction" (τὴν διφυᾶ παίδευσιν), one that is "both moral and dogmatic" (ἠθικήν τε καὶ δογματικὴν). *Comm. Mich.* 7:14–15 (Pusey 2.732–3); *Comm. Jo.* 21:25 (Pusey 3.170–1). Cf Robert L Wilken, "St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Mystery of Christ in the Bible," *Pro Ecclesia* 4 (1995), 456. "The *Glaphyra* is more strictly exegetical than *De adoratione*, that is, it focuses more closely on the details of the text, but the interpretation it offers is no less christological and spiritual."
[260]Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 29–37; Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 29.

work of Georges Jouassard.[261] Her departure from Jouassard is the suggestion that Cyril could have composed *De adoratione* before his elevation to the episcopacy in 412. Jouassard had found the likelihood of Cyril's predecessor, his uncle Theophilus, publishing his nephew and potential rival to be slim.[262] The argument against *De adoratione* being pre-episcopal is also based upon the authoritative tone of the text, which fits with the teaching office of the Alexandrian bishop. But, following also the proposal of Lois Farag, Villani thinks it possible that Cyril could have been writing from as early as 406, having gained some standing from his participation in the Synod of Oak in 403.[263] Rather than Theophilus considering his nephew as a rival, a pre-episcopal publication could be a way of elevating him as a potential successor, thus explaining the authoritative tone of *De adoratione* not as that of a reigning bishop, but that of a confident heir-apparent.[264] This approach hearkens back to Alexander Kerrigan's judgement that: "The self-importance revealed by the dialogue of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* [sic] is sufficiently explained by Cyril's awareness of being the nephew of the reigning Patriarch."[265]

Since Villani, there have been two further supportive cases for a pre-414 dating of *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra* based especially on textual analyses. Nathan Porter has recently examined the different approaches to Israel and the Jews that Cyril takes in the *Glaphyra* as compared to his later comments. He finds that in the *Glaphyra* there is a "more hopeful view of Israel's future... not usually found in Cyril's later writings." As a result of his reading, Porter concludes that the *Glaphyra* was likely written before 414, the date commonly ascribed to the commencement of Cyril's conflict with the Jews of Alexandria.[266] Then Crawford has considered the way in which Cyril writes about religious violence throughout his career. The more confronting approach that Cyril allows for in *De adoratione* compared to more sober-minded accounts in his later works, suggests to Crawford the dating of *De adoratione* before the death of Hypatia in 415.[267] While Crawford only suggests this as a possibility that helps to explain Cyril's changing rhetoric, it is noteworthy that in contrast to *De adoratione*, Crawford finds that the *Glaphyra* includes a renunciation of religious violence.

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[261]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 12–19.

[262]Jouassard, "L'Activité Littéraire," 170.

[263]Lois M. Farag, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, a New Testament Exegete: His Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014), 65.

[264]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 14–15.

[265]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 13.

[266]Nathan E. Porter, "Letter as Spirit in Cyril of Alexandria: Typology and the Christological Defense of Literal Exegesis," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 31, no. 2 (2023), 242.

[267]"... if Villani is correct that *De adoratione* was his earliest work, it may not be coincidental that we find in that treatise his closest dalliance with Christians using violence against would-be apostates and those who would lead them astray. Conversely, in the works that we can most securely date later than *De adoratione*, namely the *Glaphyra*, the Joannine commentary, and *Commentary on 2 Corinthians*, we find explicit renunciation of religious violence." Matthew R. Crawford, "Cyril of Alexandria's Renunciation of Religious Violence," *Church history* 92 (2023), 17.

That would suggest the death of Hypatia occurred in between these two complementary works.

In support of this pre-414 dating, there is one argument that I would like to add. Considering *De adoratione* as an especially ambitious work, one which re-envisions the Pentateuch according to κεφάλαια of Cyril's own devising, and then orders these towards moral guidance, all suggests a certain leisured creativity combined perhaps with youthful confidence. Farag has written that Cyril's pre-episcopal years would have been free of homiletical responsibilities and daily teaching,[268] providing more time for the kind of originality on display in *De adoratione*. Writing about Cyril's exegetical works, including the *Glaphyra*, Kerrigan offered the following assessment:

> ... he leaves us under the impression that he composed his works at top speed, lumping together various opinions gleaned from his readings; such a method hardly facilitated the discovery of views that were really personal and original; nor was it likely to ensure consistency and uniformity in sifting materials.[269]

While Cyril's commentaries did settle into a more typical structure, bringing together the work of other interpreters albeit with perhaps a little more originality than Kerrigan suggests,[270] his exegetical works began on a more original note. The structure of *De adoratione* is less derivative, and more creative, novel and ambitious. Why did Cyril switch from a dialogue with re-ordered κεφάλαια to a lemmatic commentary when composing the *Glaphyra*? Cyril does not really justify this change in approach, other than to say he was writing about those topics left unexamined. One possible answer is that the two works have different goals, requiring different structures and genres. The goal of *De adoratione* fits its structure and genre, leading people in spiritual maturity. The goal of the *Glaphyra* likewise fits its structure and genre, providing meditations on the mystery of Christ via commentary on select passages of the Pentateuch. But another overlapping possibility is that *De adoratione* reveals an approach not yet marked by the demands of the episcopacy, with the *Glaphyra* being a work of a less novel genre, and more conducive to being written perhaps even in shorter bursts while occupying the seat of the Archbishop of Alexandria and All Egypt from 412 onwards.

How early could Cyril have written *De adoratione*? It seems plausible that *De adoratione*, in all of its ambition, was at least conceived of before 412 when Cyril would have had more leisure. That is not to say that it was necessarily completed before 412. As I shall show in the

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[268]Farag, *St. Cyril, New Testament Exegete*, 156–57. Villani writes in support of this hypothesis. Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 15.

[269]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 445.

[270]Kerrigan also discusses the opening of Cyril's *Commentary on Isaiah* in which Cyril pre-empts a criticism that his work is simply a pastiche of other biblical interpretation, by not so much diagreeing with the assessment as commending it as an approach. Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 246–47.

next section, Cyril suggests a process of writing *De adoratione* that first involved a thematic study of the Pentateuch, followed by its writing. That initial, more complex and novel planning could have been done before Cyril's election, but the writing could have occupied him while also holding significant responsibilities. What makes me reluctant to suggest *De adoratione* was written too much earlier than 412 is the pastoral nature of Cyril's project. His goal is to steer Christians into right worship and practice in a way that suggests the episcopacy was at least on his mental horizon, if not an actuality. Both John McGuckin and Pauline Allen have drawn attention to the need to address Cyril's role as a pastor more fully.[271] And this is something that I have considered elsewhere with reference to *De adoratione*.[272] The authoritative way in which Cyril provides Christian oversight in *De adoratione* makes a date of composition closer to 412, rather than earlier, seem most likely.

## "KEEP THE SEQUENCE OF THE BOOKS IN ORDER": THE STRUCTURE OF DE ADORATIONE

The way that Cyril creates his own structure, re-writing or re-envisioning the Pentateuch, is one of the most significant aspects of *De adoratione*. His injunction in the preface to "take care to keep the sequence of the books in the right order" signals the importance of this structure from the beginning.[273] Scholars have identified its importance, but exactly what that structure corresponds to has proven elusive. Frances Young has referred to *De adoratione* as a thematic commentary of sorts: "This, then, is no conventional commentary on selected Pentateuchal passages; what we have here is a thematic treatment aimed at presenting what might be called a 'biblical theology', worked out in relation to the five books of the Law."[274] Lee Blackburn writes that "Cyril does not bind himself to the actual order of the Pentateuch, as he does in the *Glaphyra*... Instead, the *De adoratione et Cultu* is

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[271]John A. McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria: Bishop and Pastor," in *The Theology of St Cyril of Alexandria: A Critical Appreciation*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy and Daniel A. Keating (London: T&T Clark, 2003); Pauline Allen, "St Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, and Pastoral Care," in *Alexandrian Legacy: A Critical Appraisal*, ed. Doru Costache Mario Baghos, Philip Kariatlis (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

[272]Pietsch, "Cyril and Isis in *De Adoratione*," 711–2, 718–9.

[273]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132. Translation adapted from Crawford, "The Preface," 159.

[274]Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*, 305. So also in *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, Young refers to *De adoratione* as "a kind of thematic treatment – not a verse-by-verse commentary." Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 263. Wilken is similarly broad, stating that in *De adoratione* Cyril "chooses certain passages of particular significance and expounds them under seventeen different headings. The list of topics shows that it is concerned chiefly with various aspects of the Christian life and related theological problems." Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, 69.

arranged thematically, making it unique among all of Cyril's exegetical works."[275] These readings follow Robert Louis Wilken's earlier treatment in which he considered *De adoratione* as a theological treatment of various topics:

> Unlike his later commentaries that follow the biblical text verse by verse, here Cyril treats biblical texts under theological themes, the fall of humankind, justification and redemption through Christ, love of God and love of neighbor, and under topics found in the Pentateuch, e.g., the tabernacle, the priesthood, festivals, et al.[276]

But why these themes? And is there an overarching theme? How does that dictate the structure over seventeen chapters?

In his *Commentary on John*, Cyril also includes a preface, but one which stands in contrast to what he states in his preface to *De adoratione*. There he writes:

> The list of the books below will show the subjects that the discourse covers. I have also added numbers to it so that the readers will very quickly be able to find what they are looking for.[277]

David Maxwell surmises that Cyril intends the *Commentary on John* to be used as "a reference work," especially helpful for catechists who could consult the book headings to find topics of interest.[278] But in *De adoratione* Cyril seeks to do something different. Rather than a reference work to consult, *De adoratione* is a book to be considered, if not read, in sequence from start to finish, in order to realise its purpose of spiritual and moral guidance.

One way to apprehend the sequence which Cyril was so keen to keep in order is through the book headings. While I refer to them as headings, some of them are more like small book descriptions or summaries, running to a few lines. These headings, introduced in Table 1, are placed at the beginning of each book, but in some manuscripts are also gathered together at the beginning of the work, forming a pinax.[279] Put together, the headings function partly as a

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[275]Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 34. Crawford also draws attention to the structure's importance: "In addition, this preface aids us in situating *De adoratione* within the broader scope of Cyril's corpus. Cyril's modern commentators have often noted that the treatise differs from his other works. Unlike his commentaries on Isaiah or the Twelve Prophets, *De adoratione* is not a verse-by-verse exposition of the biblical text. The *Glaphyra*, which also deals with the Pentateuch, does not strictly proceed verse by verse, but nevertheless does follow the order of books in the Pentateuch as well as the order of select passages within each book. Thus, *De adoratione* stands alone among Cyril's so-called 'exegetical' works with its thematic arrangement and dialogical format." Crawford, "The Preface," 166.

[276]Wilken, "Mystery of Christ," 455. While Villani gives a fuller summary than Wilken of the seventeen books, she does not identify any progress in the themes Cyril deals with. See Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 29–33.

[277]*Comm. Jo.*, Preface (Pusey 1.7)... ἡ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένη τῶν κεφαλαίων ὑποσημείωσις, τὰ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμῖν ἐκτέταταί πως ὁ λόγος καταστήσει φανερὰ, οἷς καὶ ἀριθμοὺς παρεπήξαμεν, πρὸς τὸ καὶ λίαν ἑτοίμως ἀνευρίσκεσθαι τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις τὸ ζητούμενον. Translation modified from Maxwell (trans.), Volume 1, 4.

[278] Maxwell, "Translator's Introduction," xx.

[279]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 36.

table of contents for reference – like in the *Commentary on the Gospel of John* referenced above – but also as a roadmap of progress. They develop in a sequential fashion, with each book building on the previous one, sometimes more obviously than at other times. The following table, with paraphrased headings that are attentive to the content of the books grouped into four stages, illuminates this progressive dimension to the work. In presenting summarised book headings in this way, I am seeking to draw attention especially the four stages, as representing a program of spiritual progress. "Spiritual progress" is a phrase that I am employing to capture the way in which Cyril approaches the structure of *De adoratione*. It is progressive, because in each section Cyril seeks to build on what has come previously, and it is spiritual because it relates to what one can only do in the Holy Spirit. That includes reading the Pentateuch in the Spirit, but also the way of life and worship the Holy Spirit is leading Christians in.

**Table 3: Spiritual progress in the book headings of *De adoratione***

| Stage 1: Conversion through Christ | |
|---|---|
| | 1: Separation from pollution and slavery to sin is necessary to worship God |
| | 2: Christ alone is able to save us |
| | 3: Christ saves and strengthens through baptism and holy communion |
| Stage 2: The justified must devote themselves to God and neighbour | |
| | 4: Saints labour in different degrees and help each other |
| | 5: Courage in Christ is required to master virtue and not lapse |
| | 6: Love for God must be singular and worship must be pure |
| | 7: Sabbath rest is a participation in Christ; love for parents |
| | 8: Love of neighbours |
| Stage 3: Members of the royal priesthood must worship in the church, in spirit and truth | |
| | 9: The tabernacle, as the church, shows the right way to worship God in Christ |
| | 10: The same |
| | 11: True priesthood is in Christ, offering spiritual sacrifices |
| | 12: The same |
| | 13: The same |
| Stage 4: Approaching God, Christians offer spiritual sacrifices in worship | |
| | 14: The impure cannot approach God |
| | 15: Cleansing is in Christ |
| | 16: We must offer spiritual sacrifices to God |
| | 17: The saints celebrate the feasts eternally with Christ in Sabbath rest |

The stages I suggest here are not explicitly stated in *De adoratione* and a different division is possible.[280] But, broadly speaking, the book headings reveal a structure that follows progress in the Christian way of life. There is first a purgative stage, turning away from sin and being justified by Christ. Then there is a stage of maturation, growing in virtue and love of God and neighbour amid trials. The third stage then considers this journey of maturation explicitly in the context of worship. Finally, the fourth stage leads to the goal of the journey, enjoying Sabbath rest with Christ, celebrating feasts.

Another way to consider *De adoratione* through its book headings and topics is as a chiasm, supporting this progressive structure. One clear indication of this possibility is that the central Book 9 is on the titular theme, working as a hinge. Perhaps more striking is that only once in the whole work does Cyril make reference to the full title of the work, "worship and service in spirit and truth", and that is right in the middle of this middle Book 9.[281] There are other pointers to a chiastic structure. In Book 1, Cyril considers that sin arises from seeking comfort and pleasure, including the comfort that food brings,[282] while Book 17 considers the summit of the Christian life as celebrating the heavenly feasts. Then, while Books 2–3 stress the centrality of Christ's sacrifice in conversion, Books 15–16 stress the sacrifices that Christians then make. We can put such a chiastic structure into a table, with chapters described in a modified form to suit this structure.

**Table 4: Possible chiastic book structure of *De adoratione***

| 1 Fall and famine | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2–3 Justification in Christ, whose sacrifice was for all | | | |
| | | 4–5 Manly courage in Christ | | |
| | | | 6–8 Love of neighbour and property | |
| | | | | 9 Worship |
| | | | 10 Property in the tabernacle | |
| | | 11–13 The spiritual priesthood | | |
| | 15–16 Purification and holiness in Christ, and spiritual sacrifice | | | |

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[280]As already mentioned, Cyril includes four doxologies at the conclusion of Books 6, 8, 14 and 17. It is difficult to consider the doxologies at the end of these four groupings only as markers of the physical dimensions of a codex, due to their uneven length. But it is also difficult to consider them all as thematic markers. While the doxologies at the end of Books 8 and 17 clearly mark the end of a thematic section, those at the end of Books 6 and 14 occur in the middle of books that have a thematic connection to each other.

[281]See PG 68.624A (Book 9)... τῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ λατρείας.

[282]Cyril explains how Abraham's descent to the place of sin in Egypt, (from PG 68.149C), Jacob's sons' descent to Egypt (from PG 68.160C), and also Rabshakeh's taunts to Israel (from PG 68.161B) all came from a desire for food.

The chiastic overtones need to be acknowledged, but the structure of *De adoratione* resists a more extensive or detailed parallelism. One has to do a bit of work to conform the text even to this broader chiasm. To connect the love for God and neighbour (Books 6–8) with the furnishings of the tabernacle (Book 10) does not provide any obvious illumination, and I have had to stretch the book topics in Table 4 to suggest a parallel with property. Likewise, the other correspondences have only varying degrees of success, so that while it is hard to dismiss outright any chiastic structure or intent, acknowledging as much only brings limited understanding to the structure or purpose of the text.

Ultimately, however, the pericopes and exegeses of *De adoratione* are also necessary to understand its structure. With the books headings, they reveal that *De adoratione* is structured as a spiritual Exodus, following exegetically the journey of Israel in Exodus, while following in type the journey of the way of life that is in Christ. The spiritual progress that Cyril enacts takes a form that is given by the progress inherent in the path of Israel in Exodus especially. The fact that these two interact explains why Cyril's book headings veer between Israelite history and Christian spirituality. Sometimes he takes up the journey of Israel in the headings, other times he takes up the way of life that is in Christ – type and antitype – or even both as in Book 9. But that these two threads are interwoven is unmistakable.

Given the length and unwieldiness of *De adoratione* it will take time to support this argument. Chapters 4 and 5 take up this challenge, seeking to provide a progressive reading of *De adoratione* that pays attention to its Exodus structure alongside spiritual progress. But before doing that, the broader argument needs to be introduced in order to consider the structure as a whole.

I can think of no clearer way to do this than through another table. In Table 5, the Exodus theme and the spiritual theme are placed side by side to trace how the journey of Israel provides for Cyril the structure to the moral guidance he seeks to give his readers. To show that this development is connected to the headings he gives each book, I have included a column with a shorter version of Cyril's headings. In the final column, I have provided one pericope, among many, exegeted in each book. I have done this to show how, broadly speaking, Cyril selects key pericopes from Exodus in a sequential fashion, but also to show how these pericopes compare to the Exodus theme column. For, in the Exodus theme column, we can see that Cyril has re-written his own version of Israel's journey in Exodus, choosing – for example – to include in Book 1 how Israel came to be in slavery in Egypt, and then in the second half of *De adoratione*, choosing to group Exodus themes according to his own structure. For that reason I have called it the Exodus/Israel theme, as it is as much the story of Israel as it is the story of Exodus.

**Table 5: *De adoratione* as a Spiritual Exodus**

| Book | Summary of Cyril's heading | Exodus/Israel theme | Spiritual theme | Key text (*PG*) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | On human descent into sin and the call to repentance. | Abraham and Israel came to be in Egypt because of famine | We enter into sin when we are enticed by appetites | Genesis 12:10–17 (149–156) |
| 2 | Only Christ can justify. | Moses is called to rescue Israel | Christ alone rescues us | Exodus 3:2–5 (232–240) |
| 3 | (The same) | After the Red Sea, the pillar of fire guides Israel | After baptism, Christ protects the justified | Exodus 14:6–20 (269–273) |
| 4 | The justified follow God by rejecting weakness and living according to the law. | Israel requires strength in the wilderness | Saints labour manfully to pursue virtue and reject laziness | Numbers 1:1–5 (309–316) |
| 5 | Still concerning courage, which is in Christ. | (The same) | (The same) | Exodus 15:22–25 (380–381) |
| 6 | We must love God with a complete soul and heart. | The first commandment at Mount Sinai | Love for God must be singular and worship must be pure | Exodus 20:2–6 (409–413) |
| 7 | On the love towards brothers. | The Sabbath commandment | Christ makes us holy | Exodus 20:8–11 (493–496) |
| 8 | (The same) | The commandments on love for neighbours | Love for neighbours | Exodus 22:1–4 (533–540) |
| 9 | The tabernacle is a type of the church. | Israel is given the tabernacle | Christians are given the church | Exodus 20:22–25 (592–593) |
| 10 | Tabernacle furnishings | (The same) | (The same) | Exodus 40:33–38 (692–693) |

| 11 | The priesthood of the law is a type of the priesthood in Christ | Israel is given the priesthood | Christians are a royal priesthood in Christ | Exodus 28:1 (725–729) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | (The same) | (The same) | (The same) | Leviticus 21:16–23 (781–793) |
| 13 | (The same) | (The same) | (The same) | Numbers 3:14–20 (848–849) |
| 14 | Purification is necessary for life in the church | Israel are given laws on purity and defilement | The impure cannot approach God | Numbers 5:1–4 (888–892) |
| 15 | Purification is in Christ | Israel are given laws on restoration from impurity | Cleansing is in Christ | Leviticus 13:1–8 (977–984) |
| 16 | We offer spiritual sacrifices to God | Israel are given laws on animal sacrifices | Christians are to offer spiritual sacrifices | Leviticus 1:2–9 (1013–1017) |
| 17 | On holy feasts | Israel are given three feasts to keep each year | The saints celebrate the feasts eternally with Christ | Exodus 23:14–17 (1061–1065) |

In structuring *De adoratione* in this way, Cyril re-fashions the ordering of both Exodus and the Pentateuch. While the general trajectory of Exodus is observed, in the second half of *De adoratione* Cyril conflates Exodus' tabernacle texts, then priesthood texts, then finally feast texts. Moreover, he uses this structure to bring in other texts that he considers relevant to the theme at hand, especially from the Pentateuch but not limited to it. For example in Book 14, Cyril deals one after the other with the rape of Dinah in Genesis 33:18–34:3, King Solomon's foreign wives in 3 Kingdoms 10:23–11:8, Israel's whoring with the daughters of Moab in Numbers 25:1–4, and God's commands to Moses on jealous husbands in Numbers 5:12–28.[283] For Cyril, they all serve to provide examples of how the impure cannot ascend the mountain of the Lord, a theme which follows on from Exodus' cultic laws on the priesthood and offering sacrifice. Their ordering is not irrelevant either. In Cyril's framing of the passages, Dinah is an example of someone tempted to stray from where one belongs. Solomon then

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[283]PG 68.900D-913A (Book 14).

shows that even the strongest in faith can be tempted to foreign gods by foreign wives. But before Solomon, all of Israel was guilty of this at Moab, a crime that could not be hidden. This is shown with the teaching on jealous husbands, as all sins hidden will be revealed. Examples of this re-ordering abound in *De adoratione* and are in keeping with Cyril's own description in the *Glaphyra* of his writing process for *De adoratione.* There, as we have seen, Cyril said that he delineated the topics (κεφαλαίων) of the Pentateuch and then gathered them together "in what I would say was the most appropriate order for each matter" (καὶ ὡς ἐν τάξει δὴ λέγω τῇ ἑκάστῳ πρεπωδεστάτῃ).[284]

But the overarching structural order of *De adoratione* is given by the narrative arc of the Pentateuch, centred on Exodus. Book 1 deals with the descent to Egypt as a kind of precursor to Exodus. As the covenant with Abraham establishes the nation of Israel, Cyril begins with the descent to Egypt of both Abram and Jacob's sons in Genesis as a "fall" at the beginning of Israel's identity. Book 2 treats Moses' call (Exodus 3–4), Book 3 the crossing of the Red Sea and journey to Sinai (Exodus 13, 14, 17, 18), and Books 4 and 5 also deal with Israel between Egypt and Sinai (Exodus 14, 15). Book 6 on the love of God then deals with the opening of the decalogue (Exodus 20:2–6), while Books 7 and 8 on brotherly love continue with the rest of the decalogue and the commands immediately following (Exodus 20–23). Books 9 and 10 are on the tabernacle (Exodus 25–27, 30–31, 40), and Book 11 is on the priesthood (Exodus 28–29), with other Pentateuchal texts on the priesthood following in Books 12 and 13. Books 14–17 then deal with liturgically approaching God, given that the tabernacle and priesthood have been established. Books 14–16 are the least explicitly dependent on Exodus, but really their subject matter has already been established by the Exodus. Given the cultic function of priests at the tabernacle, Cyril now deals with purity and defilement texts from the rest of the Pentateuch, filling out his narrative. Then, at the beginning of Book 17, Exodus again frames the discussion with the celebration of three commanded feasts (Exodus 23:14–17).

We have already seen that in the *Glaphyra*, Cyril discusses his process of writing *De adoratione*, but here we can note that he only does this as he begins his treatment in the *Glaphyra* of Exodus, which occurs over halfway through the work.[285] And then, he reflects on *De adoratione* again at the end of his treatment of Exodus in the *Glaphyra*. Cyril there adds:

> Up to this book it has been our design to limit [συμμετρεῖν] the topics [κεφαλαίων] in Exodus, not because we are reluctant to interpret the adjoining passages, but because we have composed books entitled "Concerning Worship in Spirit and Truth." In these books, so as to leave out nothing of importance from our discussion, we undertook suitable investigations into the construction of the holy tabernacle and

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[284]PG 69:385B-388A. See Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 3.
[285]PG 69.385B-388A.

everything found in it, namely, the holy place, the ark, the table, and the lampstand. We devoted the ninth and tenth books to this purpose.[286]

It seems that in Cyril's own mind, the association of Exodus with *De adoratione* was strong – he does not refer to *De adoratione* when dealing with other Pentateuchal books in the *Glaphyra*. And he refers here to *De adoratione* as dealing with topics in Exodus.

This dependence on the structure of Exodus shows that Cyril does not so much have the Pentateuch in mind, as the journey of Israel and the law of Moses. The journey of Israel in Exodus thus becomes the journey of the reader, a way of progressing in what is now an evangelical way of life, providing moral guidance in Christ that is already laid out in Israel's journey in Scripture.[287] The cultic laws of Moses for worship become the way of worship now for Christians, seeking to worship and serve in spirit and truth. The unity of *De adoratione* is thus intimately connected to the unity of Exodus, in which moral guidance and worship are incorporated in the broader movement from idolatry to right worship and service of God.[288]

Cyril also develops a rationale for why the law of Moses in particular is engaged as a guide to how to live the Christian way of life. Right at the beginning of *De adoratione* he states, echoing Galatians 3:24, that the law is a pedagogue, which carries or leads people well to the mystery of Christ.[289] And so, Cyril asks, if the pedagogue is overlooked, how will people still be carried to the mystery of Christ?[290] The law of Moses is then uniquely beneficial for guiding people on a journey towards the mystery of Christ, because the law itself has a pedagogical function. Just as it led the people of Israel towards the full revelation of Christ, so it is profitable for leading Cyril's readers also on the way of life that is in Christ. Cyril goes on to explain that the law provides this gradual journey because the Israelites in Egypt needed a lot of παιδαγωγία owing to their state of slavery.[291] The implication drawn out in the rest of Books 1 and 2, and indeed in the whole work, is that for Cyril's readers,

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[286]PG 69.537D. Translation adjusted from Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra*, Volume 2, 127.

[287]Contra Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 39–40.

[288]Villani has written that throughout *De adoratione* "the basic order of the biblical books is essentially maintained. For example, in the first book only parts of Genesis and Exodus from the Pentateuch are chosen as texts to be interpreted, in the second and third Exodus, and in the fourth the focus is on Numbers, etc." Barbara Villani, "Bibelzitate in Cyrill Von Alexandriens Werken Zum Alten Testament. Einige Beobachtungen Zu Den Unterschieden Zwischen Dem Dialog *De Adoratione Et Cultu in Spiritu Et Veritate* Und Den Kommentaren," *Die Septuaginta-Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz* (2018), 800. ["Die grundsätzliche Reihenfolge der biblischen Bücher wird aber im Wesentlichen beibehalten. So werden beispielsweise im ersten Buch nur Teile von Genesis und Exodus aus dem Pentateuch als auszulegende Texte gewählt, im zweiten und dritten Exodus, im vierten liegt der Schwerpunkt auf Numeri etc."] But this is evidently not the case. Cyril would run out of Pentateuchal books by Book 5 or 6, and that with Leviticus having been inexplicably passed over.

[289]PG 68.140A (Book 1). Παιδαγωγεῖ γὰρ ὁ νόμος, καὶ ἀποφέρει καλῶς εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ Χριστῷ μυστήριον.

[290]PG 68.140A (Book 1). Εἰ δὲ παρωσόμεθα τὸν παιδαγωγὸν, τίς ἡμᾶς ἔτι διακομιεῖ πρὸς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον;

[291]See PG 68.141D-144A (Book 1).

those who are enslaved to sin will likewise benefit from the pedagogy given in the law. Moses is a guide to freedom and, understood in Christ, a guide to a spiritual freedom.[292] Or, to use the words of Palladius that round out the opening dialogue, the beauty of the truth (τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ κάλλος), revealed in the types and shadows of the law, will lead them to the mystery of service or worship (λατρεία) in the spirit.[293]

I began this section by noting Cyril's stated desire in his preface to "take care to keep the sequence of the books in the right order". Having briefly analysed the progressive structure of the work, we can see that Cyril's admonition seems to be an alert to the reader to pay attention to the progress of *De adoratione*. That progress is shown not only in quotable passages, but also in the sequential ordering of the material that Cyrils puts before his reader. While, as already noted, each book contains a number of varied and tangential discussions, often prompted by details of the text at hand, there is still an overarching design to the sequence of the text, often given in occasional opening and closing framing statements to books. As such, considering how Cyril treats, say, Numbers 5:1–4 on lepers, cannot be divorced from the fact that he treats this text at the beginning of Book 14, as preparation in purification for ascending the mountain of the Lord. It is not just that Cyril reads Scripture with a particular tropological or moral or liturgical angle to his spiritual interpretation, but also that Cyril's reading of certain texts is itself located within a larger arc of spiritual progress.

In this regard, neither Cyril's medieval scribes nor modern readers have always served him well. With respect to the surviving manuscripts, while some of the Greek manuscripts of *De adoratione* preserve the text as a whole, almost as many include only portions of *De adoratione*, especially from the first half of the work.[294] And then with respect to more recent

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[292]See, for example, PG 68.213C (Book 2) where Cyril says: Ἄραρεν οὖν, ὅτι μεσίτης μὲν σαρκικῆς ἐλευθερίας, γράμματός τε καὶ σκιᾶς ὁ ἱεροφάντης Μωσῆς· ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, τῶν ὑπὲρ νόμον εἰσηγητὴς, καὶ τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐλευθερίας τὴν ἀσυγκρίτως ἀμείνω δωρούμενος, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὴν κατὰ πνεῦμα. There are echoes here of Origen's *Princ.* 4.1.1 in which Moses, the lawgiver of the Hebrews is contrasted with Christ, the εἰσηγητὴς of the saving dogmas of Christianity. See also PG 68.145B-C (Book 1) in which Cyril frames the beginning of the work as concerning the bondage not of physical chains but of sin.

[293]PG 68.145A (Book 1).

[294]See Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 94–96.

scholarship, some treatments of *De adoratione* have tended to focus either on only one section of the work,[295] or just on a particular theme.[296]

This importance on sequential ordering and an Exodus structure also has ramifications for considering the work's genre. In our discussion of genre I alluded to the genre of biblical commentary and its resonances. *De adoratione* is a an edifice built with the bricks of exegesis, largely – although not exclusively – of Pentateuchal texts. In following the structure of Exodus, Cyril especially seeks to tease out the narrative and texts of that book. But that does not make it a commentary. It lacks a number of features common to late antique commentaries not least the absence of a lemma-by-lemma analysis. Cyril is not setting out to offer comment on the Pentateuch so much as to guide the reader on the Christian way of life into a spiritual worship, employing the law of Moses as the most fitting guide or pedagogue. It is the law that leads from slavery to worship –the journey of Israel in Exodus – that is useful in leading his own readers from slavery to sin to true λατρεία in the spirit. Other factors also problematise considering *De adoratione* as a commentary. For one, Cyril does write commentaries, and calls them such. Commentaries on Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, the Gospel of John and so forth bear the titles and hallmarks of the genre in a way that *De adoratione* does not. For example, Cyril calls the *Commentary on Isaiah* a work of "commentary exposition" (ἐξήγησις ὑπομνηματική).[297] The *Commentary on Gospel of John* is given the title of an "interpretation or commentary" (Ἑρμηνεία ἡ ὑπόμνημα) and Cyril describes it as a work of "dogmatic exposition" (δογματικωτέραν ἐξήγησιν).[298] By contrast, *De adoratione* is

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[295]Wilken's 1971 chapter on *De adoratione* focusses almost exclusively on the opening dialogue of Book 1, leading him to conclude that central to the whole work is the relationship of Christianity to Judaism. Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind*, 84. Dragas confines his focus to three of the seventeen books, offering a paraphrased translation of Cyril's treatment of the priesthood. Dragas, *St Cyril on the Priesthood*. While Villani has focussed her attention on Book 1 of *De adoratione*, this is a part of a larger project of working through the whole text. See Villani, "Bibelzitate in Cyrill Von Alexandriens Werken Zum Alten Testament"; Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*.

[296]Schurig focusses his book on the theology of the cross in *De adoratione*, prioritising passages that concern "die Heilsgeschichte" and other dogmatic topics. He acknowledges, however, that Cyril "rarely expresses himself in comprehensive statements about the meaning of the cross or its individual features. Rather, many individual thoughts are scattered in the most diverse places of the work." Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 4. ["… äußert sich der Bischof kaum in geschlossenen Darstellungen über die Bedeutung des Kreuzes bzw. dessen einzelne Züge. Vielmehr finden sich viele einzelne Gedanken an den verschiedensten Stellen des Werkes verstreut… "] Later on in the work, Schurig further acknowledges that Cyril "… hardly ever brings up the cross as such in its context". Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 128. ["… in deren Zusammenhang kaum das Kreuz als solches zur Sprache bringt."] Blackburn takes a similar approach in his 2009 study, exploring "the mystery of the synagogue" in *De adoratione*, and projecting onto the work a polemical Jewish context, drawn from the pages of Socrates' history. In the final paragraph of his dissertation, Blackburn seems to acknowledge the difficulties of this approach, stating: "It may well be premature, I submit, to foreclose the possibility of isolating the strand of Cyril's exegesis that has been the subject of this dissertation from other strands in the *De adoratione et Cultu* and the *Glaphyra* that have been outside my purview. These other strands may in fact not be logically dependent on the strand to which we have attended." Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 266.

[297]*Comm. Is.* PG 70.9. This functions as a title before the preface begins.

[298]*Comm. Jo.,* Preface (Pusey 1.1, 7).

called a work of "moral guidance" (ἠθικὴν ὑφήγησιν).[299] Then, while all of Cyril's commentaries are broad in their Scriptural references and quotations, *De adoratione* includes not just references, but commentaries on passages outside of the Pentateuch. For example, when wanting in Book 3 to discuss how sin no longer necessarily rules over the sanctified unless a certain measure of lawlessness is reached, Cyril quotes and comments on Zacharias 5:5–11.[300] Or, in Book 10, when wanting to show how Christ and the saints, while in communion, are nevertheless separated in the distinction between God and humankind, Cyril turns to look at Hebrews 9 and 10 and the distinction between the first and second sections of the tabernacle, with the latter reserved for (Christ) the high priest only.[301] In addition, some sections of *De adoratione* do not even have a text to exegete, but more a theme. For example, in Book 6 when Cyril is seeking to admonish his Christian readers to avoid practices of worship or service (λατρεία) to demons, he discusses submission to fate, fortune and birth (Εἱμαρμένην γὰρ καὶ Τύχην καὶ Γένεσιν),[302] the observation of hours, days, and times (Ἡ ὡρῶν ἄρα καὶ ἡμερῶν ἐπιτήρησις… καὶ ἡ καιρῶν),[303] and auguries, whisperings, and spells (οἰωνοσκοπίαι, ψιθῠρισμοί τε και ἐπῳδαί),[304] without clearly exegeting any set texts, and even with reference to the broader Hellenistic tradition.[305] All of these factors contribute to calling *De adoratione* a commentary, or even a thematic commentary, problematic. The key goal of the text – to lead readers on a path of spiritual growth animated by worship – unsettles its function as commentary.

This structure also has implications when considering how Cyril reads the Old Testament. I have already noted how Wilken especially read Cyril in *De adoratione* as advocating discontinuity between the Old and New Testaments, something that Elliott especially later queried.[306] In the next chapter, I will take up Cyril's reading of Scripture in *De adoratione* at length. Foreshadowing that longer discussion, we can here note that by following the structure of Exodus, Cyril is not ultimately treating the Old Testament as a text to be superseded but a text to be meditated upon, and realised for what it already was, a manual for spiritual progress. The Old Testament's value lies not only in its prophetic function, pointing forward to Christ and thus providing proofs to Christian claims that Christ fulfills the law and the prophets. Rather the Old Testament has value in itself for the Christian, when read properly, allowing Cyril to follow its contours and delve into its

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[299] Preface to *De adoratione.* Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.
[300] PG 68.296A-301B (Book 3).
[301] PG 68.681D-689C (Book 10).
[302] PG 68.449A, and then 449A-460C (Book 6).
[303] PG 68.460C, and then 460C-468B (Book 6).
[304] PG 68.468B, and then 468B-476A (Book 6).
[305] See Pietsch, "Cyril and Isis in *De Adoratione*."
[306] Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 246.

details. Cyril understands the biblical narrative as a vehicle for the Christian community to understand itself, and to progress in the Christian way of life.

## AUDIENCE

Before moving on to look at Cyril's exegesis, I can make some conclusions about the audience of *De adoratione* in the light of its structure.

In more recent years, some have suggested a monastic audience for *De adoratione*, owing to its concern with pursuing virtue, and also due to the monastic communities around Alexandria often being centres of literacy[307] John McGuckin described it thus:

> [*De adoratione*] is largely concerned with ascetical themes of interest to monastics and clerics, the main readers of the biblical text in Egypt, who regularly approached the archbishop of the day for authoritative comments on matters of obscurity or exegetical conflict rising out of their numerous study groups, in Alexandria and in the monastic communities of the Egyptian desert, where Scripture was scrutinized intensely and closely as part of an overall ascetic regime.[308]

There can be little doubt that Cyril was writing for a considerably literate audience, owing to the size, syntax and vocabulary of the work. But whether the text is especially "ascetic" in a way that relates fundamentally to the monastic life is less clear. Recently, Barbara Villani has raised questions about its purportedly monastic context, wondering whether the readership needs to be narrowed to monks, or even to monks and priests: "Ein Streben nach einer gottgefälligen Lebensweise muss sich nicht notwendigerweise nur auf Mönchsgemeinschaften und Priester beziehen."[309] While consideration does need to be given to the literate communities around Alexandria, these are not limited to the monastic. On the basis of the themes alone, Cyril presents his program of spiritual progress in a way that is aimed to benefit all Christians, including catechumens and laypeople. For one, in the seventeen long chapters Cyril nowhere addresses a monastic audience, including in places where one might suspect he could. For example, when Abraham leaves Egypt according to Genesis 13:1–4, the text says that he goes to the desert. As he comments on the passage, Cyril does not draw any monastic inferences, but instead considers the desert to stand in for "an undisturbed and pure state of mind."[310] Taking a literal journey out of Egypt into the desert, Cyril turns it into a metaphor applicable to all Christians.

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[307]Elliott, "What *De Adoratione* is All About," 251–52; Crawford, "The Preface," 164–65.
[308]McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria (*c*. 378-444)," 340.
[309]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 27. ("Striving for a godly way of life need not necessarily apply only to communities of monks and priests").
[310]PG 68.185A (Book 1)... εἰς ἀπαρενόχλητόν τε καὶ καθαρὰν διανοίας κατάστασιν...

But it is not just that monastic references are absent. As we have looked briefly at the structure of *De adoratione*, we have seen that its arc traces a Christian journey from sin, through conversion, and struggles to celebrating the feasts. When Cyril in his preface says that he had determined to "provide moral guidance for those who have chosen to live their life in the most excellent way", calling the work also a "moral exhortation", we can imagine a broad audience of Christians, including but not limited to ascetics, seeking to live mature Christian lives.[311] While Matthew Crawford had considered living in "the most excellent way" as a reference to monks, it is better taken as simply being a Christian in contrast to other forms of religious practice.[312] Cyril's Festal Letters provide a comparable audience, written as they were for as large an audience as possible, speaking about the Christian life in a way applicable to all hearers. The text of *De adoratione* provides nudging in this direction, too. Cyril regularly talks about different degrees of glory among Christians,[313] and also speaks, for example, about the vulnerability and immaturity of people before they are baptised. This occurs in Book 3, when Cyril is exegeting Exodus 14, in which the Israelites are encamped between the Red Sea and the pursuing Egyptian army. This provides an opportunity for Cyril to dwell on the in-between nature of the Christian life, which is caught between different stages of maturation. In this case, the army stand for the world's pleasures, and the Red Sea for holy baptism and its attendant grace. Being caught between these two provides its own particular challenges.

> For indeed when we having recently undertaken to depart from the life that is fond of pleasure and is worldly, being especially zealous for the obligatory following of God's laws, but not yet enriched in the grace given through holy baptism, we are not very strong, that is to say, we are not yet prepared for the unavoidable suffering, and to endure the labours which are on behalf of virtue, being able to bear the experience of battles. Like plants that are just blooming and would be harmed not moderately if on the one hand they do not avoid the harm of the noonday sun, and on the other hand if they would be shaken violently by the wilder blasts of winds, so there is a need for them of the protections that come from skill and of an enclosure in a circle; according to exactly the same way, I consider, the human soul, just recently having escaped the bondage of the passions, and setting a new course to what is better, and desiring to follow the divine law, is feeble in spirit and rather delicate, and will be easily startled, looking back toward the sweat and the custom of war, and it will

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[311]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132. Translation from Crawford, "The Preface," 159.
[312]Crawford, "The Preface," 164–65.
[313]E.g. PG 68.316A-321D (Book 4).

regard as a welcome prospect the return to its former condition.[314]

So the high register of the text – *hapax legomena,* allusions to Plato (there are also quotes from Homer and Euripides in Book 6), complex syntax – indicate a readership with a fair degree of education, in the same way that all of Cyril's works assume. But the text could also have circulated more broadly by being read to less educated audiences. The text also does not seem particularly "monastic" because the kind of guidance it provides for the Christian way of life is for, in some sense, everybody.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have seen that *De adoratione* bears characteristics of the dialogue and the questions-and-responses genres, and how these fit in with the goal of the work. I have also compared *De adoratione* with the *Glaphyra*, arguing that *De adoratione* is not so much a commentary but a work of spiritual guidance, a moral exhortation, concerned especially with matters of worship, structured according to the journey of Israel in Exodus. And, in contrast, I have argued that the *Glaphyra* is a complementary work, exegeting in order those pericopes from the Pentateuch that Cyril did not include in *De adoratione*. In arguing that *De adoratione* is a spiritual Exodus, leading his readers – with Israel – out of slavery to sin and to right worship of God, we also began to see that Cyril reads the Old Testament as foundational to the Christian way of life, reframing it as a source for his readers' own participation in the mystery of Christ.

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[314]PG 68.272D-273A (Book 3). ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ τῆς φιληδόνου τε καὶ ἐγκοσμίου ζωῆς ἀποφοιτᾶν ἡρημένοι, ἕπεσθαί τε δεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα διεσπουδακότες τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμοις, οὔπω γε μὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος καταπλουτήσαντες χάριν, οὐ λίαν ἐσμὲν εὐσθενεῖς, ἤγουν ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ χρῆναι τληπαθεῖν, καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι πόνων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς, καὶ πολέμων πεῖραν δύνασθαι διενεγκεῖν. Ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ ἀρτιθαλῆ τῶν φυτῶν, τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου βολῆς παραιτεῖται τὸ βλάβος, ἀδικοῖντο δ' ἂν οὐ μετρίως, εἰ πνευμάτων ἐμβολαῖς ἀγριωτέραις διακραδαίνοιντο, δεῖ δὲ δὴ πάντως αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τέχνης ἐπικουρημάτων, καὶ τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ περιβολῆς· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν, οἶμαι, του τονὶ τρόπον καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ, ἄρτι τῆς ἐκ παθῶν δουλείας ἐκτρέχουσα, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀμείνω μεθορμιζομένη, καὶ τῷ θείῳ κατακολουθεῖν ἐθέλουσα νόμῳ, τρυφερόνους τέ ἐστι καὶ εὐαφεστέρα, καὶ ἀνασοβοῖτο εὐκόλως, ἀνόπιν ἱδρῶτα τεθεαμένη καὶ πολέμου νόμον, ἀσπαστὸν δὲ ἡγήσεται τὸ ἐν οἷς ἦν ποτε διαγενέσθαι πάλιν.

# The Pregnant Law: Method and Interpretation

Having established the structure and framework of *De adoratione*, it is now time to examine how exactly Cyril goes about his project of presenting the Pentateuch through the lens of Exodus as a text of moral instruction. This chapter is therefore concerned with Cyril's method of interpretation in *De adoratione*, and the way in which Cyril brings the Pentateuch to bear on the lives of his readers. My argument will be that while considering Cyril's method in terms of letter and spirit does have some explanatory power, there is a limit to the descriptive and analytical power available in this distinction. Not all patristic – or even Cyrillian – texts employing a letter and spirit distinction have identical or predictable exegetical methods. Taking up suggestions from Frances Young, I consider the importance of the broader narrative of *De adoratione* in considering Cyril's method, arguing that the parenetic intent of *De adoratione* is methodologically important because it draws Cyril's exegesis towards a particular goal. Finally, I look at the recent work of Bogdan Bucur and, employing his approach to patristic exegesis, argue that as Cyril seeks to "re-envision" the Pentateuch, he does so by establishing the Christophanic dimensions of the Pentateuch text and the cultic life of Israel. Christ is not, for Cyril, imposed from without, but is present in Israel, especially in worship. This in turn guides Cyril's reading and also provides a way for him to bring the text to his Christian audience for paraenesis.

## LETTER AND SPIRIT

Patristic exegetical method is often described both by the fathers and by modern commentators as one that distinguishes between the letter and the spirit, or roughly equivalent terms like ἱστορία and θεωρία.[315] To take one example likely written during Cyril's youth – and which shares a number of characteristics with *De adoratione* – Gregory of Nyssa's *The Life of Moses* distinguishes the two senses so strongly that they are given two distinct sections. The first book deals with the life of Moses according to its ἱστορία, and the second and much longer book provides a spiritual contemplation, θεωρία. The ordering is not incidental, either, as the reading according to history lays out something like the 'data',

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[315]For a still authoritative discussion of the patristic terminology with special reference to Cyril, see Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 35–40, 111–122.

which is then interpreted spiritually. The θεωρία, then, is a not a flight from ἱστορία, but is grounded in it and dependent on it.[316]

Cyril is clearly working within this broader patristic tradition of scriptural exegesis. Throughout his works, he regularly distinguishes between the "historical" and the "spiritual" understanding of texts in the Old Testament. His favoured terms when drawing this binary are, like Gregory, ἱστορία and θεωρία of Scripture, terms that appear in *De adoratione* with some frequency.

## Ἱστορία in *De Adoratione*

Cyril is not especially concerned with establishing the merits of a literal interpretation of the Old Testament in *De adoratione*, being instead much more interested in justifying how Christ is present in the text, something that I will explore below.[317] He typically mentions ἱστορία when he wishes to contrast a "historical" reading with a reading according to θεωρία. While Cyril in *De adoratione* can regularly mention θεωρία without reference to ἱστορία, the opposite is not the case, something which further distinguishes *De adoratione* from Cyril's Old Testament commentaries.[318] This can perhaps best be explained by understanding that for Cyril in *De adoratione*, ἱστορία does not differ markedly from the Old Testament text as it is simply written. In the opening, programmatic dialogue Cyril contrasts θεωρία not with his own reading according to ἱστορία but rather with the written text itself, "those things declared to the ancients" and "the things spoken of old through the most wise Moses".[319] While Gregory of Nyssa structured his *Life of Moses* by first retelling the life of Moses according to ἱστορία, followed by an interpretation according to θεωρία, Cyril does not put the same amount of attention into ensuring ἱστορία is presented in his own words. Rather, *De adoratione* is full of long direct quotations of the Pentateuch after which Cyril then typically subjects the text at hand to a spiritual reading of sorts, running perhaps for a couple of columns of text in the *PG* edition, before turning again to another lengthy quotation of the Pentateuch. In this way, ἱστορία is not necessarily named, but is continually present in Cyril's understanding as he fills his work with the very words "declared to the ancients" before subjecting them to θεωρία. That Cyril regularly considers the text itself to suffice as ἱστορία can be seen, to take one example, in Book 8. Cyril is embarking upon a

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[316]See, for example, Ann Conway-Jones, "Anagogical Exegesis: Gregory of Nyssa and Moses' Ascent of Mount Sinai," in *Patristic Spirituality: Classical Perspectives on Ascent in the Journey to God* Brill, 2022).
[317]For a recent treatment of Cyril's defence of literal exegesis of the Old Testament, see Porter, "Letter as Spirit."
[318]For example, this stands in contrast to Cyril's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*. For a discussion of ἱστορία in that work, see Hauna T Ondrey, *The Minor Prophets as Christian Scripture in the Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyril of Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 49–74.
[319]PG 68.137A (Book 1)... ὡς τοῖς πάλαι τεθεσπισμένοις διὰ τοῦ πανσόφου Μωσέως... τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διωρισμένα.

long section on love for one's neighbour, and in that context quotes first Exodus 22:16–17 and then Deuteronomy 22:22–27 concerning punishments for adultery. With the quotes having run to half a column in the *PG* edition, Cyril then remarks:

> As for history [ἱστορία], I think that it requires no explanation for anyone to be able to understand. For it is very clear and obvious. But it is necessary for us, as I see it, leaving these things behind, to proceed on the inner and hidden path.[320]

No labour is here required for ἱστορία, which is self-evident in the text itself. Rather, the hidden realities, the contemplation according to spirit and truth, is what Cyril must commit his attention to. This approach is evident throughout *De adoratione*.

Cyril's understanding of ἱστορία, in common with other patristic exegetes, is thus hardly able to be likened to the historical sense in contemporary biblical scholarship. For Cyril, ἱστορία relates to what is written, rather than the author's original intent or necessarily even the history behind the text.[321] This involves for Cyril a kind of simple comprehension of the matters that are being spoken of in the text, with reference to grammar, or the referent of a word, or the personalities involved in the quoted text. When Cyril perceives a lack of clarity, then some labour can be necessary in order to bring out the meaning according to ἱστορία. But the distance between Cyril's understanding of ἱστορία and contemporary historical-criticism is regularly evident. "Historical" understanding does not require philological work so much as examples drawn from Cyril's own world in order to fill in perceived lacks of clarity. At the burning bush, for instance, Moses has his hand turn leprous after removing it from his bosom, following the orders of the divine voice. Then, repeating the action, his hand is restored. Cyril discusses this episode from Exodus 4:6–7 in Book 2, in the context of exploring how Christ alone rescues from sin, death and the devil. Having quoted the verses, Cyril simply states that this manifests the mystery of Christ, namely that He alone can defeat sin. But Palladius then asks for clarification. Cyril consequently embarks upon a fuller investigation of the ἱστορία of the text, moving effortlessly between the world of Moses and that of his contemporary context:

> Leprosy is a disease of the flesh, which, according to the doctors, is greater than their crafts and incurable by them. And the leper is polluted and unclean, according to the commandment [given] long ago through Moses, and hated exceedingly by those

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[320]PG 68.540D-541A (Book 8). Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας, οὐδενὸς οἶμαί που δεήσεσθαι λόγου, πρὸς τὸ συνιέναι δύνασθαί τισι· σαφῆ γὰρ λίαν καὶ ἐναργῆ. Δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔοικε, ταυτὶ μεθέντας εἰς τὸ παρὸν, τὴν ἔσω τε καὶ κεκρυμμένην ἰέναι τρίβον.

[321]See Young, *Biblical Exegesis,* 187. Nathan Porter has more recently argued that for Cyril ἱστορία does sometimes indicate an event that "really took place", even if it does not imply "proto-historical methods" in the Scriptural text. Porter, "Letter as Spirit," 228 n.16, 240.

honouring the customs of the Greeks.[322]

Because leprosy is incurable, the surpassing strength given to Moses is a cause for confidence to the Israelites, being led as they are by one armed with "an indescribable and ineffable power". But then Cyril adds: "While this explanation is not very profound, it is useful for history [ἱστορίᾳ]."[323] From the establishment of this ἱστορία, Cyril can then proceed to expound a redemption history, likening the hand, now leprous, now restored, to the condition of humankind having been received in Christ into the bosom of the Father through adoption and so restored after Adam's sin. But for our present purposes, the episode shows that ἱστορία sometimes does need elaboration, including by drawing on more contemporary "Hellenic" considerations.[324] In these instances, no chasm of time or place appears to separate Cyril from the ἱστορία of the text, who does not feel far removed from the text and its world. Rather the past and the present can contribute to the understanding of the text, both according to ἱστορία and θεωρία, which appear to be in the vivid present for Cyril. The whole project of *De adoratione* – using the Pentateuch to guide his contemporaries in spiritual progress – is one of collapsing perceived distances between ancient text and contemporary context, and Cyril's approach to ἱστορία is no exception to this approach.

Elaborating upon ἱστορία can thus be useful for Cyril's purposes, as he states in Book 8, for example. Cyril writes there that ἱστορία is not obsolete, even if the depth of the spiritual sense is greater.

> For we will not abolish the history [ἱστορίαν] as obsolete in those passages that are very useful [χρησίμοις]. For sometimes the letter itself will be beneficial for hearers, but deep down it carries spiritual things and has, as in subtle shadows, the power of more subtle meanings.[325]

Key for our purposes here is the phrase "in those passages that are very useful". Cyril is writing here about love towards neighbours and has just quoted as his text for consideration Exodus 22:1–4 which legislates the compensation that thieves are required to pay. The principle of compensation for theft is one which, according to ἱστορία, relates well to Cyril's

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[322] PG 68.245D (Book 2). Σαρκὸς μὲν ἡ λέπρα πάθος, ἄμεινον δὲ ἢ κατὰ ἰατροὺς, καὶ ταῖς παρ' ἐκείνων ἐμπειρίαις οὐχ ἁλώσιμον. Ἀνίερος δὲ καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ὁ λεπρὸς, κατά γε τὴν πάλαι διὰ Μωσέως ἐντολὴν, ἀπηχθημένος δὲ λίαν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς τὰ Ἑλλήνων τιμῶσιν ἔθη.

[323] PG 68.248B (Book 2). ... ὡς ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ καὶ ἀφράστῳ δυνάμει... Καὶ λόγος μὲν οὗτος οὐ βαθὺς, τῇ δὲ ἱστορίᾳ χρήσιμος.

[324] Cyril at another point in *De adoratione* uses contemporary Egyptian customs regarding Isis to illuminate the ἱστορία of the women who fasted at the doors of the tent of witness and donated mirrors to build the washbasin in Exodus 38. I explore this in Pietsch, "Cyril and Isis in *De Adoratione*."

[325] PG 68.540B (Book 8). Οὐ γάρ τοι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔν γε τοῖς ὅτι μάλιστα χρησίμοις ὡς ἕωλον ἀναιρήσομεν. Ὀνήσει γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ γράμμα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ὠδίνει δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν βάθει τὰ πνευματικὰ, καὶ τῶν ἰσχνοτέρων ἐννοιῶν τὴν δύναμιν ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς ἔχει λεπταῖς.

theme of neighbourly love and justice. Of course there is also a hidden meaning of history (Νοῦς... τῆς ἱστορίας ὁ κεκρυμμένος) which Cyril finds germane to his theme.[326] But here the point is that both senses can be useful in bringing illumination.[327] Or, to take another example, when commenting on the sin offering in Leviticus 6:24–9 in Book 12, Cyril says regarding the washing of the tabernacle's vessels, and their exclusive use for holy things: "this law has been preserved and is observed in the churches."[328] The law of the Old Testament even on its face value, according to its ἱστορία, can be profitable in the churches, and thus for worship in spirit and truth. The ἱστορία of the text is not abolished, even as it given greater depth through a spiritual reading.

In contrast to this, there are times in *De adoratione* when Cyril considers ἱστορία to be self-evident from the text, but of no use, or even unseemly. In Book 13 when looking at the order and rank of the Levitical office, Cyril turns to Numbers 7:2–9 which identifies which Levitical tribes are responsible for transporting different parts of the tabernacle. While the sons of Kohath are given the liturgical objects of the holy place, to be carried on their shoulders, the sons of Gershon and Merari are given oxen and wagons to carry curtains, pillars, and the like. For Cyril, Gershon and Merari indicate people under the law, carrying not the holy things but things that are superfluous (τὰ περισσὰ). "For the law is useless [ἀνωφελὴς] if it is not understood spiritually."[329] Cyril is not here talking about one particular pericope being useless, but is making a point via allegory that the Mosaic law in general is useless or unprofitable (ἀνωφελὴς) unless, that is, it is understood spiritually (νοοῖτο πνευματικῶς). He does not here explicitly mention the ἱστορία of the text, nor the θεωρία, but we have seen that Cyril does not always use this terminology to make his point. There is thus an apparent inconsistency here, with Cyril speaking at times about the uselessness of the law, even though we have just seen him in Book 8 writing of the usefulness that the law, according to the history (τὴν ἱστορίαν) provides its hearers. It seems best to understand Cyril in Book 13 speaking of a more general disposition that he takes, seeking to expound the mystery of Christ according to θεωρία as the fullest understanding of the law, even if at times he is also willing to see the ἱστορία of the law as being profitable for his purposes. In a treatise devoted to moral paraenesis and worship, it is instructive to note how Cyril's judgment of the law consistently relates to its utility. As a guide to the

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[326]PG 68.536A (Book 8).

[327]Zaganas has also drawn attention to this dimension of Cyrillian hermeneutics, writing that there are "many cases" in which the ἱστορία and θεωρία are, so to speak, "hétérogènes". He provides an example from the commentary on Hosea, in which Cyril seeks to provide a θεωρία that "comes from the history" (relève toutefois de l'histoire) of the text. Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 253. At the conclusion of his chapter he summarizes: "De surcroît, la « contemplation spirituelle » du texte est souvent de caractère historique..." Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 303.

[328]PG 68.832A (Book 12). Τετήρηται δὲ ὁ νόμος, καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις σῴζεται.

[329]PG 68.853D-856D (Book 13). ...ἀνωφελὴς γὰρ ὁ νόμος, εἰ μὴ νοοῖτο πνευματικῶς.

Christian way of life the law, and by extension ἱστορία, is sometimes profitable in itself, and sometimes only when subject to spiritual contemplation. What remains constant is Cyril's seeking to exegete the text according to a paraenetic goal, a discussion that I will take up below.

Particular passages in *De adoratione* can also have a ἱστορία which is not simply useless but even problematic for Cyril. In Book 14, Cyril describes how his audience can approach God, including the need to be free from impurities. In that context he quotes Numbers 5:1–4, forbidding the leprous, those with discharges, and those unclean on account of touching the dead all from dwelling in and thus defiling Israel's camp. Cyril acknowledges that this is a difficult reality to bear. While those who transgress the law ought to be punished, no one is sick voluntarily (ἑκών), and so their punishment is something especially challenging for one so committed to human freedom in the divine economy as Cyril.[330] Thus he goes on:

> Therefore if the meaning of the history [ἱστορία] should contain anything that is unseemly [τὸ ἀκαλλὲς], it is not at all grievous, so long as the spiritual things be directed rightly towards that which seems good to the Lawgiver.[331]

Similar to the instance of Cyril calling the law useless (ἀνωφελὴς) unless contemplated spiritually, calling ἱστορία at times unseemly (ἀκαλλὲς) cannot be generalized without reference to the purpose of Cyril's exegesis. As we have seen, ἱστορία can also be very useful (χρησίμοις) in guiding the reader in the Christian way of life. But in the case of Numbers 5:1–4, ἱστορία has no contribution to make in understanding how Cyril's Christian readers are to approach God, and is even morally problematic. It is only in the spiritual contemplation (πνευματικὴν θεωρίαν)[332] that Cyril can find resources instructive on who should or should not approach God. The leper is like the one consumed by the passions of youth and the works of flesh. The one suffering discharge is like the one who wastes his intellectual gifts on ungodly dogmas and the like. And the one unclean from touching a corpse is like the one who partakes in other people's sins, or consents to them, and so becomes defiled too.[333] In all cases, Cyril's spiritual reading has rendered the involuntary uncleanness in Numbers 5:1–4 as a willed and sinful course of action. These are the people who cannot approach God. For Cyril, who can place a strong emphasis on the role of the

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[330]For a paper that emphasises Cyril's commitment to human freedom with reference to some passages from *De adoratione*, see Boulnois, "Liberté, Origine Du Mal Et Prescience Divine Selon Cyrille D'Alexandrie."

[331]PG 68.889B (Book 14). Οὐκοῦν κἂν εἰ ἔχοι τι τὸ ἀκαλλὲς τῆς ἱστορίας ὁ λόγος, τὸ λυποῦν οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἂν διεξάγοιτο καλῶς τὰ πνευματικὰ πρός γε τὸ τῷ νομοθέτῃ δοκοῦν. See also Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 157.

[332]PG 68.889D (Book 14).

[333]PG 68.889D-892D (Book 14).

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will, ἱστορία can here be unseemly.[334]

We are left, then, observing that Cyril can find ἱστορία or law at times clear, at times in need of explication, at times unseemly, at times useless, and at times useful. A consistent and failsafe value of ἱστορία cannot be extracted from *De adoratione* without reference to the specific goal that Cyril has in mind at the time. Much the same could be said of the θεωρία, albeit for somewhat different reasons. But before turning to the θεωρία, there is one more note to make about ἱστορία of the law in *De adoratione.*

While I have noted that Cyril is not expressly concerned in *De adoratione* with providing justifications for the ἱστορία of the text, nor with dwelling on ἱστορία in any extended way, there is one sense in which the ἱστορία of the law is on prominent display. In studying the structure of *De adoratione*, I have already had occasion to show how Cyril follows the broad outline of Israel's history in *De adoratione.* While the pattern is not explicit nor always obvious, Cyril does use the broad structure of Exodus to draw his readers on a journey of moral progress and growth in holiness as an exercise in spiritual worship. By doing so, Cyril affirms the importance of ἱστορία as providing a structure and ordering for spiritual exegesis and moral guidance. Investing ἱστορία with this kind of importance was not necessarily a self-evident position. Writing much later, in the twelfth century, Hugh of St Victor writes that when interpreting the Bible allegorically, one should not preserve the "same order" that is given in the history. "History follows the order of time," but "allegory belongs more to the order of knowing." As exegesis is most fundamentally a way of knowing, Christian exegesis is to be done through Christ, and thus according to a different ordering.[335] Robert Louis Wilken furnishes this quotation from the Victorine in support of his understanding of Cyril's own method. But in *De adoratione,* at least, the situation is not so clear. Cyril does not separate the order of history from the order of spiritual knowledge and maturity, but in the very sequence of the ἱστορία of the text, he finds something profitable for growth and progress in the Christian way of life.

## Θεωρία in *De Adoratione*

In Book 2, Cyril explains to Palladius the insufficiency of the Old Testament law for salvation, and as a part of that discussion includes a section on Old Testament prophetic texts which foretell the end of animal sacrifice. The Old Testament thus contains within itself a discussion of the insufficiency of the worship established in the Pentateuch. Directly, Cyril

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[334]Nathan Porter has written recently of Cyril's exegesis of Hosea's marriage, which most patristic exegetes considered could never have actually happened, owing to its unseemliness. While here I have shown Cyril's openness to considering the ἱστορία of a text as unbecoming, in the case of Hosea, Cyril stands out as one who thought the marriage actually occurred, with its disreputability being central to its significance. Porter, "Letter as Spirit."

[335]Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon* 6.6. Quoted in Wilken, "Cyril as Interpreter," 21.

quotes Exodus 3:2–5 on the burning bush and spends some time in exegesis of the text with Palladius.[336] After a while he comments on verses 4–5 concerning God's warning to Moses not to come closer owing to his wearing sandals and it being holy ground. In seeking to provide a reading according to θεωρία, Cyril notes that Moses is a type of the law, and that obedience to that law "does not have sufficient power for purification, 'For the blood of bulls and goats is unable to take away sins' [Hebrews 10:4]."[337] Putting this together, Cyril explains that Moses is unable to approach God fully because the law is unable to approach God fully for the forgiveness of sins. That Moses is told by God to remove his sandals shows for Cyril that the "journey of life according to the law" (τῆς κατὰ νόμον ζωῆς τὴν πορείαν) is not yet clean, alluding to the use of sandals for walking. But Cyril also alludes to the material for sandals being leather, the flesh of a dead animal, by adding that this journey of life according to the law is "not completely freed from the works of corruption and death" (οὐδὲ τῶν ἀπὸ φθορᾶς καὶ νεκρότητος ἔργων εἰσάπαν ἀπηλλαγμένην)."[338] That is, the dead animal sacrifices of the law are insufficient for the purification and sanctification that allows one to draw near to the holy God. This can be done rather "by faith in Christ and the most perfect purification of the evangelical way of life".[339] In this reading according to θεωρία, Moses is the law, the sandals are animal sacrifices and the law's journey, and the burning bush is God's gracious presence. In the context of Book 2, it thus becomes clear why Cyril can jump from prophetic texts on the end of animal sacrifice to Exodus 3 on the burning bush, for Cyril's reading according to θεωρία fits the broad themes of the book: the insufficiency of the law for salvation, including animal sacrifice, and the necessity of Christ alone for sanctification and escape from sin, death and the devil. Such is the reading according to θεωρία in Book 2. In Book 14, Cyril quotes the same passage again, Exodus 3:1–5, but the theme has now changed. The book is concerned with those who wish to approach God in the churches, ascending the mountain of the Lord and adorning themselves with the crown of feasting in Christ. So when Cyril approaches his reading of Exodus 3:1–5 according to θεωρία, he has a different set of concerns in mind. In a shorter discussion than in Book 2, Cyril notes again that the sandal is a type of death (νεκρότητος), but this time the stress is not on animal sacrifice but on spiritual purification. The death typified by the sandal does not relate to Old Testament law, but to the intellect and those concerns which bring impurity to the soul. Cyril writes:

Do you understand, then, that no one can be near the all-pure God, without first

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[336]PG 68.232B-240B (Book 2). Cyril first spends time on Exodus 3:2–3 (232B-233C), followed by Exodus 3:4–5 (233C-236B). Discussions of Exodus 3:6 and Exodus 3:7–11 also follow.

[337]PG 68.233D (Book 2). Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ νόμον ὑποταγῆς ἡ δύναμις οὐχ ἱκανὴ πρὸς κάθαρσιν, «Ἀδύνατον γὰρ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων ὑφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας».

[338]PG 68.236A (Book 2).

[339]PG 68.236B (Book 2). ... πίστις δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας ἡ τελειοτάτη κάθαρσις.

washing away all impurity from his soul, and all deadness in matters of the intellect, freeing his foot, that is, his spiritual walk in deeds?[340]

The deadness of the leather sandal is now a type for a lifeless soul that is unable to progress in the spiritual life towards God. It is only by discarding mortal states of mind that one will be able to approach God and belong to him (ἥξει τε ἀγχοῦ καὶ οἰκεῖος ἔσται Θεῷ).[341] This reading according to θεωρία is in keeping with his thematic concern in Book 14, that of purification with the goal of approaching God and so joining the heavenly feast. In Books 2 and 14 Cyril quotes the same text, even with the same typology, namely the leather sandal as a type of death. But the θεωρία is not fixed, being instead malleable to Cyril's concerns of the particular book. The unique character of *De adoratione* is on display here, in a spiritual contemplation (θεωρία) of Scripture that is shaped by the wider project, the grand narrative that Cyril is weaving. Cyril can invoke the same text, in different contexts, and accordingly weave a different spiritual exegesis.

This diverse range of spiritual interpretations open to Cyril can also seen be in discussions of the one text in the one place. We do not have to go beyond the example of Exodus 3 and the burning bush to see this at work, in Cyril's discussion of the text in Book 2.[342] While I have been focussing on God's command to Moses to loosen his sandals owing to the place being holy ground, Cyril also comments on the nature of the burning bush itself, likening Israel to the wild bush, unable to bear the cultivated fruits of righteousness. In this spiritual contemplation, the fire is the law which is about to be revealed to Israel and which, if understood spiritually, can bring illumination. But as Israel did not receive the light in mind and heart, so the fire did not penetrate the wood of the bush. It is a spiritual reading of judgment.[343] However, Cyril goes on to say that the episode "seems also to illuminate for us a not unlearned contemplation [θεωρίαν] of other ideas."[344] According to this different spiritual reading, the burning bush offered a sign not of judgment, but of encouragement to Israel. With Israel again being the bush, this time the fire is the wrath of their Egyptian master. The encouragement is that the fire is not consuming the bush, and that thus the Israelites "were much stronger than the fire itself and will not be overpowered by that which was able to harm".[345] Cyril then quotes from Isaiah 43: "Fear not, for I am with you; the flame

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[340]PG 68.937C-D (Book 14). Συνίης οὖν ὅπως οὐκ ἂν ἀγχοῦ γένοιτό τις τοῦ παναγνου Θεοῦ, μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα ῥύπον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαπονίζων ψυχῆς· νεκρότητος δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς ὡς ἐν πράγμασι νοουμένης, ἀπολύων τὸν πόδα, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὴν εἰς τὰ πρακτέα βάδισιν νοητήν;

[341]PG 68.937D (Book 14).

[342]PG 68.232B-240B (Book 2).

[343]PG 68.232C-D (Book 2).

[344]PG 68.233B (Book 2). Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἡμῖν ἐννοιῶν οὐκ ἀμαθῆ θεωρίαν ὑποφαίνειν τὸ χρῆμα.

[345]PG 68.233B-C (Book 2). ... ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῦ πυρὸς ἀμείνους ἔσονται πολύ, καὶ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν ἰσχύουσιν οὐχ ἁλώσιμοι.

will not consume you; the rivers will not overwhelm you."[346] So it is not only that Cyril in *De adoratione* gives different readings according to θεωρία across different books, with different purposes, but also within a particular discussion, Cyril can draw out spiritual readings that have contrasting conclusions. In this one example that we have seen, one of his interpretations is a judgement on Israel, the other an encouragement for Israel.[347]

Θεωρία as a term is most strongly associated with the Platonic tradition and, subsequently, the Alexandrian tradition including exegetes like Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 150–215) and Origen.[348] Understanding Cyril's use of θεωρία can thus be helpfully illuminated by considering how his use is both continuous and discontinuous with the tradition. Scholars of Cyril's exegetical method have typically found comparisons with Origen to be among the most fruitful.[349] The two Alexandrians have a similar approach to reading the Old Testament typologically, considering the whole of the Christian Scriptures to be "one book",[350] with the Old Testament being a shadow (σκιά) in which the mystery of Christ is present in a concealed manner, presenting the Christian exegete with the task of bringing the mystery of Christ into the light, even while also being attentive to the letter of the text. As John McGuckin puts it, "Cyril's exegesis is heavily dependent on that of Origen".[351] But it is precisely this dependence that makes the discontinuities of Cyril's exegetical method all the more noteworthy.

Dimitrios Zaganas, following Alexander Kerrigan, has noted how Cyril avoids using classic Alexandrian exegetical terms such as ἀλληγορία, even as he does depend heavily on θεωρία (or πνευματική θεωρία).

> Bien que l'affinité [between the two terms] soit évidente, il serait toutefois imprudent de conclure trop vite que l'interprétation spirituelle de Cyrille s'inscrit dans la lignée des maîtres alexandrins ou, encore, qu'elle est un décalque de leurs exégèses, car l'évêque d'Alexandrie s'affranchit du modèle traditionnel d'explication et sa théôria

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[346]PG 68.233C (Book 2). The quote seems to be a combination of verses 5 and 2 from Isaiah 43. Μὴ φοβοῦ, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι. Φλὸξ οὐ κατακαύσει σε, ποταμοὶ οὐ συγκλείσουσί σε.

[347]Further, we have already observed the fluidity of the reading according to θεωρία not just within *De adoratione*, but in comparison to the *Glaphyra*. The different works have different stated purposes, and those purposes are at work in the way in which Cyril approaches his spiritual readings of Scriptural passages.

[348]See, for example, the discussion in McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria (*c.* 378-444)."

[349]See, for example, Francis Joseph Houdek, "Contemplation in the Life and Works of Saint Cyril of Alexandria," diss., University of California, 1979), 56–64; Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 47–96, 217–219.

[350]Matthew R Crawford, "Scripture as 'One Book': Origen, Jerome, and Cyril of Alexandria on Isaiah 29:11," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 64, no. 1 (2013).

[351]McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria (*c.* 378-444)," 340.

spirituelle ne semble pas se résumer à l'allégorie.[352]

The reason why Cyril departs from this typical Alexandrian usage is generally understood to be out of a desire to chart something of a middle way between the more Antiochene and Alexandrian approaches to exegesis. Antiochene exegetes like Diodore of Tarsus (died *c.* 390) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (*c.* 350–428) were famously critical of the use of ἀλληγορία, with Theodore writing a *Treatise against the Allegorists.*[353] Instead, they preferred the term θεωρία as one that is in greater harmony with ἱστορία in that it is grounded in the text and less prone to introducing foreign elements.[354] Zaganas has argued that this terminology change is evidence that "Cyrille se garde ainsi visiblement d'utiliser un terme qui provoquait la suspicion de la part des Antiochiens".[355] Nor was this merely a matter of a terminological change masking an identical approach. When it comes to differences in the spiritual sense, scholars have also noted Origen's desire to find significance in every detail of the text as being of a more unrelenting nature than Cyril's. Cyril "moderated the level of allegory used", compared to Origen, preferring instead to focus on the matter of central significance for the spiritual reading of the text.[356] In the *Glaphyra*, Cyril at one point says: "One should realize that some things that happened at the literal level are just as they are in themselves," and thus do not need a spiritual interpretation (θεωρία).[357] While the *Glaphyra* is a companion work to *De adoratione*, this sentiment seems to mark a slight change from his approach in *De adoratione*. As we have seen, in *De adoratione* Cyril could say that the interpretation according to ἱστορία was sometimes useless, and sometimes useful, as well as everything in between. But he never quite says that θεωρία is sometimes not necessary, rather claiming that the law

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[352]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 189. ["Although the affinity is apparent, it would be imprudent to conclude too quickly that Cyril's spiritual interpretation follows in the footsteps of the Alexandrian masters, or even that it is a carbon copy of their exegesis, for the bishop of Alexandria frees himself from the traditional model of interpretation, and his spiritual *theôria* does not seem to amount to allegory."] See also Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 111–22. On page 115 Kerrigan states: "The expression which Tradition used with greatest frequency to designate the higher sense of Scripture was ἀλληγορία. Philo, St. Paul, Tertullian, and Origen are names which are associated with this usage in primitive Christian tradition. St. Cyril, however, employs this term very rarely."

[353]Hauna Ondrey describes this as the "most extended and illuminating anti-allegorical text". Ondrey, *Minor Prophets*, 25.

[354]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 118.

[355]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 194. ["Cyril is thus visibly careful not to use a term which provoked suspicion on the part of the Antiochians."]

[356]McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria (*c.* 378-444)," 339.

[357]PG 69.192B. ...ἐκεῖνο διενθυμούμενος, ὡς τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἴδια τρόπον τινὰ, τῶν ἱστορικῶς γεγονότων... Translation from Lunn (trans.), *Glaphyra,* Volume 1, 196.

is only profitable for the Christian life if it is subject to θεωρία.[358] Moreover, Cyril fills *De adoratione* with allegories, albeit by a different name. The reading according to θεωρία frequently leads Cyril into allegorical interpretations of Pentateuch passages, especially those including unique items or lists. Thus the pomegranates on the priestly hem described in Exodus 28:31–35 are like cities with bells, showing that the priestly task was, and is, to ensure the word of God resounds loudly in the cities.[359] Or, when discussing the twelve stones worn by Aaron on his chest as the oracle of judgement (Exodus 28:21[360]), Cyril imagines a pattern of four rows of three, which shows "the firmness [τὸ ἑδραῖον] in the faith of those who abide in the heart and memory of Christ". "Firmness" because four represents the strength of a quadrangular or equilateral figure, and "faith" because three represents the Trinity, a symbol of faith.[361] While Cyril does not name these readings as allegorical, they are not of the sort that Antiochene exegetes would typically follow. They stand rather in the Origenist tradition of seeking significance in the detail of the texts. For good reason then, did Alexander Kerrigan find that in *De adoratione* Cyril's approach to ἱστορία was undeveloped, and that there is "progress" in his subsequent works to incorporate a more genuine literal sense in his exegesis.[362]

As his whole project in *De adoratione* is the rendering of the law in spirit and truth, according to θεωρία, it may also be that in the *Glaphyra*, Cyril has a slightly different project in mind, allowing him to sometimes overlook a spiritual contemplation of a passage. Or perhaps Cyril avoids in *De adoratione* those passages which he considers to be "only historical", deferring their exegesis to the subsequent *Glaphyra*. Either way, Cyril's approach to the spiritual sense of the text is generally considered to be one that has digested the

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[358]PG 68.137A (Book 1). "... the New Testament is sister and kin to the things spoken of old through the most wise Moses, and made up of the same elements, and life in Christ is not greatly different from the way of life according to the law, if those things declared to the ancients are subjected to spiritual contemplation (θεωρία)." [... ὡς τοῖς πάλαι τεθεσπισμένοις διὰ τοῦ πανσόφου Μωσέως, ἀδελφὴν οἷά περ καὶ γείτονα, καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰοῦσαν πραγμάτων, τὴν νέαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι Γραφὴν, καὶ τῆς νομικῆς πολιτείας οὐ σφόδρα διῳκισμένην τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ζωήν, εἰ πρὸς θεωρίαν ἄγοιτο τὴν πνευματικὴν τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διωρισμένα.]

[359]PG 68.745A-B (Book 11).

[360]Cyril also draws upon Ezekiel 28:13 in an effort to describe the twelve different types of stone.

[361]PG 68.741A-B (Book 11). Τετάχατο δὲ ἀνὰ τρεῖς, καὶ ἐν ὅλοις τέσσαρσι στίχοις, τὸ ἑδραῖον ἐν πίστει τῶν ἐν καρδίᾳ καὶ μνήμῃ Χριστοῦ σκιαγραφούσης ἡμῖν τῆς τοιᾶσδε θέσεως. Πίστεως μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀνὰ τρεῖς, καὶ ὡς ἐν Τριάδι σύμβολον·ἑδραιότητος δὲ τὸ ὡς ἐν τετραγώνῳ τε καὶ ἰσοπλεύρῳ σχήματι.

[362]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 441–44.

critiques of the Antiochians, while also remaining within the broader Alexandrian tradition.[363]

Kerrigan considered Cyril's approach to be broadly the same as the Platonic one. In seeking to explain how Cyril saw the literal sense differing from the spiritual, Kerrigan argued that the two can be distinguished by their "objects and that the difference existing between them is based chiefly on the differences of nature that constitute and characterize these objects".[364] The literal sense has as its object those interpretations that deal with things perceived through the senses (τὰ αἰσθητά), and the spiritual sense those "realities that belong to 'Christ's mystery'", that realm with which Cyril "identifies Plato's intelligible world".[365] Crawford, in his study on Cyril's theology of Scripture, has drawn attention to at least two problems with Kerrigan's position. The first is that Kerrigan fails to take into account the importance for Cyril of the Holy Spirit at work in the interpreter of the spiritual sense. Crawford writes:

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[363]Zaganas at times argues for a greater discontinuity with Origen and the Origenist Alexandrian tradition. "Le dessein exégétique des deux Alexandrins est donc diamétralement opposé : Origène cherche à dégager la « cohérence » (εἱρμός, ἀκολουθία) de l'intention spirituelle du texte, à travers le « traitement homogène » (ἐξομαλισμός) de l'ensemble du texte, au détriment de l'historia, tandis que Cyrille tient à restreindre la portée typologique de l'Ancien Testament en prenant des mesures drastiques contre la propension allégorisante de ses prédécesseurs et de ses contemporains origénistes... Origène et Cyrille se trouvent ainsi plutôt en relation d'opposition." Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 219. ["The exegetical aims of the two Alexandrians are therefore diametrically opposed: Origen seeks to bring out the "coherence" (εἱρμός, ἀκολουθία) of the spiritual intention of the text, through the "homogeneous treatment" (ἐξομαλισμός) of the text as a whole, to the detriment of the *historia*, while Cyril is keen to restrict the typological scope of the Old Testament, taking drastic measures against the allegorizing propensity of his predecessors and Origenist contemporaries... Origen and Cyril thus find themselves in a relationship of opposition."] See also pages 228–30. But then at other times Zaganas sees Cyril as treading more of a middle way, quoting favourably Jean-Noël Guinot as saying that Cyril's exegesis is "une forme d'exégèse hybride, fruit de choix éclectiques et d'une sorte de compromis entre les tendances extrêmes d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche." Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 243. ["... a hybrid form of exegesis, the fruit of eclectic choices and a kind of compromise between the extreme tendencies of Alexandria and Antioch."] That seems to be an echo of Simonetti's claim that Cyril is "eclectic" because he draws on many sources and puts them together without integrity or compactness. Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis,* trans. J. A. Hughes (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 81. Keating seeks to refute this charge. Daniel Keating, "Cyril of Alexandria's Reception of the Apostle Paul," *Letter and Spirit* 11 (2016).

[364]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 43.

[365]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 124, 131.

Presumably [for Cyril] any reasonably skilled and rational person could discern the literal or historical meaning of Scripture. However, given Cyril's emphasis on the necessity of the Spirit to apprehend the spiritual sense, there is no reason to expect that an unbeliever could recognize the spiritual sense of Scripture, since he does not possess the Spirit.[366]

For this reason, the two senses are better distinguished not by their object, but their subject. The second problem Crawford identifies is the aligning of what Cyril considers to be the "mystery of Christ" with Plato's "intelligible world". Crawford rightly notes that the distinction Cyril is seeking to make with the two senses is not a Platonic one, but an ecclesial one, demarcating those who through the Spirit have access to the θεωρία of a text, and those who are outside the life of the church and the Spirit, and thus also unable to access the spiritual contemplation of the Scriptures.[367] In the case of *De adoratione,* there is thus also a performative dimension at play in the text. Difficult texts have a function of stretching Cyril and Palladius as they delve deep into the mysteries. And this is made evident at the very beginning of the work, just as Cyril and Palladius are coming to the end of their opening dialogue, and preparing to launch into the work proper. Palladius suggests they now direct their attention to the law in order to find the beauty of truth, so that the mystery of service (λατρεία) in the Spirit will be made known. Cyril quite strikingly expresses the difficulty before him.

> CYRIL: Indeed, O noble one, it is not without reason that I have been in dread and exceedingly disinclined to this. For, I think, the contemplation [θεωρίαν] of these things is so sublime that it is not at all easy for us to apprehend the lofty portion given to us. For to the one examining the depth of the contemplations [θεωρημάτων] in the law it is, I think, necessary to say: "Who is wise and will understand these things? Or sagacious and will discover them?" [Hosea 14:10]

> PALLADIUS: Of course, it is not an easy matter, my friend. But nevertheless, "Ask," says Christ, "and it will be given to you. Seek and you will find, knock and it will be opened to you." [Matthew 7:7][368]

It is not necessarily that Cyril is here personally daunted by delving into the θεωρία but that, as in other places, he wants to show the reader that the task is a difficult one. And the

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[366]Crawford, *Cyril's Trinitarian Theology*, 219.

[367]Crawford, *Cyril's Trinitarian Theology*, 219.

[368]PG 68.145A-B (Book 1). {ΚΥΡ.} Καὶ μὴν, ὦ γενναῖε, καταπέφρικά τοι σφόδρα εἰκότως, δυσοκνότατά τέ εἰμι πρὸς τοῦτο λίαν. Εἶεν γὰρ οἶμαί που τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἁλώσιμα, τὰ οὕτως ἀνῳκισμένην καὶ ὑπερτενῆ λαχόντα τὴν θεωρίαν. Χρῆναι δὲ οἶμαι λέγειν ἀνασκοπουμένῳ τὸ βάθος τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ θεωρημάτων· «Τίς σοφὸς καὶ συνήσει ταῦτα; καὶ συνετός, καὶ ἐπιγνώσεται αὐτά;» {ΠΑΛΛ.} Οὐκ ἄτραχυ μὲν τὸ χρῆμα, ὦ τᾶν. «Αἰτεῖτε» δὲ ὅμως, φησὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, «καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ζητεῖτε καὶ εὑρήσετε, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν.»

challenge is of the sort is addressed by Palladius' prayer. Cyril's performed labour is not incidental to the work but is a core part of the work. When Cyril perceives the historical sense of a passage to be straightforward, he says as much and moves on. His task is not to relay what he takes to be easy or obvious, but to apply himself to the hidden and interior meaning.[369] All of which requires spiritual receptivity. And Cyril does not merely teach this, but is constantly modeling it, enabling in turn his readers to themselves be spiritual readers of the Scriptures and so progress in the Christian way of life and offer their own spiritual offerings, the very goal of his charge. Building further on Crawford's second critique of Kerrigan, we can add that the mystery of Christ which the spiritual sense opens up is not, for Cyril, an abstraction or a purely contemplative reality, but is practical and embodied. It involves, in *De adoratione*, "moral guidance" and progressing along a path of spiritual growth. The "mystery of Christ" which θεωρία is ordered towards is thus much broader than one might imagine, indeed so broad as to include practically everything that pertains to the Godhead and the Christian way of life. At one point in *De adoratione*, the following exchange takes place:

> PALLADIUS: Does it not seem that the whole purpose of the God-breathed Scripture concerns the mystery of Christ?

> CYRIL: Of course. For Christ is the goal of the law and the prophets [cf. Romans 10:4].[370]

By Cyril's own account, then, the whole of *De adoratione* is dedicated to the mystery of Christ, insofar as it seeks to exegete the law and prophets, of which Christ is the σκοπός, the main point and orienting horizon for every section or passage. What demarcates the interpretation according to θεωρία is not simply its object, *pace* Kerrigan, but that it is brought to light by someone who has the Holy Spirit and points to the mystery of Christ in a broad sense. As Cyril puts it in Book 11, "the law is spiritual for those who are spiritual, and

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[369]See, for example, PG 68.540D-541A (Book 8): "As for the historical meaning, I think it does not need any explanation in order to be understandable to everyone. For it is very clear and obvious. So we must, so it seems, leave it aside at the present time, in order to go on the interior and hidden path." Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας, οὐδενὸς οἶμαί που δεήσεσθαι λόγου, πρὸς τὸ συνιέναι δύνασθαί τισι· σαφῆ γὰρ λίαν καὶ ἐναργῆ. Δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔοικε, ταυτὶ μεθέντας εἰς τὸ παρὸν, τὴν ἔσω τε καὶ κεκρυμμένην ἰέναι τρίβον.

[370]PG 68.268A (Book 3). {ΠΑΛΛ.} Ἅπας οὖν, ὡς ἔοικε,τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς ὁ σκοπὸς εἰς τὸ Χριστοῦ βλέπει μυστήριον; {ΚΥΡ.} Πάντάπασι μὲν οὖν· τέλος γὰρ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ὁ Χριστός·

always speaks of the mystery of Christ".[371] Everything, then, that Cyril expounds from the Pentateuch on moral guidance and the Christian way of life, is a part of the mystery of Christ.

Just as the ἱστορία of the text could vary according to Cyril's needs, so too the θεωρία provides many overlapping realities that are hard to pin down or draw any methodological consistency from. Indeed while the interpretative range of the ἱστορία of the text is more limited for Cyril, the θεωρία cannot fail to be of some use to Cyril on account of the broad range of meaning that he can accordingly draw from the text. It is little surprise, then, that Cyril is often at pains to stress that it is the spiritual meaning that is of most use.[372] He can use a number of different terms to employ this particular sense, including θεωρία, πνεῦμα, ἀλήθεια and their cognates. But in *De adoratione* there is often little need for Cyril to 'introduce' the spiritual sense insofar as his whole project is one which seeks to expound the Pentateuch ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. "The law is spiritual to the spiritual, and always speaks of the mystery of Christ." Moreover, as we have already noted, "the law is useless [ἀνωφελὴς] if it is not understood spiritually."[373] Thus to cordon off a spiritual sense in *De adoratione* is to exclude very little, if anything. Cyril even introduces the whole work as one of θεωρία.[374] If almost everything Cyril does is according to the spiritual sense, then merely stating so does not explain much. Moreover, at least according to Cyril's own terminology, he rarely makes distinctions within θεωρία, clarifying exactly how this sense is to work or what it is limited to beyond "the mystery of Christ" which can encompass all dimensions of the Christian faith. The same can be said for ἱστορία. As Zaganas notes:

> Cyrille ne semble pas faire de distinctions si nettes entre l'interprétation spirituelle, la typologie et l'allégorie, entre le sens christologique et le sens métaphorique ou entre l'historia, l'explication littérale et les allégories historiques.[375]

We need, then, to look to other methodological frameworks to illuminate Cyril's approach.

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[371]PG 68.768A (Book 11). ... πνευματικὸς γὰρ ὁ νόμος τοῖς πνευματικοῖς, καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ Χριστοῦ λαλεῖ μυστήριον. This twofold dimension to θεωρία is present in the work that is most dedicated to Cyril's use of θεωρία, the 1979 dissertation of Francis Joseph Houdek. In that work, Houdek distinguishes the subjective and objective dimensions of θεωρία, even if limiting "the mystery of Christ" in ways I have argued against. For example: "In the subjective sense [Cyril] insists upon an enlightened, personal, God-directed process and activity of contemplation. Objectively, he uses θεωρία to express the spiritual sense of Scripture, that hidden, inner meaning of the sacred text which was placed there by God Himself and in which the exegete discovers the deepest meaning of the mystery revealed to us in the life and activity of Christ." Houdek, "Contemplation in Cyril," 141.

[372]"He harps on this lesson almost to the point of causing tedium," so says Kerrigan. Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 111.

[373]PG 68.853D-856D (Book 13). ... ἀνωφελὴς γὰρ ὁ νόμος, εἰ μὴ νοοῖτο πνευματικῶς.

[374]See PG 68.137A, 145A (Book 1).

[375]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 9. "Cyril does not seem to make such clear distinctions between spiritual interpretation, typology and allegory, between Christological and metaphorical meaning, or between historia, literal explanation and historical allegories."

# METHOD AND PARAENESIS

## Questioning Method

Scholars of Cyril's exegetical method have typically structured their analysis along the lines of the distinction between letter and spirit. Kerrigan, in his classic 1952 study, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Interpreter of the Old Testament*, considered these two senses as "fundamental" for understanding Cyril, and structured his work by first devoting some hundred pages to the literal sense, followed by a hundred pages on the spiritual sense.[376] More recently, Zaganas has considered Cyril's Old Testament exegesis primarily through the lens of the historical and spiritual distinction.[377] The most substantial section of the work, Part II, is made up of some fifty pages on ἱστορία, followed by one hundred pages on θεωρία. Both works offer significant insights into Cyril's exegetical method, while also both noting the limitations of the letter/spirit distinction especially when considering *De adoratione*.

Kerrigan traces what he sees as Cyril's growing interest in the literal sense, with *De adoratione* providing the low-water mark, as his first work. Kerrigan does note the way in which ἱστορία can be useful to Cyril in *De adoratione*, but ultimately finds that this appreciation was something that needed to grow more in Cyril, culminating in the commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets. While in the *Glaphyra*, the companion work to *De adoratione*, Cyril declares in the prologue that his plan is to expound the ἱστορία of the text,[378] Kerrigan finds that "his explanations at times are rather skimpy, being little more than a paraphrase or a summary of the biblical quotations mustered by him."[379] The importance of the historical sense may be acknowledged by Cyril in his works on the Pentateuch, but is in practice underdone. By contrast, Kerrigan notes that Cyril "rigorously adheres [to the principle of ἱστορία] in his commentaries on Isaias and the Minor Prophets, in each of which the literal sense is fully annotated."[380] Kerrigan then sees the ἱστορία/θεωρία distinction as one that grows in importance in Cyril's work, with a greater appreciation for ἱστορία evident in Cyril's more mature works. While Zaganas is perhaps correct in finding this "l'explication gratuite" difficult to fully accept, it is noteworthy that whether or not Cyril grows in his appreciation for the ἱστορία of the Old Testament, Kerrigan rightly finds the ἱστορία/θεωρία distinction to be of limited use in understanding Cyril's exegetical works on the Pentateuch. Zaganas considers his own recent work as one in significant continuity with Kerrigan:

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[376]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*..

[377]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*..

[378]PG 69.16A.

[379]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 41.

[380]Kerrigan, *Cyril, Interpreter*, 42.

Notre propos ne sera pas de reprendre le dossier au complet, ni de proposer une nouvelle analyse générale de l'exégèse cyrillienne. Au contraire, nous allons nous appuyer sur les résultats obtenus par Kerrigan il y a maintenant plus de soixante-cinq ans...[381]

True to this, as already mentioned, is Zaganas' concern with studying at Cyril's exegesis through the ἱστορία/θεωρία distinction. But rather than necessarily identify the kind of progress in Cyril's career that Kerrigan argued for, Zaganas rather examines the ἱστορία/θεωρία distinction in the context of tradition and innovation in patristic exegesis, and the difference between Alexandrian and Antiochene traditions.[382] But he too finds the distinction lacking in interpretive power when it comes to *De adoratione*. He writes that he will ground his analysis on Cyril's *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets* and his *Commentary on Isaiah* – where the two senses of Scripture are more clearly elucidated[383] – for two reasons, with respect to *De adoratione*. Firstly "parce que ce sont les seuls commentaires linéaires sur l'Ancien Testament qui nous sont parvenus dans leur intégralité," unlike *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra* which are "non-linear" in the sense that they do not progress lematically through a particular book in classical commentary fashion.[384] Secondly, Zaganas finds that owing to "la grande spécificité" of *De adoratione* and the *Glaphyra*, they cannot provide "une idée objective" of Cyril's exegetical method. As he puts it a bit later on regarding *De adoratione*,

La portée historique du texte biblique, son historia, bien qu'elle existe, lui est pratiquement indifférente ; elle n'est que fugitivement évoquée tout au long de son traité.[385]

There is an accurate acknowledgement here, by Zaganas, of the limits of the ἱστορία/θεωρία distinction in understanding *De adoratione*, even if it seems a stretch too far to say that he is "practically indifferent" to ἱστορία in *De adoratione*. Putting aside judgements about objectivity, Zaganas rightly notes the unique nature of *De adoratione* both in terms of its "non-

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[381]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 6. "It is not our intention to review the entire question, nor to propose a new general analysis of Cyrillic exegesis. On the contrary, we will rely on the results obtained by Kerrigan more than sixty-five years ago."

[382]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 6.

[383]See, e.g., the prologue to the *Commentary on Isaiah* where Cyril clearly distinguishes between *historia* and *theoria* in a more programmatic fashion. *Comm. Is.* PG 70.9A.

[384]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 7. "... because these are the only linear commentaries on the Old Testament that have come down to us in their entirety"

[385]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 15. "The historical significance of the biblical texts, its *historia*, although it exists, is practically indifferent to him; it is only fleetingly evoked throughout his treatise [referring to *De adoratione*]." In another description, Zaganas writes that "... l'exposé littéral semble être une sorte de « digression » dans le De adoratione, que Cyrille quitte sans vouloir s'attarder." ["... the literal exposition seems to be a kind of "digression" in the *De adoratione*, which Cyril discharges without wishing to linger."] Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 16.

linear" structure, but also then in the way that this structure influences Cyril's exegetical method. It is a simple fact that ἱστορία and its derivatives occur most frequently in Cyril's commentaries on Isaiah and the minor prophets.[386]

This minor role for dedicated reading according to the letter in *De adoratione* is something that Crawford had earlier observed in *De adoratione* too. In his important article on the preface, Crawford notes that the role of the literal is not entirely clear in *De Adoratione:*

> ... the exegetical method followed in *De adoratione* differs from [Cyril's] other works. In the preface to *Glaphyra...* he states his intention to explain each passage both 'historically' (ἱστορικῶς) and in the light of the 'mystery of Christ'. The commentaries on the prophets exhibit a similar twofold exegetical approach. However, in *De adoratione* Cyril seems much less interested in the historical details of the text.[387]

The place that *De adoratione* occupies within the wider scope of Cyril's exegetical works is not my primary concern here. Rather what Kerrigan, Zaganas, and Crawford have all shown in different ways and in different degrees is that on its own terms, *De adoratione* is not a work in which Cyril puts heavy weight on the ἱστορία/θεωρία distinction. And as we saw with our own analysis of ἱστορία/θεωρία in *De adoratione*, while Cyril does not ignore ἱστορία, when he does address it, he can find it both useless and useful and anything in between. In a similar fashion, his readings according to θεωρία can also be somewhat malleable. That is not say they are unimportant. We have shown that the distinction can reveal much about what Cyril is doing. Nevertheless, for Cyril in *De adoratione*, his exegetical method, whether according to ἱστορία or to θεωρία, is governed by a greater goal. Understanding that goal and how it shapes method is key then to understanding how Cyril approaches the Scriptures in *De adoratione.*

## Paraenesis as Method

At the conclusion of Crawford's article, Crawford notes that Cyril sometimes elucidates two different goals, moral and dogmatic, when he interprets Scripture. Cyril does not consider these goals peculiar to himself so much as embedded within the thrust of Scripture itself. Crawford quotes from Cyril's commentary on Micah in which Cyril states that Scripture provides a "twofold form of instruction" that is "both moral and dogmatic."[388] It is a point that Cyril also makes in *De adoratione*. Commenting on Numbers 10:1–8 in Book 6, concerning the Lord's command to Moses to make two silver trumpets to announce when the Israelite camp is to move, Cyril reads the two trumpets as an indication of the twofold

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[386]See Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 135–42.
[387]Crawford, "The Preface," 166.
[388]... τὴν διφυᾶ παίδευσιν... ἠθικήν τε καὶ δογματικήν. *Comm. Mich.* 7:14–15 (Pusey 2.732–3); *Comm. Jo.* 21:25 (Pusey 3.170–1). See Crawford, "The Preface," 166.

nature of the church's preaching. One form of preaching leads "to correctness in dogma" (εἰς ὀρθότητα τὴν δογματικὴν) while "the other leads to moral [ἠθικὴν] emendation and illuminates the path of the way of life in Christ."[389] It is noteworthy that here Cyril does not clearly indicate that *De adoratione* is concerned with the second dimension of the church's scriptural proclamation. But he does indicate as much in the preface to *De adoratione*, declaring that this is to be a work of moral guidance (ἠθικὴν ὑφήγησιν).[390] The clearest contrast within Cyril's works is with the *Commentary on John* which Cyril declares in the preface to be one that provides "a more dogmatic exegesis" (δογματικωτέραν... ἐξήγησιν).[391] While *De adoratione* is not dogma-free nor the *Commentary on John* unconcerned with morals, the distinction is real and one which shapes the emphasis of the two works.[392]

A consideration of Cyril's goal in his exegetical works is important in a discussion on method, because in one sense his σκοπός "predates" his particular exegetical interpretations and so guides, shapes and defines the way in which Cyril goes about his exegesis. We have already seen that both with ἱστορία and θεωρία, Cyril's interpretation in *De adoratione* is guided by his parenetic goals in each book, and in the whole work. Numbers 5:1–4 in Book 14 is taken to show who is unable to approach God in his holiness. The Israelite impure from a dead body is like one who is complicit in someone else's sin which leads to death. In Book 15, Numbers 5:1–4 is interpreted to show how Christians can be clean and so come into God's presence. Now the Israelite impure from a dead body is a warning for Christians to "depart from dead works."[393] We have also seen a similar difference in how Cyril interprets the episode of Moses at the burning bush (Exodus 3:1–5) in Books 2 and 14 according to the goal of that particular section. Turning at random to a page of *De adoratione* is in this way somewhat akin to opening Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Understanding any particular exchange, is predicated upon a knowledge of where Dante is – Inferno, Purgatory or Paradise – and in which place within those respective worlds. In a way reminiscent of this, albeit not as striking or varied, Cyril's exegesis in *De adoratione* is driven also by what stage one is at in the way of life that is in Christ. Remembering that in *De adoratione* Cyril is not beholden to comment sequentially, or seriatim, through any particular biblical books helps us to see that

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[389]PG 68.397A-D (Book 5). Ἕτερον δὲ πρὸς ἠθικὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ξεναγεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πολιτείας καταλευκαίνει τὴν ὁδόν. See also PG 68.179D-180A (Book 1) for this distinction, and again PG 68.921B-C (Book 14) where Cyril stresses the need to possess both virtue and dogmatic correctness. Gregory of Nyssa also interprets the trumpets as proclamation, but for him it is "the mystery of the incarnation" rather than Cyril's moral and dogmatic distinction. *De. Vit. Moy.*, 2.158–9.

[390]Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132. Cyril repeats this phrase in the plural (ἠθικαῖς ὑφηγήσεσιν) when describing *De adoratione* in the *Glaphyra*. PG 69.385B.

[391]*Comm. Jo.,* Preface (Pusey 1.7).

[392]Crawford, "The Preface," 167.

[393]PG 68.980D (Book 15). ... νεκρῶν ἔργων ἀποφοιτᾶν. cf. PG 68.889D-892D (Book 14).

the discretion Cyril exercises in selecting a particular pericope for comment at any particular point, is the same discretion that will direct his exegetical interpretation of that passage.[394]

At one point in his reading of Cyril's *Commentary on Isaiah*, Zaganas notes how Cyril regularly identifies Satan in passages concerning the Assyrians. He then comments:

> La volonté de rapporter avec constance plusieurs versets scripturaires à Satan pour exalter la victoire du Christ témoigne sans doute du goût de Cyrille pour le sens spirituel.[395]

This seems to be a plausible deduction that, nevertheless, contrasts with Cyril's practice in *De adoratione*. Cyril's taste for the spiritual sense is not necessarily a foundational commitment to a methodology which then drives him to read the economy of Christ into Isaiah. Rather it is the scope of Cyril's whole exegetical project – to read the Old Testament as bearing witness to the mystery of Christ and the way of life in Christ, unified with the New Testament under the one divine Author – which forms his foundational commitment, driving his methodology to read the Old Testament in a spiritual sense. It is not that letter and spirit are in a dialectical relationship, but rather in Cyril's reading they are both ordered towards a common parenetic goal. John O'Keefe has written about Cyril's exegesis in the same way, albeit in a slightly different context. Regarding the differences between exegesis in Antioch and Alexandria, O'Keefe has drawn attention away from only considering the Antiochene rejection of allegory in the conflict. Rather, from an Alexandrian and Cyrillian point of view, at issue was the centrality of Christ in the Old Testament, not simply exegetical method. "From Cyril's point of view, it would appear that the exegesis of Diodore and Theodore was not methodologically flawed; it was simply not Christian enough."[396]

Young, in her seminal *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, has provided valuable resources in understanding patristic exegesis beyond the ἱστορία/θεωρία distinction. In that work, she gave notice that "the traditional categories of 'literal,' 'typological' and 'allegorical' are quite simply inadequate as descriptive tools, let along analytical tools."[397] Decoding which of the senses of Scripture is at work in a particular

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[394]Zaganas calls Cyril's dogmatic exegesis "L'exégèse au service de la théologie". Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 262. *De adoratione* is exegesis in service of paraenesis, although one difference is that the paraenesis orders the whole structure of the work as well as the exegesis of discreet pericopes.

[395]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 59. "The willingness consistently to relate several scriptural verses to Satan in order to exalt Christ's victory no doubt testifies to Cyril's taste for the spiritual sense."

[396]John J. O'Keefe, "Christianizing Malachi: Fifth-Century Insights From Cyril of Alexandria," *Vigilae Christianae* 50, no. 2 (1996), 141. See also John J. O'Keefe, "'A Letter That Killeth': Toward a Reassessment of Antiochene Exegesis, or Diodore, Theodore, and Theodoret on the Psalms," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8, no. 1 (2000). Hauna Ondrey summarises this trajectory of scholarship as she frames her own contribution. Ondrey, *Minor Prophets*, 4–5.

[397]Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 2. For further scholarship on the need for hermeneutical categories beyond the letter and spirit dichotomy, see also John David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

passage "does not provide a key to method as such."[398] More recently Hauna Ondrey, in her study of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyril, has stated:

> The fathers' primary purpose in writing biblical commentary was not to use grammatically correct methods of interpretation, even if they drew on these, however self-consciously or instinctually. Studies that have identified the use of specific classical methods within patristic interpretation are helpful, but this cannot be accepted as a sufficient explanatory account.[399]

If we determine that the bulk of *De adoratione* is exegesis according to the spiritual sense, the question of method has not necessarily been solved. Instead Young stresses the importance of the reference of the text. Whether it be through the literal or the spiritual reading, what that text refers to is key for a proper analysis of method and meaning. Jewish readers, for example, could also read their texts prophetically, and so Christian readings of the Old Testament were not clearly distinguished by reading the texts in a prophetic or even Messianic way. Rather, Christian readings perceived a different referent of the text, grounded in the New Testament proclamation. In particular for *De adoratione*, this proclamation involved the dominical teaching that worship was now to be in spirit and truth. And so the reference for the Pentateuch can, for Cyril, now be deduced according to this hermeneutical key.[400] Furthering this point, Zaganas has noted that Cyril can draw moral meaning from both the historical and spiritual senses of Scripture.[401] The senses are then downstream from the confession that Christ had now inaugurated a worship of God the Father in spirit and truth, and that what Moses spoke of was, in actual fact, Christ.[402] A crucial dimension of this confession is also that the Scriptures – Old and New Testaments – contain a unity that allows them to be read intertextually, whether via a historical or spiritual reading. As Cyril puts it in his programmatic opening dialogue,

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[398]Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 117.
[399]Ondrey, *Minor Prophets*, 13–14.
[400]See Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 128.
[401]Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 87.
[402]See John 5:46, a verse Cyril quotes five times in *De adoratione*. See especially his programmatic quotation of it at PG 68.140B (Book 1).

... the New Testament is sister and kin to the things spoken of old through the most wise Moses, and made up of the same elements, and life in Christ is not greatly different from the way of life according to the law, if those things declared to the ancients are subjected to spiritual contemplation [θεωρίαν... τὴν πνευματικὴν].[403]

Intertextuality here also extends beyond the relationship between Mosaic law and New Testament to include Cyril and his audience, too. The life in Christ that Cyril is impressing upon his hearers is the worship and service in spirit and truth. And according to his hermeneutical key, it is revealed by the Mosaic law. For Cyril, the Word is something to be enacted in the life of the Christian. The paraenetic reading of Scripture provides a methodological key, then, that draws Old Testament texts into the world and lives of his audience, mediated by Christ and the illumination that comes from the Spirit in the new covenant. When Cyril says that "the law is useless if it is not understood spiritually,"[404] we can forget to ask, "Useless for what purpose?" But in asking that question we can see the importance of ethical guidance, of the way of life in Christ for his exegetical method.[405]

Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Life of Moses*, proceeds in a similar fashionand, as we have seen, shares much in common with *De adoratione*. Young, indeed, compares the two works and writes that they take up "the same essential approach to exegesis" that is "paraenetic in intent and figural in its fundamental stance."[406] Gregory considered Moses' life to have been recorded for the moral direction and encouragement of Christians, for their growth in virtue. So too Cyril considers the whole Pentateuch, and Israel's narrative in Exodus in particular as a training in virtue, in the Christian way of life. What Moses is for Gregory, Israel is for Cyril. It would be a mistake to think that this spiritual guidance is a concern separate from the exegetical methods that Cyril and Gregory bring to the text. They both understood Scripture as the vehicle by which Christians are drawn into the fullness of the divine life, and so exegesis is by its very nature spiritual guidance. At the opening of his work, Gregory writes in response to a letter from a friend, asking about the perfect life (τέλειον βίον).[407] Just as Gregory's exegesis of Exodus is guided by this question, so is Cyril's exegesis of the Pentateuch guided by the question of how to worship and serve in spirit and truth.

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[403]PG 68.137A (Book 1). ... ὡς τοῖς πάλαι τεθεσπισμένοις διὰ τοῦ πανσόφου Μωσέως, ἀδελφὴν οἷά περ καὶ γείτονα, καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰοῦσαν πραγμάτων, τὴν νέαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι Γραφὴν, καὶ τῆς νομικῆς πολιτείας οὐ σφόδρα διῳκισμένην τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴν, εἰ πρὸς θεωρίαν ἄγοιτο τὴν πνευματικὴν τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διωρισμένα.

[404]PG 68.856D (Book 13). ... ἀνωφελὴς γὰρ ὁ νόμος, εἰ μὴ νοοῖτο πνευματικῶς.

[405]See also the perceptive comments of John O'Keefe: "Answering these questions [of method] provides important information, but it can give one a false sense of having understood the goal of patristic exegesis. For Cyril, as for other commentators, interpreting the Bible correctly went beyond employing the proper methodology: it included bringing the proper Christian perspective to the interpretation." O'Keefe, "Christianizing Malachi," 137.. Quoted in Ondrey, *Minor Prophets*, 14.

[406]Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 263.

[407]*De. Vit. Moy.* 1.2.

Young highlights especially the way in which early Christian exegetes treated the Old Testament as a guide to life, beginning with St Paul, and extended through the Apostolic Fathers, Origen (for whom "the Bible is without question a manual of morality"), and extending to John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa.

> The primacy of this way of reading scripture in the Christian tradition has been obscured by concentration on other features, such as the rejection of the Halakah and the development of the Christological reading, or the supposed concern for history in the Antiochene reaction against Alexandria.[408]

Considering the primary role of ethical guidance as the referent of the Pentateuch texts in *De adoratione* opens up further possibilities for understanding the method that Cyril engages in. In Chapter 2, I looked at the structure of *De adoratione*, including how the trajectory of the Christian way of life that Cyril elucidates follows that of Exodus, from renunciation, through redemption and love, to cleanliness and holiness. The texts of the Pentateuch, but the text of Exodus in particular, thus stand as a kind of mimetic representation of the Christian way of life, and indeed of spiritual reality in general. Cyril's method is, to use Young's phrase, a kind of "mimetic exegesis": "'Mimetic exegesis' assumes the replay of a *drama* – an act or plot – and so had a place in forming ethics, lifestyle and liturgy."[409] The drama of Exodus has in *De adoratione* been illuminated by the new covenant, and in this new form has been brought to bear on the lives of Cyril's readers. The various passages that Cyril interprets cannot be isolated in order to find a particular exegetical method without reference to the overarching structure, the drama of Exodus, and the belief that worship is now in spirit in truth.[410] One of the most ambitious and striking dimensions of Cyril's exegesis in *De adoratione*, then, is his thematic reordering of the whole Pentateuch to cohere to the structure of Exodus. Further, his exegetical treatment of passages according to the θεωρία is then driven by this thematic treatment of the Christian way of life according to Exodus, showing how Cyril is dependent not only on particular Pentateuchal texts, but also on drama of Exodus for constructing the way of life in Christ.[411] In this way Cyril is consciously elevating the Christian way of life to become a participation in the holy worship of God akin to the cultic practices of Israel.

## THE PREGNANT LAW: CHRISTOPHANY AND RE-ENVISIONING

There is another dimension to Cyril's exegesis in *De adoratione* that deserves our attention. As I have already noted, Cyril not only relates the New Testament to the Old, and

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[408]Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 204.
[409]Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 209.
[410]See Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 7.
[411]See Young, *Biblical Exegesis,* 263.

vice versa, but also relates the Pentateuch especially to the lives of his hearers as a guide for worship and service in spirit and truth. One of the key methods Cyril employs to enact this is not just via the unity of the Scriptures under one Author, but also by suggesting Christophanic episodes in the Pentateuch. A stress only on mimetic exegesis, or moral guidance, does not fully address the more vivid, time-collapsing way in which Cyril centres his whole project on the real presence of Christ, both as the pre-Incarnate Logos and as present to his contemporary readers.

The most vivid way that Cyril explains this reality is through the metaphor of pregnancy. It is not that the types of the Old Testament are awaiting the historical revelation of their antitypes, bur rather Cyril says, for example, in Book 8 that "the types bear within themselves [ὠδίνουσιν] the beauty of truth."[412] The verb ὠδίνω relates to bearing a child, or by extension as a metaphor, to be in travail or anguish. But when Cyril uses it, it seems to refer less to pain, and more to the metaphor of bearing something within. It is a metaphor that he uses also of the law in the programmatic opening dialogue, where he explains: "For the law is a type and shadow, and an outward form of worship as if in labour [ὡς ἐν ὠδῖσιν], as it were, having the beauty of the truth [τῆς ἀληθείας] hidden in itself."[413] As I noted in Chapter 1, "truth" for Cyril bears within it both the sense of "reality", and also as a descriptor Christ, which contributes further to this striking image. Indeed, if we go back again to Book 8, that "the truth" can be identified with Christ is made clear where Cyril speaks on Numbers 35:22–25 and laws for murderers: "This is an outer form [σχῆμα] for the types. And the shadows are pregnant [ὠδίνουσι] with the mystery of Christ."[414] There are more references to the pregnant law, or letter, or word, throughout *De adoratione*.[415]

And then there are other references to the presence of Christ in his exegesis of Pentateuchal texts that are not always clear. When discussing the power of holy communion in conversion during Book 3, Cyril chooses a text from outside the Pentateuch, 2 Kings 24:11–25, concerning God's judgement of King David's sin in taking a census. The ensuing pestilence ceased only when the Lord relented following David's intercession. In explicating this text, Cyril can simply say, "So Christ, understood in the character [προσώπῳ] of David, delivered us," on account of Christ's intercession for Christians before the Father.[416] What precisely does Cyril mean by "understood in the character of David"? Rather than a Christophanic understanding, it seems more plausible to take this as an example of mimetic exegesis, in which Cyril has taken the drama of God's judgement of King David and has used the narrative to retell the Christian drama of the Eucharist. But then there are other

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[412]PG 68.573C (Book 8). Τῆς γὰρ ἀληθείας οἱ τύποι τὸ κάλλος ὠδίνουσιν.
[413]PG 68.137B (Book 1). Τύπος γὰρ ὁ νόμος καὶ σκιὰ, καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡ μόρφωσις ὡς ἐν ὠδῖσιν ἔτι, καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχουσα κάλλος.
[414]PG 68.581B (Book 8). Σχῆμα τοῦτο τοῖς τύποις. Ὠδίνουσι δὲ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον αἱ σκιαί.
[415]See PG 68.540B (Book 8); 585D (Book 8); 644B (Book 9); 760C (Book 11).
[416]PG 68.289C (Book 3). Ἐξείλετο τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς ἐν προσώπῳ νοούμενος τοῦ Δαβίδ.

texts that are more complex. In Book 2 Cyril's theme is that Christ alone is able to bring escape from sin, death and the devil. In this context, Cyril discusses Exodus 4:10–13 in which the recently appointed Moses pleads with God to be set free so that another can be appointed, on account of Moses' own linguistic poverty. Cyril's theme is the supremacy of Christ, which guides his interpretation to the following explanation:

> Therefore, the divine Moses, knowing beforehand [προγινώσκων] the One who would be sufficient to properly and luminously imprint in the hearers the Word of God and to preach it easily to the whole world, that is, Christ, said: "Please, Lord, appoint another capable person, whom you will send."[417]

What Cyril is here saying seems less open to categorisation as allegory, or typology. Rather, Moses himself simply had foreknowledge of Christ, and was thus reluctant to pretend to speak for God. I have just shown how strongly the paraenetic goal can drive Cyril's exegesis, and perhaps Cyril's interpretation here can be understood better with this in mind. But it does not dismiss the presence of Christ, for Cyril, here influencing and appearing before the Incarnation in the narrative of the Pentateuch owing to Moses' foreknowledge of him.

Looking at some more epiphanic passages will provide further insight into Cyril's understanding of the Pentateuch. In Book 5 Cyril is expounding on the need for the courage which is in Christ. In discussing what the "mountain of the Lord" in Numbers 10–11 refers to, Cyril says that this is Sinai where God "showed himself to all the people" and gave laws. Cyril then adds:

> But Christ was the One who gave the law there as well. That is why he calls the laws given through Moses his words. For he said, "For truly, I say to you, until heaven and earth pass away, not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the Law until all is accomplished. Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away [Matthew 5:18; 24:35]."[418]

Cyril's argument here is that because Christ in the Gospels calls the Law "my words", then we can understand Christ to be present at Sinai. And he makes a similar argument a number of times about Christ's words that "Moses wrote of me" (John 5:46).[419] There is a kind of biblical fidelity to Cyril's Christophanic understanding of Old Testament passages, seen here in his quotation of Matthew's Gospel to direct his understanding. It is the Scriptures

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[417]PG 68.252B (Book 2). Τοιγάρτοι προγινώσκων ὁ θεσπέσιος Μωσῆς, τὸν διαρκῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἀπεξεσμένον τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις ἐμποιῆσαι λόγον τὸν περὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸ πάσῃ ῥᾳδίως διακηρύξαι τῇ γῇ, τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστόν·«Δέομαι, Κύριε,» φησὶ, «προχείρισαι ἄλλον δυνάμενον, ὃν ἀποστελεῖς.»

[418]PG 68.384B-C (Book 5). Ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ πάλαι θεσμοθετῶν ἐκεῖνα Χριστός. Τοιγάρτοι καὶ λόγους ἰδίους τοὺς διὰ Μωσέως καλεῖ νόμους. Ἔφη γάρ· «Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, ἰῶτα ἓν, ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται. Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσεται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι.»

[419]PG 68.140C (Book 1), 220D (Book 2), 233A (Book 2), 260B (Book 2), 653C-D (Book 10).

themselves that lend themselves to interpreting Christ in the Old, in a context of discipleship. And, more specifically, there is a kind of figurative interpretation of Exodus in particular that is presupposed by the New Testament, which Cyril builds upon. This can be seen explicitly in 1 Corinthians 5:7–8 and 1 Corinthians 10:1–12, passages which Cyril refers to many times.[420] This passage may better be understood as a verbal theophany than an epiphany, in that it is the words which come from Christ, which are an encounter with Christ, rather than Cyril claiming a visual appearance. Later, in Book 7, Cyril will say that Christ spoke to Moses "through angels",[421] in a mediated fashion, which is a theme of Cyril's later writings.[422] In passages like this, Cyril does not dwell at any great length on the presence of Christ, the pre-incarnate Logos, at Mount Sinai, and yet the fact that he states Christ's presence in passing makes it equally noteworthy. Cyril seems comfortable operating with a Pentateuch in which encounters with Christ are not just anticipated or told in allegory, but which are present in "historic" ways.

Another example occurs in Book 9, although this time Cyril is more conscious of the import of what he is saying. In describing the tabernacle and its furnishings, Cyril simply states that Christ is the mercy seat (Αὐτὸς οὖν ἄρα τὸ ἱλαστήριον). He goes on to explain that even though Christ became like us and would empty himself (κένωσιν), His own nature is to be in divine glory, just indeed as it was *before* the flesh (καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ πρὸ τῆς σαρκός). In other words, the presence of Christ as the mercy seat is in keeping with his pre-incarnate nature as one of divine glory. This is why the Cherubim cover Christ/τὸ ἱλαστήριον with their wings. This prompts Cyril to turn to Isaiah 6:1–2, which he summarises a passage in which Isaiah describes the Son in his own form (Ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ δὲ σχήματι). Having then quoted the epiphany of Isaiah, including the Seraphim surrounding the enthroned Lord, Cyril adds: "And if one thought that the Seraphim covered the face of God and also his feet, it would not be a mistake to think so."[423]

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[420]For 1 Corinthians 5:7–8, see PG 68.465C (Book 6), 697C (Book 10), 836A-B (Book 12), 1053D (Book 16), 1076C (Book 17), 1080C (Book 17), 1096D (Book 17), 1097D (Book 17), 1101B (Book 17). For sections which quote at least one verse from 1 Corinthians 10:1–12, see PG 68.181D (Book 1), 260B (Book 2), 272B-C (Book 3), 360B (Book 5), 488A (Book 7), 941C (Book 14), 1024A (Book 16). Note that Cyril engages with 1 Corinthians 5:7–8 predominantly in the second half of *De adoratione*, as he is there concerned with cultic ritual and how to "celebrate the festival". And then, in contrast, the journey of Israel through the wilderness which Paul invokes in 1 Cor. 10:1–12 is referred to by Cyril predominantly in the first half of *De adoratione*, concerned as it is with the journey to Mt. Sinai. See Michael Graves, "Exodus," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. and Peter W. Martens Blowers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 548. for the significance of these two Pauline passages in patristic readings of Exodus.

[421]PG 68.489C (Book 7). ... φωνὴ γὰρ καὶ λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ Υἱός. Ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁ νόμος, καὶ εἰ λελάληται δι' ἀγγέλων.

[422]See *Heb.* 1:1 (Pusey, 363–4). For a discussion of Cyril's Christological mediation of Scripture, see Crawford, *Cyril's Trinitarian Theology*, 115ff.

[423]PG 68.600D-601B (Book 9). Καὶ εἰ μὲν οἴοιτό τις ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς πόδας κατεκάλυπτον τὰ Σεραφὶμ, οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἐννοεῖν τι τοιοῦτον.

By stating that the pre-incarnate Logos is present as the ἱλαστήριον in the temple, whose furnishings Cyril is describing as a part of his moral guidance, is not to prophesy, nor give a typological reading that foreshadows Christ, or an allegory which illuminates the mystery of Christ, but rather to reveal Christ in the Old Testament, at the heart of Israel's worship, with everything in Israel's life and worship hinging on him. The worship and service according to the law, was already a worship and service of Christ, albeit not fully understood. This means, then, that Christ's presence is the unifying reality which draws Old Testament, New Testament and Cyril's audience together as they offer they own worship and service in spirit and truth. The Old Testament is a description of the Church, centred around the presence of Christ, the ἱλαστήριον. Exegesis done in this context has then a fundamentally sacramental dimension to it which also shines light on other dimensions of Cyril's exegetical methodology. Typology is often understood as a kind of prophetic looking forward to the revelation of the antitype, a usage that Cyril does employ at times in *De adoratione*. Yet by understanding the antitype to be revealed already on Mt Sinai, already in the ἱλαστήριον, Cyril collapses the spatial and temporal distance customary for typology.

In a way, Cyril is stretching a common definition of typology. William Horbury represents a typical approach by saying that "type and antitype identify some correspondence between different stages in a sacred history".[424] But Cyril regularly collapses sacred history into a Christological, or Christophanic, present. In that sense typology can itself be Christophanic. So, for example, when discussing the blood smeared on the lintels at the first Passover, Cyril calls the Passover lamb a type of Christ, before adding: "For they have anointed the lintels with blood, according to the law appointed for them through Moses, and they were putting forth the mystery of Christ as though it were a certain weapon and shield of their own soul. For Christ's death is a medicine that destroys death..."[425] The type and antitype are here not separated by different stages in sacred history. Rather the antitype is revealed as present in the type. And this extends to people. So in Book 3 Cyril can say rather casually that "Christ also said in the voice of David about the earth and about the holy Apostles: 'I will establish its pillars' (Psalm 74:4)."[426] Jonathan Douglas Hicks, in a paper on the priesthood of Christ in Cyril, surveys a number of Cyril's works on the Old Testament, including *De adoratione*. Noting the way in which Cyril regularly reads Christ's

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[424]William Horbury, "Old Testament Interpretation in the Writings of the Church Fathers," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder, and Harry Sysling (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 766.

[425]PG 68.261B (Book 2). Ἔχρισαν μὲν τῷ αἵματι τὰς φλιὰς, κατὰ τὸν σφίσι διὰ Μωσέως ὁρισθέντα νόμον· τὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον ὅπλον ὥσπερ τι καὶ ἀνατείχισμα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐποιοῦντο ψυχῆς. Λυ[κ]τικὸν γὰρ θανάτου φάρμακον ὁ Χριστοῦ θάνατος...

[426]PG 68.268C (Book 3). Ἔφη δέ που Χριστὸς καὶ διὰ φωνῆς τοῦ Δαβὶδ περί τε τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων· «Ἐγὼ ἐστερέωσα τοὺς στύλους αὐτῆς.» Cyril speaks similarly about David and Christ at other points in *De adoratione*. For example, "it is possible to hear the same one [Christ] speaking through the voice of David", PG 68.489B (Book 7; Αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος διὰ φωνῆς τοῦ Δαβίδ).

priestly activity as being active in Israel before the Incarnation, herightly concludes: "One can therefore place Cyril within a long line of fathers for whom the mission of the Son to the nation of Israel was the mode of God's glorious presence to it."[427]

Further illustration can be seen in Cyril's predilection for the prefix προανα-, especially in *De adoratione* where, to take just the opening columns of Book 1, terms like the following are found: "show forth in advance" (προαναφαίνοντες); "lift up in advance" (προανατείνωμεν); "rise in advance" (Προανατέλλουσα); "take away in advance" (προαναιροῦντα/προαναιρεῖν); and "leap up in advance" (προαναθρώσκων).[428] Then there is the προκατα- prefix as well with a similar meaning.[429] Προανα- is "to do x in advance or beforehand", an almost paradoxical expression, but not quite. In all of these examples, Cyril is arguing for the presence of Christ in the history of Israel. The appointed time for the full revelation of the mystery of Christ was yet to come with the incarnation, but the Pentateuch is, for Cyril, full of words and deeds that proclaim and reveal the mystery of Christ ahead of time. As peculiar and even playful as his vocabulary may sound, it serves a serious and genuine purpose. For Cyril text has always borne y, even if it has also meant x. That is why, as I have shown, Cyril also wants to quote the prophets at length in Book 2, arguing that they themselves saw that the text was pointing to the end of the law, even before the incarnation. They saw the limits of animal sacrifice, and so Cyril argues that the Pentateuch cultic texts cannot be understood solely with reference to animal sacrifice, neither for the prophets, nor for Cyril, and nor, for that matter, for the original Israelite community. For example, the wash basin at the entrance to the temple was already for Cyril showing to the Israelites that the animal sacrifices, just performed, were not sufficient for cleansing, and that priests required further purification before entering into God's presence, a reality that was clear and evident to the Israelite community.[430]

One scholar who can provide resources for this dimension of Cyril's exegesis is Bogdan Bucur, whom Hicks also references in his paper. In his recent book *Scripture Re-Envisioned: Christophanic Exegesis and the Making of a Christian Bible*, Bucur raises concerns similar to Young's regarding the limitations of the literal/spiritual distinction for analysing patristic exegetical method. In particular, Bucur's concern is that the senses of Scripture do not "capture the epiphanic claim underlying the identification of Jesus Christ with the divine manifestation to the patriarchs and prophets of Israel."[431] Patristic exegetes did not only find symbols, allegories, types and foreshadowings of Christ in the Old Testament. They also

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[427]Jonathan Douglas Hicks, "St Cyril on the Priesthood of Christ and the Old Testament," in *Alexandrian Legacy: A Critical Appraisal*, ed. Philip Kariatlis Doru Costache, Mario Baghos (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 224.

[428]PG 68.140D, 145B, 148D, 160A, 168A (Book 1).

[429]E.g. "show forth in advance" (προκαταδείκνυμι). PG 68.629A (Book 9).

[430]See PG 68.665D (Book 10).

[431]Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned*, 276.

"discern and affirmed the presence of Christ – not a literary reality but an epiphanic "real presence" – in the theophanic accounts of the Old Testament and in the very act of exegeting such texts."[432] It is not the case for Cyril that the pre-Christ Pentateuch determined the shape of the fulfillment that was to come in Christ and the Church. Rather the fulfillment that was in Christ determined that which was given by God in the Pentateuch. For Cyril, the Pentateuch is re-contextualised in the clarity of Christ but it is not given a meaning extrinsic to its original revelation. Rather what he understands as its original Christocentric and Christophanic meaning can now be brought forth.

Cyril's inclusion of reading Christ's real presence in the Pentateuch cannot be fully cordoned off from the rest of his parenetic intent and exegetical methodology. The presence of the pre-incarnate Logos helps to "produce" a coherence between Old and New Testaments, as well as coherence with the lives of Cyril's readers.[433] In Book 10, for example, Cyril is discussing the items in the tabernacle in the context of the tabernacle being a type of the church. When he gets to the ark of the covenant, he draws an analogy to the incarnation, and the dwelling of the Logos within "the temple of the Virgin" (τῷ ἐκ Παρθένου ναῷ). By taking on a body, he hid himself behind "the veil" (καταπετάσματος) as it were, just like the ark. But immediately Cyril qualifies this. When we say that the Logos is hidden (κρύπτεσθαι), it is expressly not in the sense of being limited (περιορισθέντα) to a small body. For, Cyril adds, "the Son is everywhere and in everything" (πανταχῇ γὰρ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Υἱός).[434] This expresses a Christological and Christophanic hermeneutic that runs through *De adoratione*.

The law – the texts that Cyril will be looking at in *De adoratione* – is itself pregnant, bearing within itself the truth and the reality of spiritual worship.[435] The metaphor does not mean that the law, once it has given birth, can simply be discarded, as if its role was

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[432]Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned*, 276.

[433]See Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned*, 6.

[434]PG 68.661B (Book 10).

[435]This imagery of pregnancy could be an allusion to Plato, who in the *Theaetetus* casts Socrates as the role of midwife, seeking to bring forth wisdom not from a "pregnant" word but a "pregnant" man, namely Theaetetus himself, using the same verb that Cyril does – ὠδίνω. "Yes, you are suffering the pangs of labour, Theaetetus, because you are not empty, but pregnant." [Ὠδίνεις γάρ, ὦ φίλε Θεαίτητε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κενὸς ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκύμων εἶναι.] *Theae.* 148e. Fowler (trans.), 28–29. Cyril uses some other notable metaphors, too. He follows Origen (and Paul) in describing the law as a "pedagogue" and a "shadow" of what was to come, containing enigmas of spiritual things. He also uses the image of a model and its finished product. Melito of Sardis also has model and finished product analogy, and was perhaps the first to use it. Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 102. Zaganas notes that Melito and Origen employ the analogy in a way that suggests the "chronological and qualitative limits" of the Law's scope, pointing to a radical overcoming of the Old Testament by the New. Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 106. Cyril, by contrast, while using the model analogy, is at pains to reject the erasure or suppression of the Law in the face of the New. For a summary of the different metaphors for the Old and New Testaments in the introductory dialogue of *De adoratione,* see the Appendix in Luis M Armendáriz, *El Nuevo Moises: Dinamica Cristocentrica En La Tipologia De Cirilo Alejandrino* (Madrid: Ediciones FAX, 1962), 253–57. Note, however, that Armendáriz does not include the metaphor of the "pregnant" law.

complete now that the "child" is born. Rather, Cyril envisions the law as being constantly in the pangs of labour, ever bringing for Christ. Encountering the real presence of Christ in the law as we have seen, for example, at Mount Sinai and the ἱλαστήριον is of a piece with this image of the law as pregnant. The task of Cyril the exegete is then to be a midwife, to draw out the truth and even Christ himself from the text in front of him. In light of this, Cyril's self-given task is not so much to apply a consistent method to the text, but to encounter the text spiritually, to engage in charismatic exegesis. Palladius thus tells Cyril that they can proceed with their textual study only "with Christ instilling the divine light in us."[436] And Cyril frames his whole exegetical method as being "in the Spirit". For Cyril it is not just that the Christian way of life flows from the text, but that it also contributes to the right reading of the text. In such a reading, in Spirit and in truth, Cyril is able to say of Christ that "He is the altar, He is the incense and the high priest, He is also the blood of the purification of sins."[437] Christ is present in the text, but is only accessible to those in the Spirit.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have considered the reading strategies that Cyril employs as he expounds on the Pentateuch in *De adoratione*. I have argued that the distinction between ἱστορία and θεωρία is an important one for Cyril's reading of Scripture but I have also pointed to its limits. The ἱστορία can for Cyril be unseemly, praiseworthy, and everything in between. The θεωρία can also have a malleability that points to a larger goal at play. Consequently, I argued for the importance of considering Cyril's paraenetic goal when exploring his method. When ordered towards Cyril's goal of providing moral guidance, all texts are useful. Finally, I made the case for the significance of Christophany in Cyril's reading of the Pentateuch in *De adoratione.* Cyril provides theological argumentation for considering the law itself as pregnant, and this commitment then informs his reading. His Christophanic approach to exegesis enables him to behold, for example, Christ as the mercy seat in the centre of Israel's cult. I argued for the significance these findings for Cyril's providing a kind of *apologia* for why God gave the Old Testament in the first place. God wasn't seeking to mislead the Israelites with the Old Testament by giving them something false. Nor did God change his mind and inaugurate a covenant that made the old one obsolete. Rather, God was giving the new in the old, the mystery of Christ within the

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[436] PG 68.221A (Book 2). Ἀλοίη δ' ἂν, οἶμαι, καὶ λίαν ἀμογητὶ τὸ ζητούμενον, Χριστοῦ τὸ θεῖον ἡμῖν ἐνιέντος φῶς.

[437] PG 68.625B (Book 9). Αὐτὸς οὖν ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ θυμίαμα, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁμοίως τὸ αἷμα τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν. Jean Daniélou makes reference to this passage, and comments that the expression comes from Origen, *Hom. Jos.* 8.6 (corrected), where Origen writes that Christ is "sacerdos et hostia et altare". But the expression in Cyril is somewhat different. Moreover, Origen's use is in a context where he is arguing explicitly for an understanding of expressions like this as figurative ("tropice"). Cyril leaves the interpretive possibilities more open. See Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 129.

worship of the law. Having established these reading strategies, we can now embark on a closer reading of the progressive stages that Cyril envisions for his readers.

# 4.

# Spiritual Progress in Books 1–8

The building blocks of *De adoratione* are largely units of Pentateuchal exegesis. Unlike a typical commentary, though, the blocks are not laid upon each other according to the sequential progression of the Pentateuch. Rather the structuring narrative of the building is the book of Exodus and Israel's own journey, with Cyril creatively appropriating that structure for his own project. This is in keeping with re-envisioned Scripture, as we have already discussed. The structure and ordering of *De adoratione* is perhaps the most original dimension of the whole work. And what this structure reveals is a journey of spiritual progress, of growth in the way of the life that is in Christ. As such, each book or unit of *De adoratione* builds upon what has gone before it, leading the reader on a path of spiritual maturation, culminating in a goal which is not only the end point of the journey, but the reason behind every step of the journey, a true σκοπός.

Having already argued for this reading, in the chapter I look deeper at the nature of that progress in the first half of *De adoratione*, Books 1–8, getting into the details of the stages through closer analyses to the text. My argument is that the goal of *De adoratione*, and even the goal of life, for Cyril, is a spiritual worship of God in Christ. But this goal is constituted and reached by a series of stages. The first half of *De adoratione* is dedicated to these stages – faith, virtue and love – all mapped onto Israel's own journey. Progress to spiritual worship is via a "faith [that] creeps towards that outcome which is good".[438]

The nature of spiritual progress in *De adoratione* has not been widely understood nor examined. Frances Young drew attention to the pattern of fall and redemption that Cyril employed in the opening books of *De adoratione*. While not attempting to provide an overview of the whole work, Young recognised that the guidance that Cyril was seeking to provide in *De adoratione* had a progressive character to it. Her purpose in highlighting this was to establish Cyril's "core narrative" of the Christian account of human existence, and so to understand his later defence of the title *Theotokos* within this narrative.[439] Young notes that *De adoratione* is not concerned simply with a kind of static typology, in which, say, the eucharist or the role of bishops is prefigured in the law. Rather, as the law is a pedagogue, *De adoratione* is concerned with the whole movement from sin to grace that is given "in one

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[438]PG 68.196A (Book 1). Ἕρπει δὲ ὅτι πρὸς πέρας ἡ πίστις τὸ ἀγαθὸν...

[439]Frances M. Young, "*Theotokos*: Mary and the Pattern of Fall and Redemption in the Theology of Cyril of Alexandria," in *The Theology of St Cyril of Alexandria: A Critical Appreciation*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy and Daniel A. Keating (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 55.

narrative after another and applied to 'us'."[440] Thus Adam's temptation is humankind's temptation, and Abraham's subordination to Pharaoh in Egypt is an example of everyone's spiritual enslavement. But so too, the grace that rescued Abram is the same grace offered to all people, and the divine call to follow God which Abram received is a pattern of the call that comes also. Young's reading of *De adoratione* is confined largely to Book 1, with some reference also to Books 2 and 3. Throughout, she rightly sees that whether discussing Lot, or Abraham, Cyril's concern is to present "the progress of the soul," "its gradual ascent," a "journey" of "changing wholeheartedly" and "transformation."[441] What Young observes in the opening books is, I argue, a part of a larger theme of spiritual progress enacted throughout the rest of the work. Going beyond Young, we can examine a larger narrative of progress in *De adoratione* all the way to its final Book 17. Owing to the length of this project, but also owing to a thematic break at the beginning of Book 9, this chapter will focus on the first half of *De adoratione*.

This journey of maturation is foreshadowed already in the Preface, where Cyril says he wishes to show people "how to walk the path [τρίβον] that leads into everything worthy of admiration" and also to accomplish or complete (ἀποπεραίνειν) the way of life (πολιτείας) in Christ. We have seen that the metaphor of completing a journey on a path is a guiding one for Cyril. Throughout the treatise there are numerous references to walking along "the straight path,"[442] to the kind of teaching and preaching that "illuminates the path of the way of life in Christ",[443] and to the need to "examine as well as possible which path to follow in order to become resplendent."[444] This metaphor is very common in Cyril, no doubt because he considers it to be the Bible's own way of talking about spiritual progress, as he states in *Contra Julianum*.[445] Cyril also at times uses the spatial metaphor of ascent. He refers to those he is seeking to guide as "all who ascend the mountain of the Lord."[446] But it is not just metaphorical mountains that Christians ascend. Commenting on Leviticus 1:2–9, he calls animal sacrifice a clear type of the life of the saints. For "we take the form of" (μορφούμεθα) the roasted calf or sheep by dying to the world, and also ascending (ἀναβαίνοντες) to the Father through the Son as a sacrifice that is is truly spiritual and fragrant.[447] As the burning flesh of the animal ascends to the skies, Cyril writes that mortifications and virtues lead Christians to ascend in spiritual offering to God. Then there are metaphors also of

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[440]Young, "Theotokos," 57.
[441]Young, "Theotokos," 58–59.
[442]PG 68.304D (Book 4). ... κατ᾽ εὐθὺ...
[443]PG 68.397D (Book 5). ... καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πολιτείας καταλευκαίνει τὴν ὁδόν...
[444]PG 68.409A Book 6). ... ἀνασκοπῶμεν εὖ μάλα, διὰ ποίας ἰόντες τρίβου, λαμπροί τε ἐσόμεθα...
[445]*Cont. Jul.,* 9.36. There, as Cyril explains the dietary prohibition concerning animals with cloven hooves, he notes that the Scriptures consider the foot to be a type of the path formed by each person's deeds.
[446]PG 68.752D (Book 11).
[447]PG 68.1013B-C (Book 16).

maturation that Cyril can use. Paraphrasing Ephesians 4:13, Cyril can describe the process of spiritual growth as "advancing to a full-grown man" (προκόπτοντες μὲν εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον),[448] or, elsewhere Palladius can paraphrase 1 Corinthians 16:13 in saying that the way to share in the holy crowns of the saints is by "acting like men" (ἀνδριζόμενοί), i.e., virtuously.[449]

Themes of progress and ascent abound in the theology of the patristic era.[450] Whether ascending mountains or ladders, or whether growing or going on a journey, patristic writers were drawn to spatial metaphors of progress to typify change in the Christian life. Their approach to progress was not always uniform, and Cyril's responses to these questions show both continuity as well as a particular and unique vision. The continuity is evident in Cyril's stress throughout *De adoratione* that progress is achieved by the renunciation of the world, the right ordering of desires, the pursuing of virtue, and growing in love – all common themes in patristic spirituality. But then Cyril offers a more unique contribution in *De adoratione* in his stress that all spiritual progress is made in the light of, and with the goal of, right spiritual worship of God, and that this spiritual worship is enacted in the context of the church. However, the goal and the method of spiritual progress are, of course, dependent on one other. No matter how familiar the themes of progress, the goal will affect them and shed different light on them. And so by addressing first this ultimate purpose of spiritual worship, we will be able to better see that the more familiar themes of renunciation and growth in virtue take on their own unique character in *De adoratione.*

## THE GOAL OF SPIRITUAL PROGRESS

Cyril understood the goal of the Christian way of life to be a spiritual worship of God the Father in Christ Jesus. Further, this spiritual worship culminated in a communion of eternal rest with God. Common fourth century readings of Exodus included enslavement to sin, salvation by Christ from captivity enacted in holy baptism, the centrality of the cross and faith, growth in virtue, working towards the destination of eternal life.[451] *De adoratione* shares all of these features, but uniquely sets them all in the context of spiritual worship as the goal of the Christian life. Cyril's conception of this goal is saturated with the symbolic universe of Exodus, and cannot be understood without reference to Israel. It is not only that it is through exegesis of Pentateuch texts that Cyril's vision emerges, but also that the narrative of the people of Israel is taken by Cyril as determinative for his and his audience's journey of spiritual progress in worship. Examining the goal of spiritual progress first

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[448]PG 68.396C (Book 5).
[449]PG 68.320D (Book 4).
[450]For one recent volume dedicated to this topic, see Don W. and Kevin M. Clarke Springer, ed. *Patristic Spirituality: Classical Perspectives on Ascent in the Journey to God* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).
[451]See Graves, "Exodus," 554–55.

enables us to understand the stages on the way with a greater acuity, including their function within the Cyril's larger vision of the Christian way of life. Daniel Keating has done more scholarly work than any other on sanctification and divinization in Cyril. In his monograph on this topic, he called Cyril's *Letter to the Monks in Egypt* "perhaps Cyril's most programmatic account of growth in the divine life".[452] It is my suggestion here, and my argument throughout this chapter and the next, that *De adoratione* makes a solid case for that title, albeit as an account significantly less succinct than the *Letter to the Monks.*

### Spiritual Worship in the Preface and Introductory Dialogue

Cyril does not open the treatise with an explicit statement about the goal of the Christian life. In the *Preface*, he instead promises to concern himself with Christian, pastoral guidance without reference to a particular end state. He is determined to "provide moral guidance for those who have chosen to live their life in the most excellent way," showing them "how to walk the path that leads into everything worthy of admiration" and "how to accomplish rightly and without error the glorious achievements of the way of life in Christ".[453] The nature of these glorious achievements is not explicated in the Preface, but is first flagged in the introductory dialogue with Palladius.[454]

In the introductory dialogue, Palladius asks Cyril about what he perceives to be discrepancies in way the New Testament considers the Old Testament. While Christ says, "I have not come to abolish [the Law and the Prophets] but fulfil them" (Matthew 5:17), Paul in Hebrews [sic] writes of God that: "In speaking of a new covenant, he makes the first one obsolete" (Hebrews 8:13).[455] How can the two statements be reconciled? But Palladius' line of questioning is not simply about the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. His programmatic enquiry is consistently filtered through the lens of worship. After quoting Christ's words on fulfilling the Law and the Prophets (Matthew 5:17–8), Palladius then quotes Christ's words to the Samaritan woman on worship in spirit and truth (John 4:21–4).[456] Contrasting these two passages is central to Palladius' confusion, since on the one hand Christ says the Law and Prophets are not abolished, but on the other hand he says that

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[452]Daniel Keating, *The Appropriation of Divine Life in Cyril of Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 143 n.64.

[453]Τοῖς ὡς ἄριστα καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα θεοφιλῶς διαβιοῦν ᾑρημένοις ἠθικὴν ὑφήγησιν συνθεῖναι προῃρημένος, ὡς ἂν εἰδεῖεν εὖ μάλα τὴν εἰς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τῶν τεθαυμασμένων ἰέναι τρίβον ὀρθῶς τε καὶ ἀπλανῶς τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πολιτείας ἀποπεραίνειν δύνασθαι τὰ αὐχήματα,... Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132. Translation from Crawford, "The Preface," 159.

[454]While *De adoratione* is presented as one continuous dialogue, there are significant thematic shifts throughout. For example, what I refer to as the "introductory dialogue" runs from PG 68:133A-145B, after which Cyril begins: "We must move on, then, to the necessity of seeking to accomplish what is advantageous." [Ἰτέον δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρῆναι φιλοθηρεῖν τὸ τελοῦν εἰς ὄνησιν.]

[455]PG 68.136D-137A (Book 1).

[456]PG 68.133D-136A (Book 1).

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worship will no longer be in Jerusalem but in spirit and truth.[457] What this line of questioning reveals is the fundamental assumption that the Law and the Prophets are concerned first with worship, with "ancient customs" and the "righteousness in the Law,"[458] so that Palladius can conclude his case for the prosecution by saying: "For this clarifies, I think, that we must cease the customs and service that are according to the law."[459]

A short while later Palladius elaborates on what he means by ἠθῶν καὶ λατρείας when he exclaims rhetorically that if the Law is not abolished, then Christians ought to worship as the people of Israel did:

> Or if it is not so, I think that nothing would prevent us from worshiping God as King of all by sacrifices of oxen and incense, bringing him turtle-doves and pigeons, and whatever else the ancients were accustomed to do, urging ourselves on to accomplish these things too.[460]

This gets to the heart of Palladius' concern. He is not reasoning abstractly about the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, but seeking what role – if any – the worship of Israel, and especially texts instituting and governing the worship of Israel, have in the Christian life. The only two options he considers are a supersessionist rejection of the Old Testament texts, or an observance of the blood sacrifices of Israel, with a clear preference for the former. The rest of *De adoratione* is in many respects on extended response to this line of questioning, with Cyril already foreshadowing in the introductory dialogue that "life in Christ is not greatly different from the way of life according to the law, if those things declared to the ancients are subjected to spiritual contemplation".[461] Spiritual worship for Cyril is not a superaddition to the Old Testament, but rather belongs to the essence of what the Law and the Prophets themselves attest to, when the texts are subjected to a spiritual contemplation. Palladius' concern is about worship, that what the Law and the Prophets command must either be rejected, or followed by the offering of blood sacrifices. Cyril's response is that the Old Testament texts, and especially those in the Pentateuch relating to

[457]As he concludes his argument, Palladius again quotes these two texts together in order to summarise his case. PG 68.137A (Book 1).

[458]PG 68.136B (Book 1). Palladius: "But the sacred text enjoins us to depart from ancient customs and to cease from righteousness of the law." [Ἐθῶν μὲν τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἀποφοιτᾶν, καὶ τῆς ἐν Νόμῳ δικαιοσύνης καταλῆξαι δεῖν ἱερὸς ἡμῖν ἐπιτάττει λόγος.]

[459]PG 68.137A (Book 1). Δηλοῖ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τουτὶ, τὸ ἀποπαύσασθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐθῶν [Thus Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 144. cf. ἠθῶν in the *PG* text] καὶ λατρείας τῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

[460]PG 68.137D (Book 1). Ἢ εἴπερ οὐχ ὧδε ἔχει, διακωλύσειεν ἂν οἶμαί που καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν, βουθυσίαις μὲν καὶ λιβανωτοῖς τὸν τῶν ὅλων βασιλέα [addition of βασιλέα in the text of Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 146.] καταγεραίρειν Θεὸν, προσκομίζειν δὲ αὐτῷ τρυγόνας καὶ περιστερὰς, καὶ εἴ τι δρᾶν ἕτερον τοῖς ἀρχαιοτέροις νενόμισται, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπείγεσθαι πληροῦν.

[461]PG 68.137A (Book 1)... ὡς τοῖς πάλαι τεθεσπισμένοις διὰ τοῦ πανσόφου Μωσέως, ἀδελφὴν οἷά περ καὶ γείτονα, καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰοῦσαν πραγμάτων, τὴν νέαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι Γραφὴν, καὶ τῆς νομικῆς πολιτείας οὐ σφόδρα διῳκισμένην τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴν, εἰ πρὸς θεωρίαν ἄγοιτο τὴν πνευματικὴν τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διωρισμένα. In Villani's recent critical edition of Book 1, this sentence is framed as a question. Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 144.

worship, are to be followed because at their heart lies a spiritual worship, which he will spend the rest of the treatise teasing out. The Preface had promised a work concerned with how to live the most excellent way of the life in Christ. The introductory dialogue then moves in a potentially unexpected way, concerned as it is with the relationship between the Old and New Testament. But the theme and goal of spiritual worship provides a hermeneutic to understand how the Preface and introductory dialogue work together. The way of life in Christ is worship of the Father in spirit and truth. This same worship is the key to understanding how the New Testament is "sister and kin" to the Old Testament, with λατρεία according to the Spirit as the goal of the Pentateuch. *De adoratione* is a work both of moral guidance and of Pentateuchal exegesis, and yet these two strands – represented in the Preface and introductory dialogue – find their goal in worship and service in Spirit and truth. This goal of spiritual worship is of course already present in the title of the work. As Villani has written:

> Der Titel des gesamten Werkes ist der zweiten Passage entnommen, legt programmatisch also bereits damit fest, dass die Schrift im Grunde genommen auf die Erklärung der geistigen Anbetung also der Erfüllung und wahren Umsetzung der mosaischen Gesetze zielte.[462]

Spiritual worship is indeed the "wahren Umsetzung", the true realisation of the Mosaic laws, and it is also for Cyril the true realisation of the Christian way of life, which we can see now by studying some texts from the body of *De adoratione*.

## Spiritual Worship in Book 1

After the introductory dialogue, the rest of Book 1 is concerned with the descent of man into sin and bondage, his conversion, and his return to his original state.[463] In some ways, this section is an overview of the whole journey of spiritual progress that will be tracked in *De adoratione*, setting up the trajectory of the whole work. Understanding the goal of spiritual progress thus requires paying attention to the argument in the main section of Book 1. Cyril begins with a short discussion of the original state of man, which was engraved with the image (ἡ εἰκὼν) of the divine nature by the breathing of the Holy Spirit, and enriched

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[462]Villani, "Bibelzitate in Cyrill Von Alexandriens Werken Zum Alten Testament," 800. ["The title of the entire work is taken from the second passage [i.e. Jn. 4:21–4], thus programmatically already establishing that the Scripture basically upholds the explanation of spiritual worship as the fulfilment and true realisation of the Mosaic laws."]

[463]The title of the book is "Concerning humankind's seduction into wickedness and captivity in sin, together with the call and conversion according to repentance, and the return to a better state." [Περὶ τῆς εἰς φαυλότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παρατροπῆς, καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς εἰς ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ ὁμοῦ περὶ κλήσεως καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς κατὰ μετάγνωσιν, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἄμεινον ἀναδρομῆς.] PG 68.133A (Book 1).

with the likeness (ὁμοίωσιν) of God.[464] But when he comes to discuss the fall of man into sin, it is not primarily Adam that Cyril turns to, but Abram, Jacob's sons, and the people of Israel in the Babylonian Captivity. Adam is mentioned by name only once,[465] along with some references to human nature (ἡ ἀνθρώπου φύσις) being expelled from Paradise and remodeled into something unseemly (τὸ ἀκαλλὲς).[466] But it is these other episodes from Old Testament history that provide Cyril with a richer picture of the drama of the whole of the spiritual life. Adam's journey concerns only the first stage, the descent into sin, whereas Cyril crafts the other three narratives in a way that leads to the goal of spiritual worship. In one sense it is striking for such a long work concerning the nature of humankind that Cyril never discusses the creation of the world, and hardly mentions Adam. But it is also illuminating. Cyril chooses narratives that do not so much document humankind's progress according to the biblical narrative, but that rather address the pastoral condition of his hearers with recourse to the most fitting passages from Scripture, a structure that also broadly mirrors that of Exodus. Cyril's argument is complex, but there is a discernible structure to his exegesis which sheds light on his project. First, Cyril introduces the narratives of descent into sin. There is Abraham's descent into Egypt (Genesis 13),[467] followed by Israel's Babylonian Exile (Jeremiah 21),[468] followed by the descent of Jacob's sons into Egypt (Genesis 45).[469] Cyril returns to each of these narratives in the second half of the book, with a clear focus on return and redemption. But sandwiched between these narratives of decline and return, Cyril includes narratives of conversion. This is in keeping with the book title, with its focus first on descent, then conversion, then return or

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[464]PG 68.145D (Book 1). Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως λόγοις τὸ ζῶον ἀπήρτιστο τεχνουργοῦντος Θεοῦ, κατεπλούτει παραχρῆμα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοίωσιν. Ἐνεχαράττετο γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἡ εἰκὼν, ἐμφυσηθέντος ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Cyril does not here elaborate on the relationship between image and likeness, as he would do in, for example, the *Commentary on John*. See *Comm. Jo.* (Pusey 1.182–189). Maxwell (trans.), Volume 1, 81–84.

[465]The reference concerns not Adam's fall, but rather Satan's use of a woman as his intrument of temptation for Adam. PG 68.148D (Book 1): "Therefore, that which happened in Adam, as is seen in the coarseness of actions and sensibly, this very same thing one could observe being fulfilled in each of us in a spiritual and hidden manner." [Ὅπερ οὖν ἐν Ἀδὰμ ὡς ἐν πάχει πραγμάτων καὶ αἰσθητῶς ὁρᾶται συμβεβηκὸς, τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, νοητῶς τε καὶ κεκρυμμένως κατίδοι τις ἂν πληρούμενον.] The 'thing' to which Cyril is referring is Satan's use of woman as his instrument of temptation. In Cyril's reading, "the woman is a type of pleasure" [ἡδονῆς δὲ τύπος, ἡ γυνή].

[466]PG 68.149A (Book 1).

[467]PG 68.149D-156A (Book 1).

[468]PG 68.156A-160C (Book 1).

[469]PG 68.160C-161B (Book 1). In this section on descent, Cyril also includes the episode from Isaiah 36:16–17 of Rapsachis trying to lure Israel from Jerusalem with temptations of vines and figs (PG 68.161B-165B (Book 1)). This emphasises a common theme in Cyril's narratives of descent, namely that is through enticements to pleasure that people are brought into sin. Abraham and Jacob's sons both go to Egypt on account of a famine. And But the story of Rapsachis is not quite like the other three, in that Israel do not actually fall, so nor is there a redemptive half. Instead, the episode illustrates for Cyril that Satan uses earthly pleasures and the desire of the eyes for the purpose of spiritual entrapment and bondage.

redemption. The two conversion narratives are Abraham's call (Genesis 12)[470] and Lot's escape from Sodom (Genesis 19).[471] The narrative of Lot allows Cyril to draw out some of his key themes in conversion: that the two angels seized Lot and his family by the hand shows that conversion is by God's grace, that Lot and his family climbed a mountain in escape shows the spiritual life is more elevated than the life of sin, that Lot's wife is turned into stone shows the perils of returning to the life of sin or even gazing upon it, and that conversion must be complete.

After discussing Abram's initial call (Genesis 12:1–3) as a total claim on one's life, and Abram's response (Genesis 12:5–6) as a complete response, leaving no remnant behind, Cyril emphasises that upon arriving in Canaan, Abram built an altar to the Lord (Genesis 12:7), the goal of his call, an act which would not have been possible without his leaving his old life. Alluding to the temptation to return to the way of sin, Cyril then draws Palladius and his audience into the narrative:

> CYRIL: ... And as for us, according to the same form of argument, as long as we remain attached to the world and its loathsome pleasures, there will be no grace from God. But in those who have been called and obey the divine laws, and who rise up [ἀναθρώσκουσι][472] as if on high ground, which is the longing and eagerness for all that is good, God inspires the knowledge of His own glory and promises us the unshakeableness of hope; and in this way He renders our mind full of vigor, so that in some way we may be able already to offer spiritual sacrifices [1 Peter 2:5] and become a good fragrance of Christ for God the Father, as it is written [2 Corinthians 2:15]; and present our body as a living sacrifice pleasing to God [Romans 12:1], which is the rational and spiritual sacrifice which is first acceptable by God. For He gladly accepts modes of spiritual service and counts the whole matter as a spiritual sacrifice.

> PALLADIUS: So it is necessary that we relocate to what is better, sailing away from what is more shameful; and we should most gladly embrace the call from above, and love delving as much as possible into the things honoured by the law and the things that enjoy the best approval of God. So we will not stop castigating our desire to go

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[470]PG 68.165B-169B (Book 1).

[471]PG 68.169B-184A (Book 1).

[472]As a derivation of ἄνθρωπος, Cyril is perhaps here emphasising in man's rising up there is also a fulfilment of his original state. This is the "return to what is better" [τῆς εἰς τὸ ἄμεινον ἀναδρομῆς] in the title of Book 1.

back and return to the things that are unrighteous.[473]

The passage functions as something of a hinge in Book 1, drawing the reader into Cyril's vision of spiritual progress and marking the transition from detachment through conversion to what is better, namely spiritual worship to the Father. Detachment from the world and from pleasures leads to a spiritual ascent, in which God grants knowledge of his glory, confidence in hope, and an invigoration of the mind, which in turn enables and culminates in the offering of spiritual sacrifices to God the Father.[474] The goal of spiritual progress is thus found in spiritual λατρεία, a worship and service to God enacted in spiritual sacrifice. Exactly what this spiritual sacrifice looks like is not something Cyril enters into here, even employing a tentative, searching tone when saying that "in some way" we are able to offer spiritual sacrifices.

The rest of Book 1 builds on this goal. The three narratives of descent are now resumed, with each finding their goal in sacrifice and worship, and Cyril drawing his audience into this goal, rendered in a spiritual fashion. First, Abram's exit from Egypt leads him to the altar he had previously built at Bethel, where he invokes the name of the Lord (Genesis 13:1–4). His descent into Egypt had made him subject by Pharaoh to griefs and oppressions,[475] but now God leads Abram out of subjection to gain "an undisturbed and pure state of mind"

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[473]PG 68.169A-B (Book 1). {ΚΥΡ.} Καὶ ἡμῖν οὖν ἄρα, κατά γε τὸ ἴσον τοῦ λόγου σχῆμα, προσμένουσι μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ταῖς κατ' αὐτὸν βδελυρωτάταις ἡδοναῖς, οὐδεμία μὲν ἔσται παρὰ Θεοῦ χάρις· κεκλημένοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς θείοις ὑπείκουσι νόμοις, ἀναθρώσκουσι τῶν καθάπερ εἰς γῆν ὑψηλὴν τὴν εἰς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔφεσίν τε καὶ προθυμίαν, ἐνίησι μὲν τῆς ἰδίας δόξης τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐρηρεισμένον ἐπαγγέλλεται· εὐσθενῆ δὲ οὕτω τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπεργάζεται νοῦν, ὡς ἤδη πως ἰσχύσαι θυσίας προσάγειν πνευματικὰς, καὶ εὐωδίαν γενέσθαι Χριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· παραστῆσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα, θυσίαν ζῶσαν [PG includes a καὶ here which is omitted in Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 188.] εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἐν πνεύματι λατρείαν τὴν ἀπόδεκτον παρὰ Θεῷ. Προσίεται γὰρ ἀσμένως τῆς ἐν πνεύματι λατρείας τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ θυσίαν ἡγεῖται τὸ χρῆμα πνευματικήν. {ΠΑΛΛ.} Μεθορμίζεσθαι δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀμείνω πρέπει, τῶν αἰσχιόνων ἀπαίροντας· καὶ προσίεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἥδιστα τὴν ἄνωθεν κλῆσιν, ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα φιλεῖν τοῖς ἐκ νόμου τετιμημένοις, καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην ψῆφον λαχοῦσι παρὰ Θεῷ. Ὡς τό τοι ζητεῖν ἀνόπιν ἰέναι καὶ ἐπινοστεῖν ἐπί τι τῶν ἀδικεῖν εἰωθότων, αἰτίας οὐκ ἀπαλλάξομεν. [In that final sentence, ἐπινοστεῖν is corrected to ὑπονοστεῖν in Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 188. This correction can extend to Lampe's entry for a certain "ἐπινοστέω" which lists only this passage from *De adoratione* as its source. See Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 528.]

[474]This opposition of pleasure to spiritual worship is found elsewhere in Cyril, such as in his Festal Letter 7 from 419 A.D.: "Thus also I think we should consider it of great importance to accumulate for ourselves a great store of the means to secure our future, accepting a moderate degree of discomfort in the course of beneficial actions, rather than refusing some slight suffering and then falling prey to the pains caused by punishment, which are greater and more grievous, or rather harsh and inexorable. Realizing this, and convinced of it, then, there is only one thing to do: to welcome to our souls, with the liveliest determination, the all-holy fast, the mother of every virtue, the guide to holiness, the ever-reliable counselor in the matter of distinguishing oneself in good deeds, to act as a purgative remedy. For it battles against the inordinate movements of the mind, does away with the law that runs riot in the members of the flesh, and lulls the crowd of unruly pleasures in us, all but crying aloud with piercing voice: "Present your members as a living sacrifice, acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship."" *Ep. pasch.* 7 (SC 392.22). O'Keefe (trans.), *Festal Letters 1–12*, 126.

[475]PG 68.184C (Book 1): Ξένον δὲ ὄντα καὶ ἔπηλυν, λύπαις καὶ πλεονεξίαις ὁ Φαραὼ κατηκίζετο.

where he can return to the altar he had descended from, and now worship God. For Cyril, this shows that for his audience, their progress towards spiritual worship is in truth a return.

> For in an enigmatic fashion, it indicates the descent to hostile country, from the land as if also from the tabernacle beloved from the beginning, in which was the altar. For tracing our way back until we might arrive at the place and the land of the altar which was in the beginning, that is, of the old original holiness, we call on the God of all, saying that prophetic address: "Lord, apart from you we know no other; we name your name." [Isaiah 26:13][476]

The paradise or Eden from which humankind came is here rendered as the tabernacle, which is the sanctuary where humankind, *homo adorans*, belongs. Progressing to holiness and spiritual worship is enacted by returning, tracing one's steps (παλινδρομοῦντες) back to the original altar from which man descended, that Bethel altar being for Cyril a type of man's original holiness. Second, Cyril spends some time resuming the narrative of Jacob's sons' descent to Egypt, on account of famine. But now the narrative is of their conversion and return to worship in Exodus 5–12.[477] Cyril thus frames the whole account of the Exodus from Egypt in terms of worship. He highlights that Moses and Aaron's request to Pharaoh is for the freedom to worship. Commenting on Exodus 5:1–2, for example, he writes: "Both Moses and Aaron affirmed that Israel must be let go from the country and land of the Egyptians, because God was calling them to the feast."[478] Freedom from enslavement is a means to the greater goal of worship. And so the Exodus texts to which Cyril gravitates concern this call to worship. He quotes Pharaoh permitting the Israelites to sacrifice, but within the land of Egypt, which Moses refuses. Cyril comments that this shows one cannot serve two masters, and that it is necessary "to perform service to God, the ruler of all, that is pure and blameless," having first separated from what is evil.[479] Cyril then quotes Pharaoh permitting the Israelite men to serve the Lord outside of Egypt, but not their "chattels" (τὴν ἀποσκευὴν), which Moses again refuses. For Cyril, this shows that a "perfect unyoking" (ἀρίστην... ἀνάζευξιν) is necessary for worship, "leaving behind no remnant at all of the

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[476]PG 68.185B (Book 1). Τοῦτο γὰρ αἰνιγματωδῶς κατασημήνειεν ἂν ἡ εἰς ἀλλοτρίους κάθοδος, ἀπὸ γῆς οἱονεὶ καὶ σκηνῆς τῆς ἐν ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ φιλαιτάτης, ἐν ᾗ καὶ θυσιαστήριον. Παλινδρομοῦντες γὰρ οὕτως, ἕως ἂν ἐν τόπῳ καὶ χώρᾳ γενώμεθα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τοῦ πάλαι προσπεφυκότος ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπικαλούμεθα τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν, τὸ προφητικὸν ἐκεῖνο πρόσρημα λέγοντες· «Κύριε, ἐκτὸς σοῦ ἄλλον οὐκ οἴδαμεν. Τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν.»

[477]This section runs from PG 68.185B-208B (Book 1).

[478]PG 68.188D (Book 1). Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ Μωσέα τε καὶ Ἀαρὼν, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων χώρας τε καὶ γῆς ἀνεῖσθαι δεῖν διεβεβαιοῦντο τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, Θεοῦ καλοῦντος εἰς ἑορτήν.

[479]...καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμώμητον ποιεῖσθαι λατρείαν τῷ πάντων κρατοῦντι Θεῷ... The text is Exodus 8:25–8. See PG 68.196B-197A (Book 1).

soul or mind".[480] Yet again, Cyril quotes Pharaoh now permitting the chattels to go, but not sheep and cattle. As those were the sacrificial animals, essential for worship, Cyril comments to his Christian audience that this indicates "we must bring as an oblation to God the most beautiful and remarkable things of life in the world". As an example of this, he mentions those who employ worldly wisdom in their striving for holy and divine dogmas, thus offering spiritual service to God.[481] Throughout the whole discourse, Cyril consistently fashions the exodus narrative as one concerning right worship as the goal of human life, but a goal nevertheless that is only achieved with difficulties. Finally, Cyril ends Book 1 by resuming the account of the Babylonian exile, only now with an eye to its resolution in right worship. Worldly pleasures (κοσμικὰς ἡδονὰς) and the delights of life (τέρψεσι ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον) had led Israel into their Babylonian captivity, beyond the borders of the holy land (τὰ ἐπέκεινα τερμάτων γῆς ἁγίας).[482] In Babylon, they were unable to sing the Lord's song, for they were under the yoke of the Babylonians. But just as in Baruch the exiles send their silver to the holy city where the inhabitants are free to share in the glory of God (Baruch 1:10), Cyril concludes the book by showing how Daniel would face Jerusalem to pray, seeking the holy city beyond his place of captivity.[483] While Book 1 has established that the goal of spiritual progress for Christians is to bring a spiritual worship to God, Cyril ends the book with an incomplete journey, with Daniel looking out his window to the holy land where right worship is performed. In so doing, Cyril establishes the trajectory for the rest of *De adoratione*, a journey from the yoke of slavery to the state of right worship.

In saying that, Cyril upholds the progressive stages of the way of life in Christ, while also suggesting that the goal to which that journey is oriented is already present within the stages, and is constituted by the practices of each stage. Throughout the text, Cyril can mention that a particular practice is already an act of spiritual worship, that there is in effect a unity of ἦθος and λατρεία, even as it is also one step on the way to spiritual worship. Even at the very beginning of the journey, in Book 1, this can be the case. When Palladius and Cyril are discussing Exodus 8:25–28 and Moses' refusal to sacrifice within Egypt, Cyril expounds a reading according to θεωρία which says that so too Christians should separate

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[480] ... οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς τε καὶ διανοίας ἀφιέντας λείψανον... PG 68.201A-C (Book 1). Cyril is here exegeting Exodus 10:8–11. The stress on total separation occurs throughout *De adoratione*, including Book 1. When in Book 2 Cyril is looking back to the previous book, he summarises it by saying: "We have done a fine job proving that it is fitting for us to separate ourselves completely from what is quite shameful and to seek what is better." [Ὁλοτρόπως γε μὴν τῶν αἰσχίονων ἀπαίροντας, τὰ ἀμείνω ὅτι προσῆκεν ἡμᾶς ὅτι ζητεῖν, εὖ μάλα διεβεβαιούμεθα.] PG 68.212A (Book 2).
[481] PG 68.204D-205A (Book 1)... δεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ ζωῆς τὰ κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἐξαίρετα προσκομίζειν Θεῷ... Ἦ οὐχὶ τουτὶ δρῷεν ἂν οἱ διὰ σοφίας κοσμικῆς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τε καὶ θείοις ἡμῶν ἐπαγωνιζόμενοι δόγμασιν, καὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐν λέξει, καὶ τὸ ἐν εἰδήσει πικρὸν θηρώμενοι, καὶ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ἐπιτελοῦντες Θεῷ. Here the text in focus is Exodus 10:24–6.
[482] PG 68.156D (Book 1).
[483] PG 68.209C-D (Book 2).

themselves from evil, putting to death what is earthly within them before coming to God in service. But in saying this, Cyril also quotes from Romans 12:1, arguing that by so doing, his audience will be rightly presenting their bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is an act of spiritual service ($\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$).[484] Even at the first stage, the beginning of the journey, Cyril can make the goal of spiritual worship and service present. While he does use the language of ascent and progress, the goal is for Cyril immanent also in the practices. So in this example from Book 1, mortification and renunciation are both preparatory acts for spiritual worship, and acts of spiritual worship itself already.

## "ADVANCING LITTLE BY LITTLE": THE PATH OF PROGRESS IN BOOKS 2–8

In Books 2 to 8, Cyril seeks to map a path of spiritual progress, with broad demarcations of three different stages on the way. First there is the process of renunciation and conversion, which is a continuation of the theme of Book 1, but which now Cyril is at pains to stress can only be done in Christ and his righteousness (Books 2 and 3). Second is the stage of actively following God in virtue, which requires courage (Books 4 and 5). Third is the path of love, both towards God and other people which, while connected to the second stage, is nevertheless distinguished by Cyril (Books 6 to 8). In these books, Cyril is comfortable using different pictures of exactly what the stages of spiritual growth look like, while nevertheless being committed to a developmental approach to the spiritual life that progresses in stages.

We have already seen Cyril's use of spatial imagery – descending to Egyptian or Babylonian bondage, exiting the place of slavery in order to worship – in delineating clear and non-overlapping stages in the life of spiritual progress. This concern with different stages animates the work, and Cyril uses different methods to convey this. One image he uses is a nautical one, using the verb $\mu\epsilon\theta\circ\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, which means to sail from one anchorage point to another.[485] Cyril can use this when describing growth, to show a clear break with the former stage, and an embracing of the new. One other way he can convey progress is through numbering different stages. Both of these approaches are present in the following passage from Book 5. Cyril is discussing Numbers 9:15–23, in which the Israelites follow the cloud and pillar of fire, which also comes to rest on the tabernacle. This, for Cyril, is a type of Christ, filling the church, and of the church following Christ, who illumines like fire, and enriches like the dew of a cloud. In describing this journey, of the church following Christ, Cyril comments to Palladius:

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[484]PG 68.197B (Book 1). Cyril also stresses this $\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in the paragraph prior, 197A.

[485]See, for example, a passage from Book 1 quoted above in which Palladius says that "it is necessary that we relocate [$\mu\epsilon\theta\circ\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$] to what is better, sailing away from [$\dot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\circ\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$] what is more shameful". PG 68.169B (Book 1). For other uses of the verb, see 176C (Book 1), 184B (Book 1).

But casting the mind to the deepest meanings which are subtle, we will say again that the first departure [ἄπαρσις] is from unbelief to faith, and from ignorance to knowledge, and from not knowing who is by nature and truly God, to knowing clearly the Master and the Maker of all. And a second departure, as if after the first, and advantageous, is from vice and waywardness, towards the desire to do and think things that are good. And the third, which is preeminent compared to the second and in greater glory, is the departure from what is lacking to that which is complete, both in practice and in dogma. For is it not that we are advancing little by little to an increase, understood in Christ, on the one hand advancing to a full-grown man, and, on the other hand, ascending to the measure of the stature of his fullness [Ephesians 4:13]? This is perhaps what is praised to us through the voice of divine Paul: "forgetting what is behind and stretching forward to what is ahead, I press on toward the goal for the prize of the upward call" [Philippians 3:13–14]. And going spiritually from ignorance to knowledge, from foolishness to prudence, from unbelief to faith, and always advancing in virtue, do we not relocate [μεθορμιζόμεθα] from place to place? And passing from a disposition or habit of such a thing to another one, do we not resemble those who are accustomed to travel by foot?[486]

Here nautical imagery gives way to peripatetic, in keeping with the text at hand of Israel walking through the desert, following the cloud. And the language shows a linear path of progress, having to leave one state of spiritual maturity in order to arrive at the next. His numerical listing of steps in this passage shows that Cyril envisages a certain order to the steps. Examining this list, given in Book 5, will draw us into the progress envisaged in the books preceding and following it. The three steps that Cyril presents correspond broadly to the titles he gives Books 2 to 8. The first step or "departure" (ἄπαρσις) is conversion from unbelief to faith, a theme of Books 2 and 3. The second departure is the discipline of the appetites for strength in seeking virtue, found in Books 3, 4 and 5. Finally there is the growth

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[486]PG 68.396B-D (Book 5). ... πλὴν εἰς ἐννοίας ὡς ἔνι λεπτὰς τὸν νοῦν ἐνιέντες, πάλιν ἐκεῖνο ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι πρώτη μὲν ἄπαρσις ἡ ἐξ ἀπιστίας εἰς πίστιν, καὶ ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς γνῶσιν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ εἰδέναι τίς ὁ φύσει τε καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεὸς, ἐπὶ τὸ εἰδέναι σαφῶς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Δεσπότην καὶ Ποιητήν. Ἄπαρσις δὲ ὥσπερ μετ' ἐκείνην δευτέρα καὶ ἐπωφελὴς, ἡ ἐκ φαυλότητός τε καὶ ἀσελγείας, ἐπὶ τὸ θέλειν ἤδη πως τὰ ἀμείνω δρᾷν τε καὶ φρονεῖν. Τρίτη δὲ ταύτης προφερεστέρα καὶ ἐν εὐκλείᾳ μείζονι, ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρτίως ἔχον, πρακτικῶς τε ἅμα καὶ δογματικῶς. Ἦ οὐχὶ κατὰ βραχὺ πρὸς αὔξησιν ἴμεν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ νοουμένην, προκόπτοντες μὲν εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, ἀναθρώσκοντες δὲ καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ; Τοῦτο τάχα πού ἐστι τὸ διὰ φωνῆς τοῦ θεσπεσίου Παύλου ὑμνούμενον ἡμῖν· «Τῶν μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος, κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως.» Ἀπαίροντες δὲ νοητῶς ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν, ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς σύνεσιν, ἐξ ἀπιστίας εἰς πίστιν, καὶ ἀεὶ προκόπτοντες ἐν ἀρεταῖς, ἀρ' οὐχὶ τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεθορμιζόμεθα, καὶ ἐκ διαθέσεως ἤγουν ἕξεως τῆς τοιᾶσδε τυχὸν, εἰς τὴν τοιάνδε αὖ μεθιστάμενοι προσεοίκαμεν ἤδη πως τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ὁδοιπορεῖν;

into that which is full-grown or "complete" (τὸ ἀρτίως) both in practice and dogma, which Cyril addresses in Book 6 on loving God with a complete (ὅλης) soul and mind,[487] and then in Books 7 and 8 on love of neighbour, which, along with the love of God, lead one to "the most complete beauty of devotion to God".[488] Tracking these three steps will give a good sense both of Cyril's project in Books 2 to 8, as well as his vision of spiritual progress, and its innate connection to spiritual worship. Just as the Israelites were led on their exodus, through the wilderness, to Mount Sinai, guided by the σκοπός of worship, so too Cyril, in summoning up passages from Exodus for exegesis and spiritual contemplation, seeks to guide his reader through stages of spiritual progress that are governed by the σκοπός of spiritual worship.

## The First Stage of Faith (Books 2–3)

First, Cyril says there is the coming to God in faith, described as knowledge in not just an abstract way, but also "knowing clearly the Master and Maker of all". This foundational faith plays a key role in the dialogues of Books 2 and 3. Cyril's subject there is the law's inability to justify or sanctify, and that this is achieved only in Christ and in faith.[489] This faith is foundational for Cyril because it establishes a trajectory for the spiritual life. At one point Palladius exclaims, "What a wonderful and saving thing is faith and the thirst to follow God!" Cyril responds: "You are right. For faith creeps towards that outcome which is good."[490] Faith, aligned here with thirst, is inclined to spiritual progress, to following God, by definition. And so it has foundational significance for Cyril's vision of the spiritual life. In Book 2 Cyril stresses that the law was nevertheless not "inspired in vain", but was given by God as a "preparatory training" and for "knowing what is sinful", even if it could not wash that sin or perfect one for sanctification.[491] Indeed, Cyril says that the "law which shows forth

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[487]The title of Book 6 is "That it is necessary that we devote ourselves to him who alone is God according to nature, and love him with a complete soul and mind". PG 68.408C (Book 6). [Ὅτι χρὴ Θεῷ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἡμᾶς προσκεῖσθαι μόνῳ, καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας.]

[488]PG 68.481A (Book 7). ... τελεώτατον κάλλος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν εὐσεβείας...

[489]The title of Book 2, carried on in Book 3, is "That it is impossible to escape the death which comes from sin and to escape the rapacious grasp of the devil except through sanctification according to Christ. And that justification is not in the law, but in Christ". PG 68.212A (Book 2). [Ὅτι ἀμήχανον διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας θάνα τον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου πλεονεξίαν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ἡ δικαίωσις, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ.]

[490]PG 68.193D-196A (Book 1). {ΠΑΛΛ.} Ὡς πανάριστόν τι χρῆμα καὶ σωτήριον ἡ πίστις, καὶ τὸ δεῖν ἔπεσθαι διψῆν τῷ Θεῷ! {ΚΥΡ.} Ὀρθῶς ἔφης. Ἕρπει δὲ ὅτι πρὸς πέρας ἡ πίστις τὸ ἀγαθὸν...

[491]PG 68.216B (Book 2). "For [the law] has not been inspired in vain. And it was given above all "for help", as it is written (Isaiah 8:20). For indeed in as much as it came for the purpose of preparatory training [παιδαγωγία] and knowing what is sinful, and for the purpose of the requirement to receive the beginnings and elements of God's words, how could it not be considered useful? But it is understood to be more unprofitable for the washing of sin and for the ability to perfect for sanctification." [κεχρησμῴδηται γὰρ οὐ μάτην· δέδοται δὲ μᾶλλον «εἰς βοήθειαν,» κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ἧκεν εἰς παιδαγωγίαν, καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ πλημμελὲς, καὶ εἰς τὸ χρῆναι λαβεῖν ἀρχὰς καὶ στοιχεῖα τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ, πῶς οὐκ ἂν νοοῖτο χρήσιμος; Ἀργότερος δὲ πρὸς ἀπόνιψιν ἁμαρτίας, καὶ εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι τελειοῦν εἰς ἁγιασμόν.]

sin, was needed first to be brought to light... so that the power of divine kindness, which is for us through Christ, might not be unknown."[492] But keeping with Cyril's anti-Marcionite vision of the Scriptures, he does not want to claim that the law came in the Old Testament, but now the New Testament has declared the different reality of faith. Rather, faith was already a reality in the Old Testament:

> I will say again, that God proclaimed to Abraham the grace through faith; and ... he offered Abraham a forgiveness older than the law, that which is from kindness.[493]

Cyril's argument that faith is "older" than the law is drawn from St Paul's argument in Romans 4 that Abram's circumcision came after the righteousness that was reckoned to him by faith.[494] This faith, which tends towards the good, is also present for Cyril in the prophetic foreshadowing of the end of animal sacrifice. Faith then bears within itself the goal of spiritual worship. This can be seen when in Book 2 Palladius asks Cyril: "Do we not then honour God with those bloodless sacrifices, we who have received the righteousness by faith, and have rejected the worship in shadows and type?"[495] Cyril answers in the affirmative, but this only provokes Palladius to require further explanation as to why in the Old Testament "God seems to be legislating those things which he now looks down upon with mockery, and reveals to us the methods of spiritual sacrifice."[496] Cyril's extended response is that while God did ordain certain types of animal sacrifice, owing to the need for simple teaching and a well-ordered pedagogy, nevertheless he also showed beforehand (προϋπεδείκνυ) that the time was coming for true service to God.[497] What follows is a sequence of exegeses of passages from Amos, Micah, Isaiah, Malachi, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, and Ezekiel, all in aid of Cyril's argument that the end of animal sacrifices was foretold already in the Old Testament, and thus that the bloodless sacrifices, or spiritual worship, to which faith leads were already present in the Old Testament. Nevertheless, that path of faith was obscured, which prevented the people of Israel from purification and sanctification. When discussing the episode of Moses and the burning bush in Book 2, Cyril writes:

> But, o friend, the law did not release us from death and defilement, nor the things of impurity that contribute to this. Nor did the way of life in accordance with the

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[492]PG 68.217B (Book 2). Ἔδει τοιγαροῦν ἔλεγχον ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ κατήγορον ἀκριβῆ τῆς ἁπάντων ἀσθενείας, τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας δεικτικὸν προαναφαίνεσθαι νόμον, ἵνα καὶ τῆς θείας ἡμῖν ἡμερότητος τῆς διὰ Χριστοῦ μὴ ἀγνοῆται τὸ μέγεθος.

[493]PG 68.217C (Book 2). ... ἐρῶ πάλιν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπηγγέλλετο ὁ Θεὸς τὴν διὰ πίστεως χάριν· καὶ ... ἐν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέραν ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ νόμου τὴν ἐξ ἡμερότητος ἄφεσιν.

[494]Cyril quotes this, along with another relevant passage from Galatians 3 in PG 68.217C-D (Book 2).

[495]PG 68.221B (Book 2). Ἆρ' οὖν οὐχὶ ταῖς ἀναιμάκτοις δωροφορίαις Θεὸν τιμήσομεν, οἱ τὴν ἐν πίστει δικαίωσιν παραδεδεγμένοι, καὶ τὴν ἐν σκιαῖς καὶ τύποις λατρείαν ἐξωθούμενοι;

[496]PG 68.221C (Book 2). ... τὰ δὲ οἷς ἐφήδεται νυνὶ θεσμοθετῶν ὁρᾶται Θεός, καὶ τοὺς θυσίας ἡμῖν τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐκκαλύπτει τρόπους.

[497]PG 68.224A (Book 2). ... μαθημάτων ἁπλῶν, καὶ παιδοκομίας οἰκονομικῆς... τῆς ἀληθοῦς λατρείας.

Mosaic letter. Instead, this was done only by faith in Christ and the most perfect purification of the evangelical way of life.[498]

Here the law and the journey according to the Mosaic letter are contrasted with faith in Christ and the evangelical way of life. While the latter are present and foretold already within the former, they are also two distinct realities.

One last example, this time from Book 3, illustrates further the foundational role of faith in the spiritual life. Cyril and Palladius are discussing a long passage, Exodus 18:1–22, in which Jethro visits his son-in-law Moses in the wilderness. Moses recounts to Jethro "all that the Lord did to Pharaoh and the Egyptians for the sake of Israel," to Jethro's amazement and resultant confession: "Blessed be the Lord... Now I know that the Lord is great beyond all the gods." Jethro then takes offerings and sacrifices to God, before eating bread together with Aaron and the elders of Israel. The following morning, Jethro offers Moses a better way to oversee judicial cases in Israel. Speaking about this text, Cyril notes that Jethro is "foreign and of the nations" and so represents one needing conversion,[499] as he had been "administering some such type of worship as one would expect".[500] It is noteworthy that already Cyril frames this matter of conversion and faith in terms of worship. Hearing then of the "divine strength" and "divine law" from Moses,[501] Jethro's confession that the Lord is greater than all the gods leads him to take whole burnt offerings and sacrifices to God. Drawing on this text, Cyril explains to Palladius and his readers that coming to the knowledge of the one and only God leads also to "the necessity of bearing fruit for him".[502] Thus being led "to confess explicitly that there is no other God, but only One alone" is for Cyril "the foundation of the faith of the catechumens", perhaps referencing the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.[503] And it is a foundation that is built upon, leading to true

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[498]PG 68.236B (Book 2). Νεκρότητος δὲ καὶ φθορᾶς καὶ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἡκόντων ἀκαθαρσίας ἀπέλυσεν ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὁ νόμος, ὦ τᾶν, οὐδὲ πορεία ζωῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τὸ Μωσαϊκὸν, πίστις δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας ἡ τελειοτάτη κάθαρσις.

[499]PG 68.281A (Book 3). ... ἀλλογενῆ τε καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν. Cyril gives more specific details as to the kind of worshipper he imagines Jethro to be as a Midianite, both believing in "God Most High, just indeed as also had Melchizedek; and they arguably accepted also other gods, reckoning with Him those selected among the creatures, earth and the heavens, sun and the moon, and the most notable of the stars". ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ Μελχισεδέκ· προσεδέχοντο δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους τάχα που θεοὺς, ἐναριθμοῦντες αὐτῷ τὰ ἐξαίρετα τῶν κτισμάτων, γῆν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄστρων ἐπισημότερα. PG 68.281B (Book 3). Cyril goes on to say that this corruption and error even extends to his own day. "For such nonsense is spoken still among some in Phoenicia and Palestine". Φρονοῦσι γὰρ ὧδε παραληροῦντες ἔτι τῶν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ τινὲς. Investigating further exactly who these people were, and what were their practices, is beyond our present purposes

[500]PG 68.281C (Book 3). Ἦν οὖν ἄρα καὶ Ἰοθὸρ τοιουτονί τινα, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς, θρησκείας διέπων τρόπον.

[501]PG 68.281D (Book 3). ... τῆς θείας ἰσχύος... τὸν θεῖον... νόμον.

[502]PG 68.281D (Book 3). ... ὅτι δὴ Θεὸς εἷς τέ ἐστι καὶ μόνος, καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰς τὸ χρῆναι καρποφορεῖν αὐτῷ.

[503]PG 68.284A-B (Book 3). ... διαρρήδην ὁμολογεῖν οὐκ εἶναι Θεὸν ἕτερον, πλὴν ὅτι μόνος ὁ εἷς... Πίστις δὲ αὕτη κατηχουμένων ἡ πρώτη.

worship. Cyril, using the very text of the law in Exodus, explains that "Christ is perfecting those catechised through the law",[504] shown by Jethro's conversion leading to him being invited to eat bread with Aaron and the elders "before God", a sign of the "mystical table and sacrifice", that is the Christian Eucharist.[505] That Jethro then advises Moses on a better way to oversee judicial affairs in Israel shows the superior understanding that comes through the perfection that is in Christ.[506] The foundation of faith, then, is a foundation that leads to a fulfilment in worship, both in the offering of first fruits, and in partaking of the eucharistic table. Cyril establishes conversion and a faithful confession as a first step in the journey of spiritual progress, but it is a conversion framed by the goal of true worship, effected by participation in the Eucharist. Tracking the journey of Israel in the book of Exodus, Books 1–3 of *De adoratione* are concerned primarily with the beginning of this journey.[507] As discussed above, in Book 1 Cyril establishes the spiritual journey on the basis of the human propensity to slavery to sin, and the subsequent call to conversion. Israel's pre-Exodus history is in focus, with Cyril discussing how it is that one can end up in slavery. Thus Cyril in Book 1 includes a discussion of Genesis 45:17–20 which explains how Israel's sons descended into Egypt and eventual slavery because of their carnal appetites, namely their desire for food which Pharaoh promised in abundance.[508] Book 2 is largely structured around exegeses of Exodus 3 and 4. Christ's rescue of the enslaved sinner is presented in the context of Israel's own exodus for the purpose of restoration to right worship. Book 3, in turn, includes exegeses from Exodus 13, 14, 17 and 18, all describing Israel on its journey from slavery to worship. By tracing this story of Israel and drawing his Christian hearers into the story, Cyril is also drawing them into the larger goal of worship that he sees operative in the exodus of Israel. The goal of faith, of conversion, of rescue from the slavery of sin, is to bring, in Christ, a new kind of spiritual worship to God.

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[504]PG 68.284A (Book 3). Τελειοῖ δὲ Χριστὸς τοὺς διὰ νόμου κατηχουμένους.

[505]PG 68.284B (Book 3). ... μυστικὴ τράπεζα, καὶ θυσία...

[506]For another commentary on this section of *De adoratione*, see Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 160–62. Blackburn's account is more concerned with Cyril's seeking to show how the perfection in Christ is superior to the law, as Jethro is to Moses. This indeed is a dimension of the text, as evidenced in Cyril's summary passage: "So we have overcome those who are in the law with respect to their own understanding, and we who are being catechised by the tales according to the law, having eaten bread before God, we have been taught to speak and think things that are better." PG 68.285A (Book 3). [Πεπλεονεκτήκαμεν οὖν ἄρα καὶ κατὰ σύνεσιν τοὺς ἐν νόμῳ, καὶ οἱ τοῖς κατὰ νόμον διηγήμασιν κατηχούμενοι, φαγόντες τὸν ἄρτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ ἀμείνω καὶ λαλεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν πεπαιδεύμεθα. Γνωμοδοτεῖ γὰρ Ἰοθὸρ, καὶ ἐπακούει Μωσῆς.] But Blackburn is also attuned to the way in which Cyril pursues the "transposition from Israelite history to the sacramental life of the church". Blackburn Jr., "The Mystery of the Synagogue," 161.

[507]That is not to say that Cyril leaves this theme behind. In Book 7, for example, Cyril confidently reads the righteousness won by Christ and given as a gift in the text of Deuteronomy 15:1–4 concerning the remission of debts every seventh year. "For with the utmost clarity this thing here would indicate the economy of our Saviour concerning us." PG 68.504B [Ἐναργέστατα γὰρ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίαν παραδείξειεν ἂν καὶ τόδε.]

[508]See PG 68.160C-161B (Book 1).

## The Second Stage of Virtue (Books 4–5)

Returning to Cyril's stages of progress, the second departure that he names in Book 5 is "from vice and waywardness, towards the desire to do and think things that are good".[509] This departure is the focus of Books 4 and 5, which form a discreet section, introduced by the title of Book 4 which both looks back to previous books and forward to the next:

> That the one who has been called to justification by God, and redeemed by him, must follow him and both reject the weakness which leads to wickedness, and instead make haste to live in accordance with the law and with youthful vigour.[510]

The process after conversion, after the foundation of faith and the justification that is received from Christ alone, is now one of pursuing virtue. Cyril's use in this title of the perfect passives ("having been called", κεκλημένον; "having been redeemed", λελυτρωμένον) is noteworthy, in that it accentuates a new stage in the journey. The stage of justification, of conversion and redemption, has been completed in Cyril's conceptual framework. A new departure is now built upon that foundation, one of pursuing virtue with vigour and courage, avoiding laxity, and growing in understanding of what must be done in the Christian life. While I will follow this stage through Books 4 and 5, it is by turning to the beginning of Book 6 that we can see Cyril give a helpful explication of the journey thus far in the form of a short summary. As they begin a new book, on complete devotion and love for God, Cyril and Palladius look back to the building blocks they have already established. In doing so they look to the foundation of faith which I have already examined in Books 2 and 3, and how then the theme of courage and virtue in Books 4 and 5 naturally follow on as the next stage or departure.

> CYRIL: So let us now say the support of all houses is the foundation, and the foundation of the ship is the keel. In the same way, the foundation and keel of the stages of the one who wants live an upright life, would be knowledge of the truth and the unadulterated teaching concerning faith which is in God the One by nature and the Truth. "For if you do not believe, nor shall you understand," says the Holy Scriptures [Isaiah 7:9]. And for those who still do not understand what is necessary, they might be idle, because they do not know how to live an upright life. Or do you not say that it is necessary for our good repute, the examination of all that is to be

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[509]PG 68.396B (Book 5). Ἄπαρσις δὲ ὥσπερ μετ' ἐκείνην δευτέρα καὶ ἐπωφελὴς, ἡ ἐκ φαυλότητός τε καὶ ἀσελγείας, ἐπὶ τὸ θέλειν ἤδη πως τὰ ἀμείνω δρᾶν τε καὶ φρονεῖν.

[510]PG 68.301C (Book 4). Ὅτι τὸν κεκλημένον εἰς δικαίωσιν παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ λελυτρωμένον, αὐτῷ κατακολουθεῖν χρὴ, καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μὲν τὸν εἰς φαυλότητα μαλακι σμὸν, ζῆν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπείγεσθαι συννόμως καὶ νεανικῶς. The title of Book 5 is presented as a continuation of this theme: "Still concerning manly courage, which is in Christ." PG 68.132B. [Ἔτι περὶ ἀνδρείας τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ.] Although note that the Ἔτι is missing when the heading is given at the beginning of the book. PG 68.360A (Book 5).

done, if we take into account doing rightly what is necessary to love?

PALLADIUS: I admit.

CYRIL: So the wet-nurse of understanding is faith. And it is understanding that does the detailed examination of the things we need to do ourselves. That is why, when the God of all established for the Israelites as a kind of pedagogue and wise leader the law given through Moses, as a sort of foundation and unshakable beginning, he also gave in advance the knowledge of the one and true Divinity. For he assumed that they would not be able to achieve a blameless and sublime life, that is they would not be able to be regulated by the law which would encourage them towards the best things, nor be able to submit to its commands, unless having raised up in their mind, like some sort of surrounding outer wall, faith in God, they would bravely resist the pleasures that urge them towards idleness.[511]

This passage begins with Cyril seeking to move on to the subject matter of Book 6 and following, namely the pursuit of what is most splendid and praiseworthy. In his conceptual understanding, then, Books 4 and 5 concern a preparatory stage of growth in courage and avoiding laxity, following on from conversion, faith, justification and redemption, the subject matter of Books 2 and 3. Courage and strength are thus presented as a kind of Christian training before the pursuit of what is most praiseworthy. In the threefold framework that Cyril presents in Book 5, this second stage is described as the movement "from vice and waywardness, towards the desire to do and think things that are good".[512] In this introduction to Book 6, Cyril looks back and places this stage upon the foundation of faith. Faith is the keel of the ship, the foundation of the house. Faith is necessary for understanding, but Cyril also notes that "for those who still do not understand what is necessary, it is necessary not to be idle". Avoiding idleness is a key theme of Books 4 and 5, with the courage and virtue that comes in Christ standing in as the corrective. Then at the conclusion of the passage above, Cyril again warns against idleness. Here Cyril employs the

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[511] PG 68.409A-C (Book 6). {ΚΥΡ.} Οὐκοῦν ἤδη λέγωμεν, ὡς ἁπάσης μὲν οἰκίας ἔρεισμα, κρηπίς· νεὼς δὲ τρόπις, ἀρχή· τοῦ δὲ κατορθοῦν ᾑρημένου, θεμέλιος ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ὑποβάθρας ἀρχὴ, τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γνῶσις, καὶ ὁ περὶ πίστεως τῆς εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἕνα καὶ φύσει καὶ ἀληθινὸν ἀκιβδήλευτος λόγος· «Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ συνῆτε,» φησὶ τὸ Γράμμα τὸ ἱερόν. Συνιέντας δὲ οὔπω τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδὲν ἀπρακτεῖν ἀνάγκη, τὸ κατορθοῦν οὐκ εἰδότας. Ἦ οὐκ ἂν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φὴς πρὸς εὐδοκίμησιν ἡμῖν, τὴν ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ πρακτέῳ διάσκεψιν, εἰ ἐν λόγῳ πεποιήμεθα τὸ δρᾶν ὀρθῶς, ἃ ἐρᾶν ἀναγκαῖον; {ΠΑΛΛ.} Φημί. {ΚΥΡ.} Τροφὸς οὖν ἄρα συνέσεως, πίστις. Σύνεσις δὲ, τῶν πρακτέων ἡμῖν ποιεῖται τὴν βάσανον. Καὶ γοῦν ὅτε τοῖς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς παιδαγωγὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ, καὶ ἰθυντῆρα σοφὸν, τὸν διὰ Μωσέως ἐπέστησε νόμον, ὑποβάθραν ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ ἀκατάσειστον ἀρχὴν, τὴν παρὰ τῆς μιᾶς τε καὶ ἀληθοῦς Θεότητος προκατεβάλετο γνωσιν· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἰσχύσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανε τῆς ἀδιαβλήτου καὶ ἀκραιφνοῦς ἐφικέσθαι ζωῆς, ἤγουν τῷ τῶν καλλίστων εἰσηγητῇ καταρυθμίζεσθαι νόμῳ, καὶ ὑπείκειν ἐντολαῖς, εἰ μὴ καθάπερ προανατείχισμα τὴν ἐπὶ Θεῷ πίστιν ἑλόντες εἰς νοῦν, ἀντιφέροιντο γενναίως ταῖς εἰς ῥαθυμίαν αὐτοὺς ἀκονούσαις ἡδοναῖς.

[512] PG 68.396B (Book 5). ... ἡ ἐκ φαυλότητός τε καὶ ἀσελγείας, ἐπὶ τὸ θέλειν ἤδη πως τὰ ἀμείνω δρᾶν τε καὶ φρονεῖν.

metaphor of a city's defences, with faith being the ramparts or bulwarks (καθάπερ προανατείχισμα[513]), protecting the inhabitants from the temptations to pleasure that lead to idleness. Laziness with respect to the things of God would defeat us, were it not for faith which calls and redeems us. The stage of courage and virtue is thus sandwiched between faith and the pursuit of love and what is excellent. Faith is necessary for courage and virtue, but courage and virtue are not goods in themselves so much as conditions which then allow for the pursuit of complete love of God and neighbour.

While Cyril's book titles suggest that this theme of strength and virtue begins with Book 4, much of Book 3 is devoted to this theme, especially the way in which the sacraments of baptism and holy communion grant strength to the converted. I have already examined the episode of Jethro and Moses in Exodus 18:1–22 when discussing the first stage of faith. Cyril exegetes the text to show the significance of faith as the foundation for worship. But the pericope also occurs within the context of a string of pericopes in Book 3 concerning the sacraments. Thus one of the key dimensions of Cyril's treatment of the text is that faith then leads to one making offerings and sacrifices to God (of a spiritual nature, for the Christian), as well as eating sacramental bread before God together with Christ ("the truer Aaron"[514]), and so being perfected in Christ, sanctified, and thus reaching a better understanding. The key texts that Cyril examines in Book 3 are Exodus 13:17–22,[515] Exodus 14:6–20,[516] Exodus 17:8–16,[517] Exodus 18:1–22,[518] 2 Kingdoms 24:11–25,[519] and Zechariah 5:5–11.[520] While some sequence in Exodus is evident, their breadth also reveals a thematic concern that requires Cyril to select texts from across the Old Testament to show how the sacraments provide protection, strength and salvation.

The book begins with the people of Israel *en route* to the Red Sea, which for Cyril is a type of baptism. Israel in the time between Egypt and Red Sea is then for Cyril a type for those who desire baptism but have not yet received it, suggesting catechumens. He describes the spiritual situation thus:

> For indeed [when] we having recently undertaken to depart from the life that is fond of pleasure and is worldly, being especially zealous for the obligatory following of God's laws, but not yet enriched in the grace [given] through holy baptism, we are not very strong, that is to say, we are not yet prepared for the unavoidable suffering, and to endure the labours which are on behalf of virtue, and able to bear the trial of

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[513]One of *De adoratione*'s many hapax legomena.
[514]PG 68.284B (Book 3). ... ὁ ἀληθέστερος Ἀαρών.
[515]PG 68.264C-269A (Book 3).
[516]PG 68.269A-273B (Book 3).
[517]PG 68.273B-280A (Book 3).
[518]PG 68.280A-285B (Book 3).
[519]PG 68.285C-296A (Book 3).
[520]PG 68.296A-301B (Book 3).

battles.[521]

That strength is granted through baptism in Cyril's understanding is evident in its absence. Without the grace of baptism, the person seeking to follow God's laws will fail, unable to withstand the inevitable trials. The Christian life is one beset with challenges, typified by Israel's journey in the wilderness. Just as the goal of Israel's escape from slavery was to offer worship to God, so too Christians, seeking to offer worship and service in spirit and truth will, for Cyril, be beset with "unavoidable suffering," "labours on behalf of virtue," and "the trial of battles" for which sacramental grace is necessary if they are to endure. In describing this journey to the Red Sea, Cyril highlights that they are taken to the Red Sea by God because he led them on a "roundabout way" lest by going the way of the Philistines they see war and in fear return to Egypt (Exodus 13:17–18a).[522] This long and circuitous path, for Cyril, is a type of service (λατρεία) according to the letter. This service involves dealing with the shadows and enigmas of the law, which in turn provides a "rigorous preparatory training" (οὐκ ἀταλαίπωρον τὴν παιδαγωγίαν),[523] enabling the Israelites to be prepared beforehand (προγεγυμνασμένοι)[524] for the truth of Christ. It is noteworthy that Cyril considers an episode from the Old Testament to be a type of what he perceives to be the manner of service (λατρεία) in the Old Testament. It is also noteworthy that Cyril here uses λατρεία in the expansive way I have discussed when considering why Cyril inserts λατρεία into the Johannine quote to form the title of the work. Λατρεία has a quality of general conduct, of worship conceived of as a way of life, of service. The circuitous route typifies λατρεία according to the law, but the way of Christ is different (Χριστὸς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω).[525] That is the way "through faith" (διὰ πίστεως), that is "straight and near", fashioning "us into boldness and into the necessity to fight manfully against those who oppose us".[526] While the Israelites, according to the λατρεία of the letter, needed a longer training in order to build up their endurance for trials and the pursuit of good in preparation for Christ, this strength comes quickly to those who are in Christ. It comes through faith, understood as complementary to sacramental grace:

[521]PG 68.272D (Book 3). ... ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ τῆς φιληδόνου τε καὶ ἐγκοσμίου ζωῆς ἀποφοιτᾶν ᾑρημένοι, ἕπεσθαί τε δεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα διεσπουδακότες τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμοις, οὔπω γε μὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος καταπλουτήσαντες χάριν, οὐ λίαν ἐσμὲν εὐσθενεῖς, ἤγουν ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ χρῆναι τληπαθεῖν, καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι πόνων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς, καὶ πολέμων πεῖραν δύνασθαι διενεγκεῖν.

[522]Quoted by Cyril at PG 68.264A-B (Book 3), followed by a discussion on the text. Crawford has a short discussion of Cyril's description of the law as a "cycle", suggesting it could refer to the long lists of rules and regulations that occur in the Pentateuch, or perhaps to the "epic cycle" poems. Here, at least, the reference is more clearly a direct allusion to the LXX text of Exodus 13:18a which Cyril quotes: Καὶ ἐκύκλωσεν ὁ Θεὸς λαόν. See Crawford, *Cyril's Trinitarian Theology*, 27.

[523]PG 68.265A (Book 3).

[524]PG 68.265B (Book 3).

[525]PG 68.265B (Book 3).

[526]PG 68.265B (Book 3). ... μεταχαλκεύων εἰς εὐτολμίαν καὶ εἰς τὸ χρῆναι λοιπὸν κατανδρίζεσθαι τῶν ἀνθεστηκότων.

> And that which makes us so astonishingly courageous is nothing else than the power from on high [Luke 24:49], that is, the participation and communion [μέθεξίν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν] in the Holy Spirit.[527]

The Eucharist, with and through faith, brings an immediate power that fills the recipients with a strength and courage necessary for the Christian way of life. In these two examples from Book 3, Cyril's typology does not neatly fit together. On the one hand, the Red Sea is a type of baptism which provides strength for trials. But on the other hand, Israel had no access to a type of sacramental grace that emboldened them. They had to be formed by a long, circuitous and arduous route, on account of their λατρεία of the letter. This approach is common for Cyril, in which types do not cohere together to form one consistent, seamless typological universe. The sum of his typologies is not greater than its parts. This contrasts to, say, Gregory of Nyssa's approach in his *Life of Moses*. Gregory's types, such as Mount Sinai as "the mountain of the knowledge of God", are stable and allow for a sustained reflection on a type across the length of the work. Cyril's approach requires much more explanation, but also allows for Cyril's more expansive approach to pericopes, chosen from all over the Pentateuch and beyond. Book 3, for example, considers baptism the archetype not just for the Red Sea, but also for the pillar of cloud by day that led Israel to the same Red Sea.[528] Holy communion is prefigured in Jethro's meal of bread with Aaron, and also in the "hour of lunch" (ὥρας ἀρίστου), the time when the angel of God stopped the destruction of the Israelites following King David's unlawful census.[529] Cyril's flexible typology also allows for a thematic progression of his own devising. While Gregory follows the narrative progress of Moses' journey, albeit while picking and choosing episodes to focus on, Cyril can order his pericopes in way that suits his purposes. Stability and coherence is thus provided not in fixed types, but rather in a thematic consistency. So while the types in Book 3 may not be easily transferable between pericopes, they are unified by consistently attesting to the way in which the sacraments of baptism and holy communion provide strength and boldness for withstanding trials, and for pursuing virtue with vigour.

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[527]PG 68.265C (Book 3). Τὸ δὲ δὴ τὴν οὕτως ἡμῖν ἀξιάγαστον εὐτολμίαν ἐμποιοῦν εἴη δή που πάντων ἂν ἕτερον οὐδὲν, παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μέθεξίν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν. For the importance of faith accompanying the sacraments, see PG 68.416D (Book 6) where Cyril says that for those who doubt and turn to apostasy, sacramental participation will reap anger and condemnation (ὀργὴ καὶ κατάκριμα). In that passage, as in this one, Cyril refers to the Eucharist with μέθεξις.

[528]PG 68.269A (Book 3). ... ἐν εἴδει νεφέλης, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος καὶ τῆς δι' ὕδατος σωτηρίας.

[529]Cyril quotes 2 Kingdoms 24:11–25 on PG 68.285C-288B (Book 3), including the "hour of lunch" (ὥρας ἀρίστου) from verse 15. In discussing this passage, Cyril explains that the "hour of lunch" is the "time of the table" (καιρὸς τραπέζης), that is, the table that is "in Christ and mystical, from which we eat the bread that is from heaven and life-giving" (τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ μυστικῆς, ἐφ' ἧ τὸν ἄρτον ἐσθίομεν τὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ζωοποιὸν). PG 68.289B (Book 3).

Returning again now to the beginning of Book 4, we can see that the title has a richer meaning:

> That the one who has been called to justification by God, and redeemed by him, must follow him and both reject the weakness which leads to wickedness, and instead make haste to live in accordance with the law and with youthful vigour.[530]

In Cyril's spiritual cosmos, the sacraments of baptism and holy communion are a part of the divine work of justification and redemption. And they are also the means by which their recipients are filled with the Holy Spirit and divine power who grants strength and courage. Having just spent Book 3 largely on baptism and holy communion, Cyril now in the title of Book 4, looks backwards to the justification and redemption wrought, in part, through the sacraments. But those sacraments also provide a bridge to his discussion of boldness and vigour. When Cyril says "it is necessary" (χρὴ) for the justified and redeemed to follow God in lawfulness and vigour, it carries the sense both of a command placed upon the redeemed, but also of a divine necessity which is at work in the means of redemption and justification, strengthening, invigorating, and making courageous. Sacramental grace is complemented by ascetic rigour. Water can be a type of baptism, but it can also be a type of sweat.[531] Grace redeems, but a significant portion of *De adoratione* is given over to necessity of training through discipline and hardship, battling agains the flesh and learning virtue in a way that is typified by the struggles of Israel.

## The Third Stage of Love (Books 6–8)

The third stage that Cyril announces in Book 5 "which is preeminent compared to the second and in greater glory," is "the departure from what is lacking to that which is complete [ἀρτίως], both in practice and in dogma."[532] In this Book 5 taxonomy the topic of love does not appear in as many words, and yet seeking completeness accords with the third stage and Books 6–8, concerned as they are with the love of God and neighbour. The title of Book 6 in full is: "That it is necessary that we devote ourselves to him who alone is God according to nature, and love him with a complete [ἐξ ὅλης] soul and mind."[533] Already in this title, Cyril connects love for God with a singular devotion to him, and with a sense of completion, echoing the spiritual growth to that which is complete or full-grown (τὸ ἀρτίως) both in

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[530]PG 68.301C (Book 4). Ὅτι τὸν κεκλημένον εἰς δικαίωσιν παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ λελυτρωμένον, αὐτῷ κατακολουθεῖν χρὴ, καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μὲν τὸν εἰς φαυλότητα μαλακισμὸν, ζῆν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπείγεσθαι συννόμως καὶ νεανικῶς.

[531]See PG 68.380B-C (Book 5).

[532]PG 68.396B-C [Book 5]. Τρίτη δὲ ταύτης προφερεστέρα καὶ ἐν εὐκλείᾳ μείζονι, ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρτίως ἔχον, πρακτικῶς τε ἅμα καὶ δογματικῶς.

[533]PG 68.408C (Book 6). Ὅτι χρὴ Θεῷ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἡμᾶς προσκεῖσθαι μόνῳ, καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας.

practice and dogma – the third stage or "departure" listed in Book 5. So also when Cyril comes to discussing the love for the brothers in Books 7–8, he begins Book 7 by speaking of love for God and love for brothers as "an inseparable pair" (τις συνωρὶς ἀδιάσπαστος) which together convey the one holding the reins of both to "the most complete beauty of devotion to God".[534] Cyril also in this opening passage refers to Romans 13:8 by calling love the "fulfillment of the law".[535] The treatment of love in Books 6–8 is thus of a piece with perfecting practice and dogma. In addition, at the beginning of Book 6, Cyril begins with a renewed call to examine the way of spiritual progress.

> Come, therefore, and looking with the eye of your mind in every direction and submitting to a more thorough examination of our deeds [πραγμάτων], let us examine very closely which path we are walking, and we will be radiant and will receive, like a crown, the approval by praise of all.[536]

Πράγματα are in Cyril's sights for this book on love, the perfection of which is the third stage. As he then elaborates, the foundation (ἀρχὴ) of spiritual progress is also knowledge of the truth and faith in God. From this faith then comes understanding, for faith is the wet nurse (τροφὸς) of understanding. And then, only with this understanding can right deeds be done.[537] This book on love of God, followed by two books on love of neighbour, are in keeping with Cyril's understanding of the third stage of spiritual progress as a movement towards completion both in practice and dogma.

One of the goals of this chapter has been to show how Cyril's conception of spiritual progress is framed in the context of worship. Just as Israel's journey in Exodus is framed by their divine calling to worship God, fulfilled at Mount Sinai, so too the journey of the spiritual progress that Cyril traces, broadly following the story of Israel in Exodus, is performed in the context of spiritual worship. With respect to this third stage of love, Cyril has progressed now to the giving of the Decalogue in Books 6–8, which for Israel was the first culmination of their departure from Egypt and the inauguration of their covenant with God. In a similar way, the first half of *De adoratione* culminates with Books 6–8, completing the third stage of progress that Cyril has been following. Book 6 thus opens with an exegesis of Exodus 20:2–6 which also frames Book 6,[538] and then the second table of the Decalogue

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[534]PG 68.481A (Book 7). ... τελεώτατον κάλλος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν εὐσεβείας...

[535]PG 68.480A (Book 7). ... πλήρωμά τε νόμου...

[536]PG 68.408D-409A (Book 6). Φέρε δὴ οὖν, τῆς διανοίας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐν κύκλῳ περιελίττοντες, καὶ εἰς ἀκριβῆ κατάσκεψιν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἰέντες πραγμάτων, ἀνασκοπῶμεν εὖ μάλα, διὰ ποίας ἰόντες τρίβου, λαμπροί τε ἐσόμεθα, καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις οἷά τινα στέφανον ἀναδησόμεθα ψῆφον.

[537]PG 68.409A-B (Book 6).

[538]See PG 68.409C-416B (Book 6).

features in Books 7–8 on love for brothers.[539] And as I have shown, already at the beginning of Book 6, Cyril flags that these two loves are best conceived as a part of one's worship, forming "the most complete beauty of devotion to God". As we turn first to Book 6, we can see that the love of God is for Cyril inseparable from right and exclusive worship of God.

For a work that is typically devoted to presenting a constructive vision of the way of life in Christ, Book 6 of *De adoratione* is noteworthy for Cyril's persistent refutation of a number of types of false worship. As a work addressed to Christians, the book is all the more significant for raising the temptations that Alexandrian Christians evidently felt towards engaging in what Cyril calls εἰκαιολατρεία, vain or useless cultic service.[540] He mentions the constant temptations of Israel to idolatry before bringing his concerns to the immediate context of his first readers:

> But sometimes it is one of those enrolled among us, one who is not yet firmly planted, but, practicing an affected and counterfeit love for Christ of the sort which, placing around oneself like a sheep-skin an appearance that is God-loving, is a hateful and unholy beast, a deceitful knave, who, at home and at night (by which I mean secretly) is devoted to the cultic service of demons, thinking – as one would expect – it possible to escape God, and to fool the mind of the unutterable nature.[541]

Cyril spends the rest of the book admonishing his Christian readers to avoid various practices of the cultic service (λατρεία) of demons: the false divinations of idol-worshippers (αἱ τῶν εἰδωλολατρούντων ψευδομαντεῖαι),[542] soothsayers (χρησμολόγοι),[543] necromancy (νεκυομαντεία),[544] practicing purification rites (φοιβάω),[545] submission to fate, fortune and birth (Εἱμαρμένη, Τύχη καὶ Γένεσιν),[546] the observation of hours, days, and times (Ἡ ὡρῶν ἄρα καὶ ἡμερῶν ἐπιτήρησις… καὶ ἡ καιρῶν),[547] and auguries, whisperings, and spells

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[539]Book 7, after introductory remarks, moves to an exegesis of Exodus 20:8–11 on the Sabbath (493B-496D) which opens a longer discussion on the Sabbath, incorporating exegeses of a number of different Pentateuchal texts relating to the Sabbath (493B-508B). What follows is then a section on honouring father and mother, opening with an exegesis of Exodus 20:12 (508B-520B), and then a lengthy section on loving one's neighbour, which takes up the rest of Book 7 and all of Book 8. Books 6–8 are thus broadly concerned with the Decalogue.

[540]PG 68.424A (Book 6). This dimension of Book 6 is something I investigate further in Pietsch, "Cyril and Isis in *De Adoratione*."

[541]PG 68.424B-C (Book 6). Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μέν τις ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε τῶν τελούντων ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐρηρεισμένος δὲ οὔπω λίαν, κατάπλαστον δὲ καὶ νόθην τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ἐπιτηδεύσας ἀγάπησιν, καὶ οἷος ὥσπερ κῴδιον ἑαυτῷ περιτιθεὶς τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι θεοφιλής, πικρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔσται θηρίον, κέρκωψ τε καὶ ἀλλοπρόσαλλος, ὡς οἴκοι καὶ νυκτὶ, φημὶ δὴ τὸ λεληθότως, ταῖς τῶν δαιμονίων προσκεῖσθαι λατρείαις, οἴεσθαι δέ που κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, καὶ αὐτὸν δύνασθαι διαδρᾶναι Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀῤῥήτου φύσεως παραλογίσασθαι νοῦν.

[542]PG 68.425A (Book 6).

[543]PG 68.429B (Book 6).

[544]PG 68.437B (Book 6).

[545]PG 68.448B (Book 6).

[546]PG 68.449A (Book 6).

[547]PG 68.460C (Book 6).

(οἰωνοσκοπίαι, ψιθυρισμοί τε καὶ ἐπῳδαί).[548] It may not be self-evident to modern readers that a book on love for God could have such a table of contents. But that it does only underscores the way in which Cyril sees the whole journey of spiritual progress in the light of spiritual worship. Just as the Decalogue was given to Israel in the context of the inauguration of its cultic life, so too for Cyril the commandment to love God with one's whole heart is understood with reference to cultic practice. To love God is to exercise devotion to God in worship, both exclusively and rightly. And so Cyril's concern in Book 6 to avoid idolatry is of a piece with his wider project in *De adoratione*.[549]

One interesting parallel worth highlighting is Cyril's varied use of ἀρτίως. We have seen already that Cyril uses ἀρτίως in Book 5 when describing this third stage.[550] But Cyril also uses ἀρτίως in describing the relationship of the Old Testament to the New Testament. In Book 1, Cyril provides a metaphor for this relationship, describing the metal workers first making a wax image before pouring melted copper over the shape to make a complete (ἀρτίως) and beautiful image.[551] In a similar usage a little further on, Cyril says that the Israelites first needed a pedagogy of types, and not yet the word that demands perfection and guides them to completion (πρὸς τὸ ἀρτίως).[552] The exegetical method that Cyril uses matches the substance of his argument, seeking to move from what is lacking to what is complete, both in exegesis and in the spiritual life. As Cyril guides Palladius and his readers in this third stage, to that which is complete both in practice and dogma, this also has a sense of leading them from worship according to the law, to spiritual worship.

Books 7 and 8 are less focussed on worship, concerned as they are with "love toward the brothers". Cyril does not go through the commandments in the Decalogue *per se*, but rather frames his approach with the dominical double commandment, upon which "all of the law and the prophets hang" (Matthew 22:40).[553] Cyril is guided by the Decalogue especially in Book 7, first with a lengthy section on Sabbath remembrance,[554] followed by the honouring of one's father and mother.[555] However, from then onwards, for the rest of Book 7 and all of

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[548]PG 68.468B (Book 6).

[549]John McGuckin is perhaps overstating the case when he writes regarding *De adoratione*: "[Cyril's] treatise is motivated by a clear apologetical context of resolving conflicting approaches to biblical festivals between the large communities of Christians and Jews in Alexandria (on more than one occasion Cyril complained of how many Egyptian Christians were observing both sets of festivals across the community divides." McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria (*c*. 378-444)," 340. While this does not seem to be a motivation for *De adoratione*, certainly in Book 6 Cyril exhorts his readers to an exclusive love of the Christian God, enacted in worship.

[550]PG 68.396B-C (Book 5). Τρίτη δὲ ταύτης προφερεστέρα καὶ ἐν εὐκλείᾳ μείζονι, ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρτίως ἔχον, πρακτικῶς τε ἅμα καὶ δογματικῶς.

[551]PG 68.140D (Book 1). For an extended treatment of this metaphor in Cyril and others, see Zaganas, *La Formation D'Une Exégèse Alexandrine Post-Origénienne*, 97–109, especially 104–7.

[552]PG 68.144A (Book 1).

[553]See PG 68.480A-481A (Book 7) for the opening discussion that encompasses both Books 7 and 8.

[554]PG 68.493C-508B (Book 7).

[555]PG 68.508B-520B (Book 7)

Book 8, Cyril steers away from the Decalogue, and instead expounds what we might call social morality. This frees him up from a more strictly historical interpretation of the second table of the Decalogue for a unique approach. Rather than follow any discernible pattern, Cyril lists a number of texts from the legal codes of the Pentateuch – especially Exodus and Deuteronomy, but also Leviticus – and gives them a spiritual reading, employing typology as a way of guiding those who wish to walk on the way of life that is in Christ. While both the Pentateuchal texts which Cyril exegetes and the interpretations which he provides for his Christian readers are concerned with relationships between people and laws for settling disputes, the context of worship is not wholly absent. The Law given to Israel is here rendered in Christ, even completed in Christ, so that the Christian community too can obey the spiritual Moses and engage in the spiritual worship given in the Law. For just as Israel's laws always had a cultic dimension, so too the love of one's neighbour bears this weight. As Book 6 had established, the love of God in right worship reveals the nature of humankind as *homo adorans*, needing to serve something, while also needing direction to serve rightly. By following the Pentateuch, by keeping the commands given by God, fulfilled in Christ Jesus, Cyril is leading his readers in acts of spiritual worship of love to God the Father, in the Holy Spirit and in Christ Jesus, the Truth, exercised in love for their neighbours. In this, Cyril later says that the saint becomes akin to the perpetual fire of the altar, described in Leviticus 6:13. For it is proper that he:

> ... should be hot and burning with the Spirit, and this for ever, not descending to coldness through worldly pleasures, but rather rekindling his mind through holiness ever more inflamed by the love of God and the desire for virtue. For this is the manner of spiritual service.[556]

## CONCLUSION

Cyril in *De adoratione* gives a Scriptural Way of Life that is also a Spiritual Exodus, dependent on the drama of Exodus for constructing the way of life in Christ. In this chapter, I have argued that Cyril seeks to illuminate the whole of the journey according to the goal of worship which is both at the end of the journey, and constitutive of the journey, as it also was for Israel travelling from Egypt to Mt Sinai. I have especially argued for considering the first half of *De adoratione* according to three stages – faith, virtue and love. Cyril maps these three onto the journey of Israel on the way to Mt Sinai, but he also maps them onto the lives of his readers. In this way Cyril elevates the Christian way of life to become a participation in the holy and spiritual worship of God akin to the cultic practices of Israel from Egypt

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[556]PG 68.821D (Book 12). ... θερμοὺς καὶ ζέοντας ὁρᾶσθαι τῷ Πνεύματι, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ παντὸς, οὐκ εἰς ἀπόψυξιν καταφερομένους διὰ κοσμικῶν ἡδονῶν, ἀναζωπυροῦντας δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ἁγιασμῷ τὸν νοῦν εἰς φιλοθεΐαν καὶ ἔφεσιν ἀρετῆς. Λατρείας γὰρ οὗτος τῆς λογικῆς ὁ τρόπος.

onwards. We have followed the journey up the Decalogue, but before us lies the giving of the tabernacle in Book 9 and beyond, at the heart of worship and service according to the law, and so also at the heart of *De adoratione*, as Cyril seeks to promote a spiritual worship and service.

# 5.

# Progress in Holiness: The Church and Liturgical Morality in Books 9–17

The narrative of progress in *De adoratione* takes a turn at the beginning of Book 9, putting Cyril in a different, albeit continuous, direction until the end of the work. The titles which Cyril gives the books signal the change. Books 1–8 are given titles not out of place in a work of straight mystagogy, bearing no indication that this is a work of Pentateuchal exegesis, or even one to do with worship. But from Book 9, the titles begin to look more like a work dealing with the Pentateuch and its worship in particular. The titles of books 9 and 10 mention the tabernacle, with the following three books devoted to the priesthood of the law compared to that of Christ.[557] Books 14–16 attract headings of a more mystagogical variety, but also refer to cultic concerns of purity and sacrifice. Book 17 then concludes with a treatment of the holy feasts of Israel and their place in the Christian life.

Sebastian Schurig notes this distinct turn and comments that the whole work essentially comprises two major parts, with Books 1–8 dealing with historical and ethical texts of the Pentateuch, and Books 9–17 dealing with cultic texts of the Pentateuch.[558] That leads Schurig to conclude that it is only in Book 9 that Cyril finally comes around to the actual subject of the work, as promised by the title.[559] However, Cyril's preface, resurfaced only after Schurig's book, shows Cyril's concern with keeping the sequence of the books in order, suggesting that Cyril has a greater commitment to the unity (and sequential ordering) of the work than Schurig perhaps suggests.[560] One of the arguments of this dissertation has been that the structure of *De adoratione* can be understood through the lens of the book of Exodus. The structure of Exodus does have more "history" in the first half, as Schurig notices in *De adoratione*, and likewise more "cultic" concerns in the latter half. But, like *De adoratione*, all of Exodus is concerned with matters of worship. It is this thread that also unites *De adoratione*. I have already argued for the centrality of worship in the first half of the work, and this chapter argues that this thread continues and is strengthened in the second half of the work.

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[557]Those three books 10–13 are the subject of a paraphrase with comment by George Dragas. Dragas, *St Cyril on the Priesthood*.

[558]"Das Werk umfaßt im wesentlichen zwei große Teile: In den Büchern I–VIII stehen geschichtliche und ethische Texte im Vordergrund, in den Büchern IX-XVII hingegen kultische Texte des Pentateuch". Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 39–40.

[559]"Mit Buch IX beginnt Cyrill auch erst ausdrücklich zum eigentlichen Gegenstand des Werkes zu kommen, nämlich zur „Verehrung im Geist und in der Wahrheit". Schurig, *Die Theologie Des Kreuzes*, 40.

[560]See Cyril's Preface to the work, in Villani, *De Adoratione, Buch 1*, 132.

In this chapter, I will continue the overview of the broader thrust of *De adoratione* begun in the previous chapter's consideration of Books 1–8. But in this second half of the work, it is harder to discern progressive stages. Rather, as the journey of spiritual maturity has reached full immersion in the life of the church, it is now more appropriate for Cyril to provide instruction for life in the church. Most of this instruction is not presented as a staged process, but rather is grouped in themes, indicated at the most basic level by the titles of the books. In this chapter I provide three groupings for Books 9–17: Ecclesial exegesis, Liturgical Morality, and Liturgical Consummation. While I assign particular books to each of those themes, my grouping should be understood somewhat loosely. These three themes are present throughout the second half of the work, even if they are more strongly present in the books I have identified.

We can also put it this way. Books 1–8 map a spiritual progress in keeping with Israel's journey to Mt Sinai and the reception of the Decalogue. But in books 9–17 Cyril now turns to look at life in the church, corresponding to the texts of cultic law in Exodus after the Decalogue. The structure of *De adoratione* thus mirrors the structure of Exodus. While Gregory of Nyssa in his *Life of Moses* considers the individual journey of the soul, following Moses' narrative through Exodus and Numbers, Cyril has a more ecclesial approach, considering the Christian way of life with reference to the church, following the structure of Exodus. As such, Cyril's treatment extends beyond Mt Sinai to the cultic life of Israel. Christ is accessible in the church, and the church is the means through which the life of holiness grows. Cyril shapes the identity of the Christian community through his exegesis of Pentateuchal texts, drawing them into ethical and liturgical practices that belong to life in the church. Cyril is thus concerned not with a moral guidance void of context, but with holiness and how his Christian readers are to grow in holiness and maintain holiness in the church. One way that this approach can be helpfully illuminated is by considering *De adoratione* through the lens of "liturgical morality", according to the contemporary scholar of liturgical theology, David Fagerberg.[561] Fagerberg seeks to consider both worship and morality as fundamentally related to each other and mutually dependent. Ethical action flows from the life of Christian worship, because the Holy Spirit inspires not just the life of worship in the church, but the Christian way of life which flows from it and so is also an act of worship or liturgy. As Cyril stresses the need for Christians to offer living sacrifices of moral action as an act of spiritual worship, we can see that Cyril is not simply rendering cultic texts in an ethical key, but rather is considering Israel's cult as a template for Christian "worship" in everyday life. We will consider this further later in the chapter. Finally, for Cyril, this journey of holiness and morality culminates not so much in theosis, as eternal

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[561]David W Fagerberg, "On Liturgical Morality," *Christian Bioethics* 23, no. 2 (2017).

feasting and worship. The reward of a life of spiritual worship and sacrifice, of living in holiness, is Sabbath rest.

There are three arguments that will be made in this chapter. The first argument is that Cyril's exegesis of the Pentateuch is decidedly ecclesial. Rather than place his reading of Exodus solely in the context of the individual soul's quest for communion, or perfection, or worship, he contextualises his exegesis in the church. He does not provide a formal ecclesiology of any sort, but rather by describing life in the church through Pentateuchal exegesis, he puts forth a kind of ecclesiology "from below". The second argument is that *De adoratione* can be fruitfully understood as a work of "liturgical morality", in which ascetical practices and moral exhortation can best be understood as acts that flow out of the liturgical life of the church. This is because the Holy Spirit inspires participants of the liturgy in this shape of living. I will argue that this approach to *De adoratione* illuminates richly the relationship between key threads running through the work, and shows how Cyril can both call the work one of "moral guidance" and title it *Worship and Service in Spirit and Truth.* Finally, I will argue that Cyril sees the goal of life in the church, and the goal of liturgical morality, as a liturgical consummation in eternal feasting and worship.

## THE BOOK 9 PIVOT AND THE UNITY OF *DE ADORATIONE*

Before getting to those three arguments, we need to establish how the second half of *De adoratione* can be read in continuity with the first half. At the beginning of Book 9, Cyril and Palladius take stock of where they have come to in the progress of their narrative. The previous three books are referenced in Cyril's opening words:

> Thus the glorious achievements of love for God and for brothers are resplendent, and through these two the law is fulfilled. Therefore everyone attaining this state of glory is brilliant and astonishing, and will be counted especially among the true children [γνησίοις] when Christ cries out and says, "Well done, good and faithful servant, you have been faithful over a few things; I will set you over much. Enter into the joy of your lord" [Matthew 25:21].[562]

The apparent finality of this passage and the sentences following it is noteworthy, coming as it does in the middle of the work. The path of spiritual progress has reached a state "of glory" which is worthy of eschatological reward. The law is fulfilled. Those attaining such brilliance are true children of the Father. It seems as if Cyril's path of spiritual maturity could

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[562]PG 68.588D-589A (Book 9). Ἀγάπης μὲν οὖν εἰς Θεόν τε καὶ ἀδελφοὺς περιφανῆ τὰ αὐχήματα, καὶ ἀποπεραίνεται μὲν δι' ἀμφοῖν ὁ νόμος. εὐκλείας γε μὴν εἰς τοῦτο κατηντηκὼς ἅπας τις οὖν, λαμπρός τε καὶ ἀξιάγαστος, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅτι μάλιστα γνησίοις κατατετάξεται, Χριστοῦ βοῶντος καὶ λέγοντος, «Εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστὲ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου σου.»...

be reaching its end.

But then with an Ἀλλὰ, Cyril begins to create conceptual room for what is to come. The passage that follows, taking up around two columns in the PG edition,[563] is important because it sets the trajectory for the whole second half of the work. This passage introduces the coming five books on the tabernacle (Books 9–10) and the priesthood (Books 11–13). It also establishes the context for the remaining four books, concerned as they are with offering spiritual sacrifices in the church. As it is on the longer side, we can work through it in segments. First, after quoting Isaiah on the permanence of the heavenly Jerusalem, Cyril contrasts this with the impermanence of the world:

> For the form of this world is passing away, according to the Scriptures [1 Corinthians 7:31]. Yet the hope of the future things is completely steadfast and unshaken. But if all these things are to be dissolved, as the Savior's disciple affirmed, it is necessary for us to be found the sort of people who are holy and blameless in his presence [2 Peter 3:11], both honoring Him as the Savior and Redeemer with spiritual sacrifices, and also pursuing a holy and set apart way of life, corresponding to the evangelical laws.[564]

Recall that Cyril is here talking about those people who are already true children of God, worthy of reward and brilliant in their love for God and others. Now, in the context of a world that is coming to an end, Cyril stresses the need to be found "holy and blameless" (ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους) in God's presence. At the end of this introductory passage Cyril echoes this phrase. There, he says that those taken from the blood of Levi for the purpose of holy liturgies (πρὸς ἱερὰς λειτουργίας) are a type of those called by faith for the purpose of a holy and blameless life (πρὸς ἱερὰν καὶ ἀμώμητον ζωὴν).[565] The Levitical priesthood corresponds more to the priesthood of all Christians than clergy in particular. This will be the topic of Books 11–13, namely how the priesthood of the law is a type for the Christian life of holiness. Or, using the language of this passage, Cyril will show how the performance of the holy liturgy is a foreshadowing of the enactment of a holy and righteous life. The connection between worship and morality, or liturgy and righteousness, will be further defined later in this chapter. For now, returning to the introductory passage in Book 9, Cyril spells out further how it is that the Pentateuch can guide his readers in pursuing a holy life.

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[563]PG 68.588D-592B (Book 9). After this introduction, Book 9 proper begins in column 592B with Palladius exhorting Cyril to begin or proceed (Ἴθι δὴ οὖν), and Cyril responding with a somewhat momentous "Therefore, surely, I begin..." (Οὐκοῦν εἰμί τοι...). He is embarking on a new venture.

[564]PG 68.589A-B (Book 9). Παράγει μὲν γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς. Ἑδραιοτάτη δὲ σφόδρα καὶ ἀκράδαντος πάντως ἡ τῶν ἐσομένων ἐλπίς. Ἀλλὰ τούτων ἁπάντων λυομένων, καθὰ καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος διισχυρίσατο μαθητὴς, ποταμοὺς [corrected to: ποταπούς] δεῖ εὑρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς, ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατ' ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, πνευματικαῖς μὲν θυσίαις καταγεραίροντας ὡς Σωτῆρα καὶ Λυτρωτὴν, ἱερὰν δὲ καὶ ἀπόλεκτον, καὶ τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς συμβαίνουσαν νόμοις ἐπιτηδεύοντας πολιτείαν.

[565]PG 68.589D (Book 9).

So too by all means the law for the ancients sketched out [ἐσκιαγράφει] such a venerable and worthy life; enjoining to offer the sacrifice of sheep, and to perform the offerings of blooded things, to dedicate tithes and first fruits to God, and on top of all these things still giving thanks. However, the law used to legislate that these very things should not be carried out except in the holy tabernacle. And [the law] dedicated to God the tribe of Levi to be set apart, and this matter was set as a type for us, them in relation to us. For we too have been called by the Holy Scriptures "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for his own possession" [1 Peter 2:9]. And we also enter into a more true tabernacle, which the Lord built and not man [Hebrews 8:2], that is, the church, beseeching the Creator of all, not with calves and goats, but excelling in right and unblemished faith, being spiritually fragrant with spiritual first fruits. "For God is pleased with such sacrifices" [Hebrews 13:16]. And those who worship Him must worship Him in "spirit and truth," according to the word of the Savior [John 4:24].[566]

The venerable and worthy life is given a preliminary drawing, or rough sketch, or shadowy outline (σκιαγραφὲω) in the cultic sacrifices of the Pentateuch, sacrifices which could only be done in the tabernacle. Books 9 and 10 are thus introduced, along with Books 11–13. All Christians are called to be a royal priesthood, performing their sacrifices in the church. And the Pentateuchal prescriptions for the tabernacle, its priests, and their sacrifices were given as a sketch for this Christian way of life. The task before Cyril and Palladius is to bring colour to this outline.

How does this differ from the first half of *De adoratione*? We have already noted that Schurig, rightly identifying a clear pivot at the beginning of Book 9, suggests that the work promised by the title only begins with Book 9. But the case for continuity must be made, not least because Cyril himself presents the work as a unified whole, with a sequence that he asks be observed. And the sequence of the work does provide a unified vision. In Books 1–8 Cyril and Palladius have led their readers on a journey of entry into the church – from sin, through redemption, and into a life of love for God and neighbour. But now that one is in the church, how should one conduct themselves? How should Christians live out a life of

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[566]PG 68.589B-C (Book 9)... καθάπερ ἀμέλει τοῖς ἀρχαιοτέροις ὁ νόμος τὴν οὕτω σεπτήν τε καὶ ἀξιόληπτον ἐσκιαγράφει ζωήν· μηλοσφαγεῖν ἐπιτάττων, καὶ τὰς δι' αἱμάτων ποιεῖσθαι προσαγωγάς, δεκάτας τε καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀφιεροῦν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι χαριστήρια. Πλὴν, οὐκ ἔξω ταυτὶ τῆς ἁγίας πράττεσθαι δεῖν ἐνομοθέτει σκηνῆς. Ἀπόλεκτον δὲ τὸ ἐκ Λευῒ γένος ἀνετίθει τῷ Θεῷ, τύπον ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τὸ χρῆμα τιθείς. Κεκλήμεθα γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς παρά γε ταῖς θείαις Γραφαῖς «γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν.» Εἰσελαύνομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς σκηνὴν τὴν ἀληθεστέραν, ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ Κύριος καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, οὐ διὰ μόσχων καὶ τράγων ἐκμειλισσόμενοι τὸν τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργὸν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὀρθῇ τε καὶ ἀμωμήτῳ πίστει διαπρέποντες, καὶ πνευματικαῖς καρποφορίαις νοητῶς εὐωδιάζοντες. «Τοιαύταις γὰρ δὴ θυσίαις εὐαρεστεῖται Θεὸς,» καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν, ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνήν.

holiness, granted that they have already been made members of the royal priesthood in the church? That is what concerns Cyril in Books 9–17. The first half of the work has been a journey of spiritual training, and the second half now moves on to the life of spiritual maturity in the church. For it is in the church that the life of holiness flourishes.

The unity of *De adoratione* must also take into account the structure of Exodus. As discussed already at length, the work as a "Spiritual Exodus" is a rendering of growth in the Christian life according to the narrative of Exodus. It is "Spiritual" because it is the reading of Scripture which Cyril, a bishop who has received the Holy Spirit, is leading his audience into. But it is "Spiritual" also because it moves beyond the preparatory training (παιδαγωγία) of the law, to an evangelical way of life in Christ. That way of life is still marked by a commitment to the narrative of Exodus. When Cyril begins Book 9, he has moved broadly through the structure of Exodus all the way up to the Decalogue. But now before him is the second half of Exodus, concerned much more with cultic prescriptions of tabernacle, priesthood and sacrifice. His argument at the beginning of Book 9 – that now it is time to look at the holy and righteous life, lived in the church – could be motivated by the structure of Exodus as much as, or even more so, than any pre-conceived idea of the shape of the Christian life. But purported motivations aside, we can understand the unity of *De adoratione* in ways parallel to the unity of Exodus. That a people brought out of slavery to sin and led into God's holy presence, now need guidance in how to live in that holiness. That a people seeking to escape idolatry in order to offer right worship now need instruction in how right worship is to be enacted. Evidence that this structure of Exodus is on Cyril's mind is shown by the fact that as soon as Book 9's introductory passage is over, the first text he turns to exegete is Exodus 20:22–25, the text immediately following the Decalogue.[567]

## ECCLESIAL EXEGESIS (BOOKS 9–10)

Having canvassed the contours of the second half of *De adoratione*, as given in the introduction to Book 9, we can now turn to Books 9 and 10 to focus more closely the centrality of the church for Cyril's project. The key argument I am making in this section is that Cyril contextualises his exegesis in the church. Even though he addresses individual Christians, he does not consider their life of holiness and righteousness to be a solitary pursuit, but one framed by the church.

### The Tabernacle as the Church in Christ

Patristic exegesis of Exodus is weighted heavily towards the first half of Exodus, focussing upon the call of Moses, and the journey of Israel from slavery in Egypt up to and including

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[567]See PG 68.592B-593C (Book 9).

Moses' ascent of Mt Sinai. The Epistle of Barnabas, Justin Martyr, Origen, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Gregory of Nyssa, all attend to this dimension of Israel's life in Exodus.[568] And Cyril's exegesis of Exodus in Books 1–8 follows a number of patristic traditions in his reading of Exodus up until the Decalogue: Egypt as the place of sin and bondage ruled over the Satanic Pharaoh; the Red Sea as a type of baptism; Moses' hands outstretched as a type of the cross, defeating the power of the Amalekites; Aaron's staff as a type of the cross and the rule of Christ; the pillar of fire as a type of Christ, and so forth.[569] Cyril follows many of these readings albeit while deriving his own novel structure from the narrative of the exodus from Egypt corresponding to three stages in the Christian life, as we examined in the previous chapter. But as Cyril in Book 9 moves on to look at the cultic ritual law given by God to Moses and the Israelites on Mt. Sinai, he writes within a tradition of patristic exegesis which is less developed, and so all the more ambitious for Cyril to venture into.

There is even a tradition of some reticence in approaching exegesis of the tabernacle, its furnishings, priests and sacrifices. In his *Life of Moses*, Gregory of Nyssa describes briefly the ornamentations of the tabernacle, as prescribed in Exodus, before asking:

> What words could accurately describe it all? Of what things not made with hands are these an imitation? And what benefit does the material imitation of those things Moses saw there convey to those who look at it? It seems good to me to leave the precise meanings of these things to those who have by the Spirit the power to search "the depths of God" [1 Corinthians 2:10], to someone who may be able, as the Apostle says, in the Spirit to speak "about mysterious things" [1 Corinthians 14:2]. We shall leave what we say conjecturally and by supposition on the thought at hand to the judgment of our readers. Their critical intelligence must decide whether it should be rejected or accepted.[570]

It is the tabernacle not made with hands, shown to Moses on Mt Sinai, that Gregory is wary of commenting on, but this extends also to its material imitation. He considers himself to lack the power to search the depths of God. As Ronald Heine has written, Gregory is unlike Origen in that he "stops short of asserting that he has the spiritual understanding which Paul had". While "Origen believes his own interpretation of Scripture [to be] guided by the

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[568]For an overview of patristic treatments of Exodus, see Graves, "Exodus." See also Joseph Lienhard, "The Christian Reception of the Pentateuch: Patristic Commentaries on the Books of Moses," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10, no. 3 (2002).

[569]For a discussion of these tropes in patristic exegesis, and a list of sources, see Graves, "Exodus," 549.

[570]*De. Vit. Moy.*, 2.172–3. Malherbe and Ferguson (trans.), 84.

Spirit," Gregory "disclaims such guidance for himself".[571]

Where Gregory fears to tread, Cyril is more comfortable to proceed, even if he does not immediately rush in. As we have seen, Cyril does consider the Holy Spirit to be leading him in his interpretation, like Origen,[572] but he first expresses at least rhetorical reticence when considering the holy tabernacle at the beginning of Book 9. After Book 9's introduction, Palladius invites Cyril to comment on what follows the Decalogue, namely the tabernacle and the priesthood. Cyril responds:

> CYRIL: The task is not at all an easy one. For, I think, it will require a lot of hard work and sweat from us, O Palladius, to be able to understand these and to be able to interpret them. But, if you want to, let's start, with God's help. For you heard him say plainly, "Who gave a mouth to a man, and who made him deaf and mute, seeing and blind? Is it not I, the Lord God? And now go, and I will open your mouth." [Exodus 4:11–12]
>
> PALLADIUS: So begin, having as a helper the one who bestows wisdom in this task.[573]

For Cyril understanding and interpreting the tabernacle and the priesthood will require a particularly arduous level of toil, with divine assistance. As the priesthood is the subject of Books 11–13, with the tabernacle the subject of Books 9–10, this invocation of divine help relates to at least the following five books.

Cyril soon moves to Exodus 25:1–9, in which God instructs Moses to "make a sanctuary for me, and I shall appear among you" according to the pattern of the heavenly tabernacle

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[571]Ronald E. Heine, "Gregory of Nyssa's Apology for Allegory," *Vigiliae christianae* 38, no. 4 (1984), 364, 362. See also Ann Conway-Jones, *Gregory of Nyssa's Tabernacle Imagery in Its Jewish and Christian Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 97–9, 197. where Heine's paper is quoted. Miriam DeCock has recently examined the sources of authority that Origen claimed to possess in his exegetical writings. See Miriam DeCock, "Origen's Sources of Exegetical Authority: The Construction of an Inspired Exegete in the Pauline Lineage," *New Testament Studies* 70 (2024). Origen thinks that the tabernacle can only be understood after the first half of Exodus has been properly understood: "If anyone properly understands the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt or the crossing of the Red Sea and this whole journey through the desert and every single campsite; if he is capable of understanding these things in such a way that he also may receive the Law of God "written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God"; if anyone, I say, should give his attention to these matters in the order of their sequence and spiritually fulfilling each should acquire the growth in virtues indicated in each, that man can consequently also attain to the contemplation and understanding of the tabernacle." Origen, *Hom. Ex.* 9.1. Heine (trans.), 334.

[572]This is not to suggest that Gregory of Nyssa disclaimed the Holy Spirit's help. His reticence is due to other factors.

[573]PG 58.592A-B (Book 9). Οὐκ ἄτραχυ μὲν τὸ χρῆμα· πόνου γὰρ, οἶμαι, δεήσει μακροῦ, καὶ ἱδρῶτος ἡμῖν, ὦ Παλλάδιε, πρός τε τὸ δύνασθαι συνιέναι ταυτὶ, καὶ μὴν καὶ φράσαι. Ἀτὰρ, εἴτοι δοκεῖ, Θεῷ πίσυνοι διαστείχωμεν· διεπύθου γὰρ λέγοντος ἐναργῶς, «Τίς ἔδωκε στόμα ἀνθρώπῳ; καὶ τίς ἐποίησε δύσκωφον καὶ κωφὸν, βλέποντα καὶ τυφλόν; οὐκ ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ Θεός; καὶ νῦν πορεύου καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα σου.» {ΠΑΛΛ.} Ἴθι δὴ οὖν, συλλήπτορα καὶ πρός γε τουτὶ τὸν τῆς σοφίας ποιούμενος χορηγόν.

that God will show him.[574] Cyril then explains what "I shall appear among you" means. On the one hand, he stresses that this theophany is to occur after the sanctuary has been erected, and Cyril extends this time to the incarnation of Christ. "For Christ is the true manifestation."[575] But then Cyril also says that the sanctuary, that is, the tabernacle, was a type of the church, "which was made after the likeness of the one above". That "one above", Cyril explains, is also Christ Himself. "For a type of the holy churches appeared to the blessed Moses, as I have said, namely he who became for us a man, appearing as in a shadow in a multifaceted way [πολυειδῶς]."[576] In other words, a Christophany occurred on Mt Sinai, and the tabernacle that was to be made was to be modelled on Christ Himself, and his appearance to Moses. This pre-incarnation appearance of Christ is qualified both by being "in a shadow" and also πολυειδῶς, of many kinds or appearances or multifaceted. Cyril goes on:

> The discussion concerning each aspect of these plans could be lengthy and long, full of subtlety in argumentation. But since some details pertain to the construction of what was in the past, while others incline towards what is useful for contemplation, come, let us speak of that which is profitable for this, leaving aside the others.[577]

As we consider these introductory remarks together, we can see that Cyril is making some strong claims about the tabernacle. The tabernacle is a type of the church. It is the sanctuary in which Christ will appear, as in the church, and so understanding the dimensions and furnishings of the tabernacle will illuminate life in the church. But the tabernacle is also constructed on the model of Christ himself, who appeared to Moses on Mt. Sinai. The dimensions and furnishings of the tabernacle thus also speak of the mystery of Christ.[578] As Cyril puts in in Book 10, Moses erected the tabernacle because it was profitable for the edification of the Church. But it is Christ who is the head of the church. And so "Moses, that is, the instruction through the law, builds up the church of Christ, showing in advance the mystery, still, as it were, in shadows."[579] Thus the title of Book 9 is not simply that the

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[574]PG 68.593D (Book 9).

[575]PG 68.596B (Book 9). Ἡ δὲ ἀληθὴς ἀνάδειξις, ὁ Χριστὸς...

[576]PG 68.596B-C (Book 9). Παρεδείχθη γάρ τοι τῷ μακαρίῳ Μωσῇ τύπος, ὡς ἔφην, τῶν ἁγίων Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ πολυειδῶς αὐτὸς ὡς ἐν σκιᾷ πλαττόμενος ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.

[577]PG 58.596C (Book 9). Ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ γε μὴν τῶν παραδειγμάτων πολὺς ἂν γένοιτο καὶ μακρὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἰσχνομυθίας ἔμπλεως. Ἐπειδὴ δέ ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἴδιά τε καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τῶν γεγονότων κατασκευῇ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωρημάτων ἀπονένευκε χρείαν, φέρε, λέγωμεν τὰ εἴς γε τοῦτο λυσιτελῆ, μεθέντες τὰ ἕτερα.

[578]Cf. Origen Princ. 4.2.2. "When, also, we read about the construction of the tabernacle, we hold it as sure that the things that are written are figures of certain hidden things." Behr (trans.), 2:493.

[579]PG 68.653C (Book 10). Οἰκοδομεῖ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ Μωσῆς, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἡ διὰ νόμου παίδευσις, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ, τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μυστήριον ὡς ἐν σκιαῖς ἔτι προαναφαίνουσα.

tabernacle is a type of the church, but rather "the church in Christ".[580] The furnishings of the tabernacle, described in Books 9 and 10, and referred to in the title of Book 10, all thus bear witness to both the church and Christ. And as we have seen Cyril say, he has especially chosen those characteristics profitable for contemplation.[581]

The tabernacle as the church is not uncommon in patristic exegesis of the Pentateuch. Origen refers to the tabernacle this way.[582] Methodius of Olympus (*d.* 311) likens the tabernacle to the the church.[583] And Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Life of Moses*, calls the church "the true tabernacle".[584] And, like Cyril, Gregory also identifies the tabernacle as Christ.

> This tabernacle would be Christ who is the power and the wisdom of God [1 Corinthians 1:24], who in his own nature was not made with hands, yet he received that which had been built when it became necessary for this tabernacle to be erected among us. Thus, the same tabernacle is in a way both unfashioned and fashioned, uncreated in preexistence but created in having received this material composition.[585]

Commenting on this complex passage, Nathan Eubank argues that for Gregory the tabernacle is Christ. This is of a piece with Gregory's broader project as one in which "the perfection of human nature in an endless ascent into the infinite goodness of God."[586]

Gregory's stress on Moses' ascent into Christ the tabernacle provides a point of contrast to Cyril's interpretation of the tabernacle. In Gregory's account, Moses is the exemplar, the one whom all Christians are to follow, and so the soul's ascent to the encounter with the celestial tabernacle, Christ, is the goal of the spiritual life. The tabernacle's identification with Christ is a part of the goal of unification with God. Eubank writes that "Gregory offers a spiritual reading of Moses' career in which the darkness of unification is followed by Moses' entrance into the tabernacle not made with human hands."[587] Gregory's 'Spiritual Moses' differs from Cyril's 'Spiritual Exodus' not only because it focusses on an individual journey

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[580]PG 68.588C (Book 9)... τύπος ἦν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκκλησίας. See also the beginning of Book 10, where Cyril refers to the tabernacle as "the ancient tabernacle of the church perceived in Christ". PG 68.652C (Book 10). [ἡ ἀρχαία σκηνὴ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ νοουμένης Ἐκκλησίας.]

[581]See also PG 68.597A (Book 9) where Cyril warns that discussions of the minutiae of the tabernacle furnishings can descend into "superfluous talk" (περιττοεπήσει) with "useless words" (εἰκαίων ῥημάτων). It is not entirely clear which aspects Cyril thinks not worth discussing, or concerned only with practical matters rather than useful for contemplation. But tabernacle texts that Cyril does *not* quote include Exodus 26:4–6, 26:11–30, 27:4–8, and 27:13–19. It is reasonable to assume these are texts Cyril has in mind.

[582]Origen, *Hom. Ex.* 9.3–4.

[583]Methodius, *Symp.* 5.7.

[584]*De. Vit. Moy.*, 2.129.

[585]*De. Vit. Moy.*, 2.174. Following Eubank, I have edited the Malherbe and Ferguson translation to render δέχεται τὸ κατασκευασθῆναι as "received that which had been built" instead of "was capable of being made". Nathan Eubank, "Ineffably Effable: The Pinnacle of Mystical Ascent in Gregory of Nyssa's *De Vita Moysis*," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 16, no. 1 (2014), 34.

[586]Eubank, "Ineffably Effable," 40.

[587]Eubank, "Ineffably Effable," 26.

rather than an ecclesial reality. Gregory also treats Moses as someone to be emulated, while Cyril has a different vision. The tabernacle is both Christ and the church, but Cyril flags that his Christological interpretation is by virtue of Christ being head of the church. It is not so much Moses as it is Israel, and especially the Levites, that is the focus of Cyril's concern for emulation. As we saw above, Cyril considers at the beginning of Book 9 that is that tribe of Levi who are a type "for us", for "we too" are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for his own possession.[588]

Of course, Moses figures prominently in *De adoratione* as any account of the Pentateuch naturally will. But Cyril is more interested in ecclesial exegesis, expounding upon life in the church, rather than a personal ascent of the soul with Moses as exemplar. Moses, in *De adoratione*, is often presented as more of a one-off figure, through whom the law is given, and through whom is revealed the mystery of Christ. The pattern is more of God's action to Cyril's readers through Moses via Christ, than of Moses as a guide for readers to imitate in drawing near to God. Moses is regularly described by Cyril as "divine" (θεσπέσιος;[589] θεῖος[590]) or "all-wise" (πανσόφου)[591] or "heirophant" (ἱεροφάντης[592]) or "blessed" (μακάριος)[593]. But he does not necessarily stand in as exemplar, as providing a pattern of Christian living. Sometimes he is a type of Christ.[594] Sometimes he is a mediator (μεσίτης), as Christ too is called in 1 Timothy 2:5.[595] Other times Moses is a type, or personification (πρόσωπον), of the law,[596] showing its limitations. So in contrast to Gregory, Cyril can write of the burning bush:

> Moses is prevented from approaching God. *"Do not come here!"* it says. For the Good is unapproachable through the law. And the power of the way of life according to Moses is not fully capable of bringing [anyone] to God.[597]

Or, in another example from Book 2, Cyril reflects on the detail in Exodus 7:6–7 that Moses was 80, and Aaron 83, when they spoke to Pharaoh. So Aaron was older than Moses, even though Moses was appointed first.

> For note this, that God appointed Moses first, then he added Aaron, signifying in

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[588]PG 68.589B-C (Book 9).
[589]e.g. PG 68.189C (Book 1).
[590]e.g. PG 68.201B (Book 1).
[591]e.g. PG 68.137A (Book 1).
[592]e.g. PG 68.232A (Book 2).
[593]e.g. PG 68.233A (Book 2).
[594]PG 68.212D (Book 2). "For is not the intercession of Moses the very clear type of the intercession of Christ?" Ἦ γὰρ οὐχὶ τύπος ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ μάλα σαφὴς τῆς διὰ Χριστοῦ μεσιτείας, ἡ διὰ Μωσέως;
[595]e.g. PG 68.213C (Book 2).
[596]e.g. PG 68.233C-D (Book 2).
[597]PG 68.236A (Book 2)... εἴργεται Μωσῆς πλησιάζειν Θεῷ· «Μὴ ἐγγίσῃς γὰρ ὧδε,» φησίν. Ἀπρόσιτον γὰρ διὰ νόμου τὸ ἀγαθόν· καὶ τῆς κατὰ Μωσέα πολιτείας ἡ δύναμις οὐχ ἱκανὴ λίαν εἴς γε τὸ ἀποκομίζειν δύνασθαι τῷ Θεῷ.

advance the manifestation of Christ which is second in time to the sending and ministry of Moses, who was on the one hand in equality with Moses because of his humanity, but on the other hand in divine and incomprehensible preeminence because he was begotten of God the Father.[598]

Cyril goes on to explain that Moses was in equality with Aaron because they had both reached the age of 80, just as Moses and Christ are equal with respect to humanity. But Aaron's three years on Moses show that Christ/Aaron is set above, transcending Moses with the respect to the "divinity and glory according to the Holy Trinity."[599] In instances like these, Moses does not typify Christ but stands in contrast to Christ. It is Aaron who can typify Christ in contrast to Moses who typifies the law. So Moses needs Aaron to ascend Mount Sinai, because Moses typifies the law in its insufficiency to approach God. Quoting Exodus 19:24 in which God tells Moses to bring Aaron with him up the mountain, Cyril writes:

> Moses approaches, but not without Aaron, who was a type of Christ. For the law in Christ is precious, and thus being holy on account of him, is near God and with God. For it [the law] itself also proclaims the high priest and apostle of our confession, according to the Scriptures [Hebrews 3:1]. Therefore the law was yoked with Christ, through contemplation in the spirit. For Moses heard: "You and Aaron with you come up."[600]

Moses alone is insufficient. He needs Aaron, the type of Christ, to be near God and with God. And then Cyril also highlights the role of Joshua in the tabernacle. Cyril draws attention to Exodus 24:13 and 24:15 which make clear that Joshua was by Moses' side when God revealed the tabernacle. "When the divine Moses ascends the mountain, Joshua/Jesus ascends with him. Because no one can approach the Father except through the Son."[601] Moses is attributed with the erection of the tabernacle, but the presence of Joshua shows for Cyril that the law points to Christ, who is the head of the church.[602] All of these examples show a different role for Moses in *De adoratione* compared to Gregory of Nyssa. Cyril's approach to the Pentateuch is more diverse, complex and kaleidoscopic than attachment to one exemplar. And he is focussed more on practices for the whole church than a personal ascent

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[598]PG 68.260D (Book 2). Ἐπιτήρει γὰρ, ὅτι προεχειρίζετο Θεὸς, Μωσέα μὲν πρῶτον, εἶτα συνῆψε τὸν Ἀαρὼν, τῆς Μωσέως ἀποστολῆς τε καὶ διακονίας δευτέραν ἐν χρόνῳ προανατυπῶν τὴν ἀνάδειξιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἦν ἐν ἰσότητι μὲν τῇ πρὸς Μωσέα διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ἐν ὑπεροχῇ δὲ θείᾳ καὶ ἀσυγκρίτῳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεγεννῆσθαι Πατρός.

[599]PG 68.261A (Book 2)... ὡς ἐν Θεότητί τε καὶ δόξῃ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα.

[600]PG 68.492B-C (Book 7). Ἄνεισιν ὁ Μωσῆς καὶ οὐ δίχα τοῦ Ἀαρὼν, ὃς ἦν εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ. Τίμιος γὰρ νόμος ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ ὡς ἅγιος δι' αὐτὸν, ἐγγὺς Θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ Θεοῦ. Διακηρύττει γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς. Παρεζεύχθω οὖν ὁ νόμος Χριστῷ, διὰ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι θεωρίας. Ἀκήκοε γὰρ ὁ Μωσῆς· «Ἀνάβηθι σὺ καὶ Ἀαρών.»

[601]PG 68.652D (Book 10)... ἀναθέοντι μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῷ θεσπεσίῳ Μωσῇ, συνάνεισιν Ἰησοῦς· οὐ γὰρ προσιτὸς ἑτέρως ὁ Πατὴρ, εἰ μὴ δι' Υἱοῦ.

[602]PG 68.653C (Book 10).

of one man.

Cyril's reading stands out for its uniqueness. Denys Turner has argued that the two foundational texts for patristic mystical theology were Plato's allegory of the cave in the *The Republic* and then Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai in Exodus.[603] Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses* is a prominent example of the centrality of Moses' meeting with God in Exodus as a foundational narrative for Christian mystical theology. Given that there are numerous parallels between that work and *De adoratione*, it is striking that Cyril does not pursue a reading of the individual journey of the soul so much as an ecclesial reading. Gregory, like Cyril, is a close commentator on the tabernacle and its construction. Both treat the tabernacle in theophanic terms. But Gregory's stress is more on Moses' encounter with the tabernacle, with the reader placing himself in Moses' shoes, whereas Cyril's stress is on the tabernacle's presence and function within Israel and how that reveals the mystery of Christ in the church for his readers.[604] The tabernacle is even presented in Cyril as a kind of concession, awaiting the full realisation of the church in Christ. This is evident in Books 9–10 but is put succinctly in Book 2 when Cyril quotes Jeremiah 3:16 and interprets Jeremiah as saying that the tabernacle will be destroyed and not made again.

> For when the the sacrifice in types and by blood was completely destroyed, it was necessary to eliminate the tabernacle itself, since instead a more true one was erected, that is, the church about which Christ Himself has said. "I will dwell here, for I have desired it" [Psalm 131(132):14].[605]

The tabernacle, then, while a type both of Christ and the church, is also here less a divine presence to enter into than a foreshadowing of the church over which Christ is the head and in which Christ's holy presence is revealed. The approach here takes into account the place of the tabernacle in redemptive history, not only in the realm of typological contemplation. As such it provides another illustration of the argument I made in Chapter 3, that Cyril can employ readings according to both ἱστορία and θεωρία in service of his goals. There is no clear overarching framework that explains how Cyril can read the tabernacle both as a type of the church in Christ and also as insufficient without Christ, awaiting the church. Similarly,

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[603]Denys Turner, *The Darkness of God: Negativity in Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11–18. See also Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 80–97; Conway-Jones, "Anagogical Exegesis: Gregory of Nyssa and Moses' Ascent of Mount Sinai." Conway-Jones mentions other patristic writers who drew on the Exodus account of Moses on Mount Sinai in aid of a mystical theology, namely Evagrius, Macarius, and Dionysius.

[604]This is perhaps further evidence that Cyril is not so much addressing only monks on a solitary path of spiritual perfection, but rather a broader ecclesial community.

[605]PG 68.228C (Book 2). Ἀνατετραμμένης γὰρ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς τῆς ἐν τύποις ἔτι καὶ δι' αἱμάτων θυσίας, ἀνάγκη πως ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκ μέσου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σκηνήν, ἅτε δὴ τῆς ἀληθεστέρας ἀντεγηγερμένης, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη Χριστός· «Ὧδε κατοικήσω, ὅτι ἡρετισάμην αὐτήν.»

there is no consistent approach to the person of Aaron. As we have just seen, he can be a type of Christ in contrast to Moses, the type of the law. But then at other times Cyril treats Aaron as one who typifies the law. He is "holy according to the law" only, and so still needs to wash his hands and feet before entering the Holy of Holies, showing "that the power of the service according to the law was not sufficient for cleansing".[606] Context, and the goals of his particular exegesis, lead him down different paths. As I argued in Chapter 3, Cyril's paraenetic goals guide his reading methods, resulting in a range of ways to understand Pentateuchal figures and material objects.

This stress on the church as the place of holiness is key to understanding how Cyril treats the tabernacle. Just as holiness is mediated in the tabernacle, so too Christ shares his holiness in the church. Cyril's readers are called to participate in this holiness that is received not called up from within. One text Cyril uses to explicate this is Exodus 40:7–9, in which the tabernacle and everything in it is anointed and so made holy. Cyril explains that Christ was already holy, being God. But on account of his κένωσις he was also made holy according to his humanity (κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον).

> Therefore, the anointing and sanctification of the flesh – which is not holy by nature but in participation, as it were, with God – is according to humanity. For holiness comes to creatures from without, and they are enriched with grace by God outside themselves.[607]

In other words, the sanctification of Christ shows the need for the sanctification of all people as something performed outside of themselves, in the church. The tabernacle, its sacrifices and its furnishings, becomes a template for Cyril to expound upon this theology of holiness. In one sense the problem Cyril sees with the law is a problem of holiness. In a passage in Book 9, Cyril describes how Aaron, though holy according to the law, nevertheless had to wash his hands and feet before entering the Holy of Holies. This, for Cyril, shows how unholy to God (ὡς ἀνίερος παρὰ Θεῷ) is the one who seems to be holy according to the law, unless he is washed. That washing, of course, prefigures baptism, the rite in which true holiness is received. The problem for Israel is one of sanctification. "So the law is insufficient for sanctification, unless saving baptism comes to the aid of those yearning for a relationship with God."[608] This is a genuine problem because, as Cyril goes on to say, "it is a truly

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[606]PG 68.628C (Book 9)... κατὰ νόμον ἅγιος... ὅτι τῆς ἐν νόμῳ λατρείας ἡ δύναμις οὐκ ἀπόχρη πρὸς κάθαρσιν.

[607]PG 68.692A (Book 10). Οὐκοῦν περὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἡ χρίσις, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ὁ ἁγιασμὸς, τῆς οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἁγίας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν μεθέξει τῇ παρὰ Θεοῦ· θύραθεν γὰρ τοῖς κτίσμασιν ὁ ἁγιασμὸς, καὶ εἰσποιητῶς παρὰ Θεοῦ καταπλουτοῦσι τὴν χάριν.

[608]PG 68.628D (Book 9). Ἀτελὴς οὖν ὁ νόμος εἰς ἁγιασμόν, εἰ μὴ προσγένοιτο τοῖς δεδιψηκόσι τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν οἰκειότητα τὸ σωτήριον βάπτισμα.

dangerous and punishable thing to approach God without having been made clean."[609] That he is referring not only to Israel but also the church is shown by Cyril's immediate reference and quotation of 1 Corinthians 11:28,30–32 on the sickness and death that has resulted from sacramental participation without examination. And it is a concern he addresses again in Book 11. It is only "holy souls" (Ψυχαῖς ... ἱεραῖς) who can partake of holy food, and those to be excluded include the unbelieving and unbaptized as well as those who have fallen into false teaching contrary to the intentions (γνώμαις) of the saints.[610] In Book 14, Cyril stresses the need for purification before entering into God's presence, quoting Paul's injunction to purge the evil person from among you (1 Corinthians 5:13). But Cyril adds a comment: "And I would not call this matter a product of savagery of character, but rather a wise means of safety."[611] Protection of holiness in the tabernacle, and the church, is then a matter of safety and wisdom, ensuring the unprepared are not exposed to the powerful holiness of God. But the goal is not protection, but rather participating in God's holiness. Protection is in service of the greater reality that Cyril writes about in Book 10 Cyril writes: "In Christ, then, we have gained access and confidence to enter the holy places, as the wise Paul told us [Ephesians 2:18; Hebrews 10:19]."[612] This is because Christ is holy in an infectious way. Going back to Book 11, Cyril explains this further when commenting on Leviticus 8:1–6,10–11.

> The tabernacle is holy, but the altar abounds to the fullest extent with sanctification through the Spirit, not as one who participates in the order of rational beings (for neither the nature of an angel, nor the soul of a man, is holy, for example), but, as it were, because of the contact of the sacrifice placed upon it. For holy is the place on which Christ has come to be.[613]

The nature of an angel or the soul of man is only made holy by coming into contact with something inherently, or infectiously holy, namely Christ. Just as impurity is infectious, so

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[609]PG 68.629A (Book 9). Χρῆμα γὰρ ἐπισφαλὲς καὶ ἐπιζήμιον ἀληθῶς, τὸ ἐγγίζειν Θεῷ μὴ κεκαθαρμένους. See also PG 68.801B-C (Book 12).

[610]See PG 68.761D (Book 11).

[611]PG 68.888C (Book 14). Καὶ οὐκ ἠθῶν ἀγριότητα φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε τὸ χρῆμα καρπὸν, ἀλλὰ σοφὸν ἀσφαλείας εὕρεμα.

[612]PG 68.672B (Book 10). Οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐν ὄψει καθίστησι τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐν ἑαυτῷ.... Ἐν Χριστῷ τοιγαροῦν ἐσχήκαμεν τὴν προσαγωγήν, καὶ τὴν παῤῥησίαν εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν Ἁγίων, καθάπερ ἡμῖν ὁ σοφὸς ἔφη Παῦλος. Christ as the place of access to the Father and to God's holiness is a theme repeated by Cyril. E.g. PG 68.973A (Book 15) "For in Christ is our access (προσαγωγή) and through Him we approach, defiled." [Ἐν Χριστῷ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἡ προσαγωγή, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσίεμεν οἱ μεμολυσμένοι]; PG 68.1016B (Book 16) "For through him we have had access (προσαγωγή) and He has inaugurated for us the passage to being, entering as a Forerunner on our behalf into the Holy of Holies and showing us the true way." [Δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐνεκαίνισε τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι πάροδον, πρόδρομος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσελάσας εἰς τὰ Ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ καταδείξας ἡμῖν τὴν ἀληθῆ τρίβον.]

[613]PG 68.764C (Book 11). Ἁγία γὰρ ἡ σκηνὴ, καταπλουτεῖ δὲ τελείως τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸν διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγιασμὸν, οὐχ ὡς ἐν τάξει μετίσχον τῶν λογικῶν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἅγιον, ὡς, οἷον εἰπεῖν, ἀγγέλου φύσις, ἤγουν ἀνθρώπου ψυχή· ἀλλ' οἰονεί πως ἐξ ἐπαφῆς τῆς ἐπιτιθεμένης θυσίας αὐτῷ. Ἅγιος γὰρ καὶ τόπος ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν γένοιτο Χριστός.

too is holiness, explaining the logic of protection. This is a central and ongoing concern for Cyril in the second half of *De adoratione*. He continues to develop a theology and practice of holiness, centred around the holy presence of Christ, using tabernacle typology and imagery to expound it. Because Christ is present in the churches, he bears a holy presence that the church needs to steward wisely. In Book 12, commenting on the sin offering described in Leviticus 6:24–29, Cyril explains that just as the sin offering was to be slaughtered at the same place as the burnt offering, so too Christ, the true Lamb, was slaughtered at the place of the burnt offering:

> For Christ is not holy partially like us (for he did not sin), but wholly sweet-smelling and holy, and he is the provider of holiness for all others... For as God the Son is divine, so also he is the Holy of holies, sanctifying creation by his Spirit, in so far as he was born from the Father, and is truly God.[614]

Cyril then describes how this holiness is stewarded in the churches by means of the Eucharist:

> The sacrifice makes holy the one who touches it, including the sprinkling of blood. For we approach the holy things, not for anything else, but to partake of the Holy Christ through the ineffable and spiritual sacrifice.[615]

Passages describing both the holiness of Christ, and then the way in which people have access to Christ's holiness in the church, occur regularly in the second half of *De adoratione*, and they are all dependent on exegesis of the tabernacle sacrifices and furnishings.[616] The claim that the tabernacle is a type of the church, and of Christ, the Head of the church, thus underpins much of the second half of *De adoratione*.

We have noted how this approach differs from Gregory of Nyssa's treatment. One further difference worth noting is that while Gregory ends his reading of the life of Moses on Mount Sinai, the structure of *De adoratione* is more faithful to the overall structure of Exodus. Seeing *De adoratione* as a "Spiritual Exodus" thus has ramifications for Cyril's reading strategy also, as he seeks to place Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai in the context of the cultic prescriptions which follow for the remainder of exegesis. It is not simply that Cyril chooses

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[614]PG 68.829C-D (Book 12). οὐ γάρ τοι μερικῶς τε καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἅγιος ὁ Χριστὸς (οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἁμαρτίαν), εὐώδης δὲ ὅλος καὶ ἱερὸς, καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι χορηγός... Ὥσπερ γὰρ Θεὸς θεῶν ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς, οὕτω καὶ ἁγίων Ἅγιος, ὅλην αὐτὸς ἁγιάζων τὴν κτίσιν τῷ ἰδίῳ πνεύματι, καθὸ πέφυκεν ἐκ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἔστι Θεὸς ἀληθῶς.

[615]PG 68.829D-832A (Book 12). Ἁγιάζει δὲ τὸν ἁπτόμενον ἡ θυσία, καὶ ὁ τοῦ αἵματος ῥαντισμός. Προσ ίεμεν γὰρ τοῖς ἁγίοις, οὐχ ἑτέρου του χάριν, ἢ ὥστε μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ ἁγίου Χριστοῦ διά τε τῆς ἀποῤῥήτου καὶ πνευματικῆς θυσίας.

[616]e.g. "He [Christ] is the One who by sprinkling His blood sanctifies the church and this abundantly" PG 68.964B (Book 15) [...αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐν τῷ ῥαντισμῷ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος ἁγιάζων τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοῦτο πλουσίως.]

his own path, but that in paying attention to the contours of the whole of Exodus, what emerges is a more ecclesial exegesis, which we will now explore.

### Exegesis in the Context of the Church

One of Cyril's consistent arguments is that the texts of the Pentateuch find their true home in the life of the church, with Cyril employing different reading strategies that were explored in Chapter 3. And in this he is especially dependent on the theology of the Book of Hebrews. To take the example that we have just been looking at, the tabernacle sacrifices and furnishings are types of a deeper reality. And the texts which provide details of the tabernacle were written, Cyril claims, ultimately for a context that was awaiting fuller revelation. Cyril thus sees his task as providing a reading for the texts in their proper context, that of the church. The texts reach forward, and shape Cyril's ecclesiology. In the same way that the presence of God filled the tabernacle, so Christ fills the church. But perhaps the bolder half of Cyril's argument is the reverse, that the context of the church in which Cyril is reading the texts provides the deepest understanding of the Pentateuchal texts. In other words, the church is integral to the meaning of the Pentateuch.

One way in which this affinity is shown throughout *De adoratione* is the ownership that Cyril takes over the figures in the Pentateuch. Abraham and the Israelites who participate in the service according to the law, are people who are participating in the same realities that Cyril and his Christian readers are in the church, albeit now according to Spirit and truth. We have just seen the way that Cyril refers to the "blessed Moses", to which we can add "our forefather Abraham" (ὁ προπάτωρ Ἀβραάμ).[617] Joshua and Aaron are both consistently referred to as types of Christ, and Aaron figures especially in the second half of the work, in the books on the priesthood. Cyril can there say that the types or shadows are darker in other priests, "but they shine in Aaron, who bears the image of Christ".[618] By drawing his readers into a Christian appreciation of the characters of the Old Testament, Cyril is helping to bridge the distance between those figures and his audience.

This same treatment is given to objects as well as people. The tabernacle furnishings, in Cyril's reading, become proclamations of the church's witness, and find their true purpose in the mission of the church. The ten curtains of the tabernacle, for example, are counted as "the totality of the churches in the world... gathered into one according to the unity in Christ by faith".[619] To take another example, the ark of the covenant's veil is hung on four pillars, according to Exodus 26:31–37. In Cyril's reading, the veil is a type of Christ, and the four pillars the four evangelists who by their preaching exalt Christ, and make him seen "by

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[617]PG 68.185A (Book 1).
[618]PG 68.813C (Book 12)... ἀναλάμπουσι δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀαρὼν εἰκόνα φοροῦντι Χριστοῦ...
[619]PG 68.633C (Book 9)... τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν εἰς κόσμον Ἐκκλησιῶν... συνεσφιγμένων εἰς ἓν καθ' ἑνότητα τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ διὰ πίστεως.

those in the holy tabernacle, that is, in the church."[620] To take a final example, the way in which Israel was to mix oil with myrrh before anointing all the tabernacle vessels and priests (Exodus 30:22–34) is, for Cyril, a narrative about the way in which the holiness of Christ comes through the Spirit. Since only this oil will do, so too holiness can only be received from God, as the sole source of holiness.[621] Nor are all things ready for the reception of God's holiness. "It shall not be poured on the body of an ordinary person" (Exodus 30:32). This means two things for the church, according to Cyril. First, that the hidden things suitable only for the saints, by which he broadly means baptized Christians, cannot be taught to unbelievers, for it is a dangerous thing. The holiness of the teaching is dangerous to the ears of those unclean, not yet prepared. And secondly, that preparation comes only through the cleansing of holy baptism. When it comes to the holy annointing oil, God in the text of Exodus gives a specific recipe, requiring those to be cut off who deviate from the prescribed composition (Exodus 30:34–8). For Cyril this shows that none can take the place of Christ, the holy one, with the inference that any pretenders must be cut off.[622] The true God, who alone is God by nature, cannot be worshipped anywhere nor anyhow, but only where God has commanded, in Christ in the church, and how God has commanded, namely worship in spirit and truth. The location of right worship is the body of Christ.

Typologies of this sort flourish in the second half of *De adoratione*. They are noteworthy because Cyril reads the Pentateuchal texts as being fulfilled not simply in the New Testament, but also in the life of the church. Of course Christ stands at the heart of this typology, the Christ revealed most fully in the New Testament. But his readers are connected to this fulfillment, and thus connected to the Pentateuchal texts, by the ongoing presence of Christ in the church. The church provides Cyril with the context for his understanding of the Pentateuchal texts, and conversely, the Pentateuchal texts, in Cyril's reading, await a complete fulfillment and understanding in the life of the church.

Cyril makes this connection between Old Testament, New Testament, and the church, at the end of Book 4. Cyril compares Abraham's longing for a son born of his wife to the apostles' desire to be freed from the service (λατρεία) of the law and instead receive Christ, the type of Isaac, according to the promise and by faith. Cyril then writes:

> But let us apply what has been said not only to the ancient men and holy apostles,
> but also to those who after them received the priesthood, and to the leaders of the

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[620]PG 68.661C (Book 10)... τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σκηνῇ, τουτέστι, τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.
[621]See also PG 68.829C (Book 12). "For Christ is not holy partially like us (for he did not sin), but wholly sweet-smelling and holy, and he is the provider of holiness for all others." [...οὐ γάρ τοι μερικῶς τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἅγιος ὁ Χριστὸς (οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἁμαρτίαν), εὐώδης δὲ ὅλος καὶ ἱερὸς, καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι χορηγός.]
[622]PG 68.644D-648D (Book 9).

churches, as well as finally to every holy and good soul.[623]

Cyril then begins Book 5, but this conclusion could just as well apply to many of Cyril's typologies throughout the work. There is a movement from Israel, through the Gospel, to the life of the church in Cyril's day.

One way Cyril heightens this ecclesial exegesis is through a sacramental exegesis of the Pentateuch. A number of Israel's cultic texts, for Cyril, are ultimately proclamations and instructions for God's sacramental action in the life of the church. Books 14 and 15, concerned as they are with cleansing in Christ, include a number of examples. The sin offering proscribed in Leviticus 4:1–12 includes the outpouring of the ashes of the sacrificed bull outside the camp. For Cyril, the bull is a type of Christ, showing his death "outside the camp" (Hebrews 13:13). But Cyril then focusses on the ashes, and without reference to any particular passage, also notes the cleansing use of water:

> Ashes with water serve as purification for the defiled. For the passion of the Savior, who sanctifies us through water, is the deliverance from sin, through which we acquire not a removal of dirt from the body, as it is written [1 Peter 3:21], but the washing of the defilements in the soul. For "wash yourselves", it is said "and be cleansed" [Isaiah 1:16], as the prophetic word from above told us.[624]

Here the arc of Israel's cult, through apostolic teaching, to sacramental practice is on display in Cyril's ecclesial exegesis. The passion of Christ fulfills the sin offering of Israel, and brings deliverance to Cyril's readers through the baptismal water ("sanctifies *us*," "*we* acquire").[625]

Through these readings, Cyril is also building his narrative of the Christian way of life. As Exodus reaches its more explicit cultic prescriptions, the journey of the Christian in Cyril's narrative is drawn into the language of holiness, mediated through the church. As we have noted, the second half of *De adoratione* is introduced at the beginning of Book 9 with a concern that Cyril's audience, children of God though they are, be also found holy and righteous, offering spiritual sacrifices and pursuing a holy way of life.[626] Building on our present discussion, this way of life is shown to be an ecclesial life, and one of sacramental

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[623]PG 68.357D (Book 4). Ἀναθήσομεν δὲ τὸνἐπὶ τῷδε λόγον, οὐχὶ δὴ μόνοις τοῖς πάλαι τε καὶ ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνους τὸ ἱεροῦσθαι λαχοῦσι, καὶ Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡγουμένοις, ἢ καὶ παντί τε λοιπὸν ὁσίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ.

[624]PG 68.965A (Book 15). Κάθαρσις δὲ τοῖς μεμολυσμένοις, ἡ σποδιὰ μετὰ ὕδατος. Λυτήριον γὰρ ἁμαρτίας, τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ πάθος, ἁγιάζων ἡμᾶς δι' ὕδατος, δι' οὗ κερδανοῦμεν οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσιν ῥύπου, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν ψυχαῖς μολυσμῶν τὴν ἀπόνιψιν· «Λούσασθε» γὰρ, φησὶν, «καὶ καθαροὶ γίνεσθε·» καὶ προφητικὸς ἡμῖν ἄνωθεν διεκελεύετο λόγος.

[625]For further examples of this sacramental exegesis, see PG 68.933A-B (Book 14) relating to the washing of garments by those who have come into contact with the dead, and PG 68.752B-C (Book 11) concerning Aaron's washing before putting on the holy, priestly garments. Young has a discussion on the liturgical character of Christological typology in the Book of Hebrews, Melito of Sardis, and the Epistle of Barnabas. Cyril is especially dependent on the Book of Hebrews in the second half of *De adoratione*. Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 197–98.

[626]PG 68.589A-B (Book 9).

participation in the means of holiness. With the tabernacle as a type of the church, Cyril can plunge into the cultic details of the tabernacle with exegetical tools that allow him to expound upon the growth in holiness that is the next stage of his Scriptural way of life.

While we have already shown how Cyril regularly draws attention to the perceived shortcoming of the life of Israel and its need to be fulfilled in Christ and the church, there is a more positive side of this equation that is important to note. For when addressing his Christian audience with guidance on the way to live a holy and righteous life in the church, Cyril draws them back to the Pentateuch, connecting them to Israel's cult for their own Christian growth and edification. Thus he promotes a diachronic unity with Israel, and also a diachronic universality in which Israel belongs to the church, in a single communion. The texts of Israel, in Cyril's reading, are the church's texts, united also by the continuous presence of the Triune God, especially in worship, that is the worship both of Israel and now of the church. So Cyril does not so much draw attention to Christ in the Old Testament, as rather promote a contemporary encounter with the Christ who was present in the Old Testament, enacted in worship. Worship then bridges the gap between the Old Testament text and the Christian, so that Cyril's exegesis can find its context in the church. While noting again that Cyril regularly describes what is lacking in a reading of the Pentateuch that excludes Christ,[627] the other dimension of this reality is that Cyril is seeking to enact the Old Testament texts in the context of the church, and of a way of life brought about in Christ.

## WORSHIP AND MORALITY (BOOKS 11–15)

When Cyril introduces the second half of *De adoratione* at the beginning of Book 9, he foreshadows his concern in Books 9 and 10 with the tabernacle and the church. He also, as we have noted, introduces the theme of the priesthood, namely that all Christians have been called a royal priesthood. That theme is introduced in Book 11, and is carried through for three books, all on the priesthood. In this section we will also be considering Books 14 and 15. Those books are concerned with the need for being made clean before serving in the churches, and so are an extension of the activity of priests. Priests are to serve in the church, and they are to do so as people who have been cleansed. The progress of *De adoratione* is then capped off with Book 16 on offering spiritual sacrifices, followed by the goal of Sabbath rest in Book 17. Taken as a unit, Books 11–15 follow on from Cyril's teaching on the church

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[627]"For the law leads us only to the beginnings of the mysteries of Christ, and, as it were, to the first entrances of an exact knowledge of Him. But it does not lead in any way into the Holy of Holies, that is, into the innermost tabernacle, in which Christ is present in many forms, as the Word of God, as light, as living bread, as a perfume of sweet fragrance to God the Father." PG 68.665C (Book 10). [Ἀποφέρει γὰρ ὁ νόμος μόλις ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀρχὰς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ οἱονεί πως παρὰ τὰς πρώτας εἰσβολὰς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γνώσεως ἀκριβοῦς· εἰσκομίζει δὲ οὐδαμῶς εἰς τὰ Ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν σκηνὴν, ἐν ᾗ πολυειδὴς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς Θεοῦ Λόγος, ὡς φῶς, ὡς ἄρτος ζῶν, ὡς εὐωδίας ὀσμὴ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί.]

and holiness in Books 9–10. Just as the tabernacle was first established before the priesthood was then given to serve in the tabernacle, so too the church in Christ that has been the focus of Books 9–10 now needs priests to mediate the holiness of God within it.

## The Priesthood According to Christ

The title of Book 11 announces that the priesthood according to the law was a type of the priesthood according to Christ.[628] As we have noted, this does not necessarily mean that Cyril has in mind clerics who serve in the church. Certainly there are times in *De adoratione* when Cyril addresses the clerical office in the church. In Book 9, for example, Cyril is explaining that the seven candles in the tabernacle are likened to the light of Christ, shining in perfection. Those tabernacle candles were lit by Aaron and other priests, corresponding in the churches to:

> ...those who have virtuously inherited the priesthood, who make the minds of the faithful enlightened by right initiation...So if the teachers of the church rightly interpret the divine and evangelical proclamations, the light of the Savior is constantly and unceasingly visible in the churches.[629]

Cyril does, here, consider the priesthood of the law as corresponding to the clerics in his contemporary church, the priests and the teachers (probably meaning bishops),[630] holding alight the illuminating proclamation of Christ in the churches. And this continues in Book 11 when Cyril comes to address the priesthood explicitly. At the beginning of Book 11, emphasizing that it was God who established the priesthood and called Aaron and his sons, Cyril applies this directly to clerics of his day: "Therefore let no one go to the priesthood of God on one's own initiative, but let him wait for the call."[631] And Cyril goes on to connect this priesthood to the ministry of the "divine disciples" who "discharged the priestly work (ἱερουργοῦντες) of the gospel of Christ to the nations".[632] One final example is in Book 17, where Cyril is looking at the feast of the Passover, and quotes Deuteronomy 16:1–6 which stresses that it must be celebrated not in any city, but only at the Temple. For Cyril, this

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[628]For a study on the priesthood of Christ in Cyril, including with reference to *De adoratione*, see Hicks, "St Cyril on the Priesthood of Christ and the Old Testament." On this theme, see also Dragas, *St Cyril on the Priesthood*; Ionut Vasile Crisan, "The Priesthood and Worship in the Theology of St. Cyril of Alexandria (I)," *Revista Teologică* (2018); Ionut Vasile Crisan, "The Priesthood and Worship in the Theology of St. Cyril of Alexandria (Ii)," *Revista Teologică* (2018).

[629]PG 68.641D-644A (Book 9)... ταῖς τῶν ἱερᾶσθαι κεκληρωκότων ἐπιεικείαις, οἳ ταῖς εἰς ὀρθότητα μυσταγωγίαις τὸν τῶνπιστευόντων καταλαμπρύνουσι νοῦν... Διηνεκὲς οὖν ἄρα καὶ ἀκατάληκτον τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ φῶς ὁρῷτο ἂν ἐν Ἐκκλησίαις, διερμηνευόντων ὀρθῶς τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ εὐαγγελικὰ κηρύγματα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς διδασκάλων.

[630]While he mentions both priests and teachers in this passage, it is not a distinction he makes explicit.

[631]PG 68.728A (Book 11). Ἴτω δὴ οὖν αὐτόμολος μὲν μηδεὶς εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν τῷ Θεῷ, περιμενέτω δὲ κλῆσιν...

[632]PG 68.728B (Book 11)... ἱερουργοῦντες εἰς τὰ ἔθνη τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ.

means that the mystery of Christ cannot be celebrated anywhere (ἐν τόπῳ παντὶ), but only in the church, and only by a "lawful priest" (νόμιμος ἱερεὺς). This is in contrast to the heretics who celebrate anywhere (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ), and "not by the hands of those chosen by the Spirit for holy work".[633] In these examples we can see a clear concern for the function of priests in the church of Cyril's day, as well as the right location of the Eucharistic celebration.

Nevertheless, by and large, Cyril reads the Old Testament priesthood as a type for all Christians consecrated to God as a royal priesthood. And he moves into this mode of speaking without always clearly demarcating that he is now talking about the priesthood belonging to all Christians. So, to continue with the flow of Book 11, a short while after speaking of the priestly office of his day, Cyril comes to Exodus 28:2–3 in which God commands a holy vestment be made for Aaron to be used for his priestly work in the holy place. For Cyril, this is a type for all Christians:

> The all-wise Paul counsels the righteous by faith to put on the holy and heavenly garments, writing, "put on our Lord Jesus Christ" [Romans 13:14]. And the prophet Isaiah foretold the same, saying as if from the person of the church, "Let my soul be glad in the Lord, for he has clothed me with a garment of salvation and with a tunic of joy" [Isaiah 61:10]. So Christ is truly the garment of honor and glory to the sanctified and holy nation, a shining and transcendent adornment for the souls of the saints. For it says, "All of you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ" [Galatians 3:27]. And the word is true.[634]

It is the nation of the baptized who correspond to Aaron the high priest, having been clothed with Christ. This is the typical way in which Cyril continues to speak about the priesthood of Aaron and his sons. Being set apart for holy service is something that now, in Christ, is the vocation of every Christian. The way in which Israel's priests comported themselves with respect to holy things, now is a type for the way in which all Christians should comport themselves with respect to holy things. This conception of the "royal priesthood" (1 Peter 2:9)[635] is closely related to Cyril's understanding of λατρεία, as previously discussed. There is a new form of holy service, to which all Christians are called, but it is significant that this new way of life has correspondence to the cultic practices of Israel. Both the old and the new

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[633]PG 68.1085D-1088A (Book 17)... οὔτε μὴν διὰ χειρὸς τῶν ἐξειλεγμένων διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς ἱερουργίαν.

[634]PG 68.729D-732A (Book 11). Παῦλος μὲν οὖν ὁ σοφώτατος τοῖς ἐν πίστει δεδικαιωμένοις τὴν ἁγίαν ὄντως καὶ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ στολὴν ἀνάπτεσθαι δεῖν συμβουλεύει γράφων· «Ἐνδύσασθε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.» Τοῦτο γάρτοι ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας προανακεκράγει λέγων ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, «Ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐνέδυσε γάρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης.» Ἔσθημα δὴ οὖν τὸ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἀληθῶς τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ γένει, Χριστός, κόσμημά τε λαμπρὸν καὶ ὑπερκόσμιον ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαῖς. «Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε,» φησὶ, καὶ ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος.

[635]Cyril quotes this verse six times throughout *De adoratione*: PG 68.276B (Book 3), 337C (Book 4), 589C (Book 9), 668A (Book 10), 681B (Book 10), 864C (Book 13).

are connected in that they are forms of holy worship. So the cultic texts of the Pentateuch, including here on the priesthood, are especially suitable for giving shape to the Christian way of life, because Cyril wants to conceive of this way of life as being a kind of priestly work of the sanctified. The priestly work given according to the letter was a fitting, if impermanent, practice given by God. But Cyril regularly seeks to show that the cultic life of Israel already pointed to its impermanence, especially with respect to animal sacrifice as we have seen earlier. He does not seek to efface the cultic life of Israel within its own historical era. Rather, building on our previous argument in Chapter 2 that Cyril seeks to "re-envision" the Pentateuch, we can also see Cyril seeking to re-envision more specifically the cultic life of Israel, as containing within it an enduring priestly service and worship in the Spirit that has now been fulfilled and made clear in Christ. This service is directly applicable to the lives of his Christian readers. Moreover, it is a service that is not confined to the Sunday liturgical gathering. Rather, the cultic life of Israel has within it a service that extends to the whole of the Christian life. In order to open up this dimension of *De adoratione*, some contemporary sources will help us in important ways to see how priestly service can extend to the daily life of Christians.

## Worship and Morality

What does it mean to function as a priest in the Christian way of life? David Fagerberg is a scholar of liturgical theology who has recently written about "liturgical morality" and "liturgical asceticism" and in so doing has provided helpful concepts for understanding how Cyril considers the life of a Christian to be priestly service. Liturgical theology is a movement that began in the twentieth century, animated especially by the writings of Alexander Schmemann and, after him, Aidan Kavanaugh.[636] One of its distinctive features has been to distinguish itself against a theology of the liturgy. Theology of the liturgy as an endeavour is typically defined as an academic discipline which seeks to, from afar, study liturgies and liturgical practices especially within the university context. By contrast, liturgical theology considers both liturgy and theology to have a fundamental unity – that the liturgy, or worship, of the church is the place from which theology emerges. This endeavour seeks to mend the alienation of theology from the church, so that it is no longer the preserve of professionals only, but takes an active place in the life of the church, and

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[636] Alexander Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology,* trans. Asheleigh E. Moorhouse (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1966); Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*. Schmemann and Kavanaugh were both patristic scholars, and in many ways the liturgical theology movement grew out of an attention to the way in which patristic authors considered the life of prayer and worship, and its relationship to theology. As Andrew Louth has put it, "Prayer is seen in the Fathers to be, as it were, the amniotic fluid in which our knowledge of God takes form." Andrew Louth, *Discerning the Mystery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 65.

from the life of the church finds its inspiration and goal.[637] Worship is the source of theology, then, and not its object. Humankind is, for Schmemann,

> … first of all, *'homo adorans'*. The first, the basic definition of man is that he is *the priest*. He stands in the center of the world and unified it in his act of blessing God, of both received the world from God and offering it to God.[638]

This gets to the heart of how Cyril himself in *De adoratione* imagines the Old Testament priesthood as being a type for all Christians, who as members of the royal priesthood put on Christ and offer spiritual sacrifices to God. But Cyril also extends this priestly role to moral action. And we can find resources for elucidating this in Fagerberg.

Fagerberg stands in the tradition of Schmemann and Kavanaugh, and has more recently begun extending the project of the liturgical theology into the territory of moral theology. In 2013, he published a book *On Liturgical Asceticism,* followed by a 2016 book *Consecrating the World: On Mundane Liturgical Theology*, and a 2017 article 'On Liturgical Morality'.[639] In these works, Fagerberg is concerned with extending what liturgical theology says about theology, also to the realm of morality, asceticism and bioethics. As Fagerberg uses these terms – and others – with some interchangeability, we will use "morality" because of the resonances it has with Cyril's description of *De adoratione* as a work of "moral guidance". So too while the movement describes itself with reference to "liturgy", it just as soon uses *adorans*, as we have seen, or worship, or even λατρεία, which we have translated as service. So we will use "worship" because of the resonances it has with our translation of Cyril's titular προσκύνησις. For Fagerberg, just as theology flows out of the life of church so too does morality: "[T]he primacy of liturgical theology means that we derive doctrine and dogma, piety and ethics, from the life of the church at liturgy, not from out of our own scholarly heads."[640] Dogma and ethics both emerge from the church's life of worship, although for our purposes it is ethics that are especially relevant to *De adoratione*.[641] It is worth noting Fagerberg sees himself as drawing out realities essentially already present in the liturgical

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[637]Alexander Schmemann, "Theology and Eucharist," in *Liturgy and Tradition: Theological Reflections of Alexander Schmemann*, ed. Thomas Fisch (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 70.
[638]Schmemann, *For the Life of the World*, 15.
[639]David W Fagerberg, *On Liturgical Asceticism* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013); Fagerberg, *Consecrating the World: On Mundane Liturgical Theology*; Fagerberg, "On Liturgical Morality."
[640]Fagerberg, "On Liturgical Morality," 121.
[641]Thomas Torrance has called Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, which Cyril describes as being concerned with "dogmatic exegesis", as "one of the great patristic works on the theology of worship". Torrance, "The Mind of Christ in Worship," 177. See *Comm. Jo.,* Preface (Pusey 1.7). *De adoratione*, as a work of "moral guidance", could justly be called a theology of worship. The two works, concerned with dogma and morality respectively, are both also fundamental theologies of worship out of which dogma and morality flows.

theology movement. As he sometimes puts it in his writings, Aidan Kavanagh would define liturgy in his lectures as "doing the world the way the world was meant to be done".[642]

One of the ramifications, then, of considering morality this way is that worship is something that extends beyond the liturgy held within the confines of the church building. "The idea of liturgical morality rejects any conclusion that God is not present in the world because he is confined to the tabernacle."[643] What occurs in the tabernacle, is the context for how Christians are to live in the world, continuing their worship through the moral action of their lives. "Liturgical morality means that our *latreia* accompanies us out into the world."[644] So it is not just that worship fuels moral action in the world, but that it is also extended beyond the confines of the divine service, or Mass, or divine liturgy.

> *Moralis* is ex-pired (breathed out) by the liturgical lungs of the church because the Holy Spirit in-spires (breathes life into) the behavior of the person as that person leaves the temple's liturgy. The pneumatic respiration we do in the liturgy oxygenates our political body. We then conduct a "liturgy after the liturgy," in the words of Ion Bria. He quotes Bishop Anastasios Yannoulatos saying, "The liturgy is not an escape from life, but a continuous transformation of life according to the prototype Jesus Christ, through the power of the Spirit . . . The liturgy has to be continued in personal, everyday situations. Each of the faithful is called upon to continue a personal "liturgy" on the sacred altar of his own heart, to realize a living proclamation of the good news "for the sake of the whole world.""[645]

This extension of worship into daily life is at the heart of Cyril's conception of the Christian as a member of the royal priesthood. But in Cyril the extension has an added dimension. The cultic life of Israel is extended both to the sacramental life of the church and its worship, as well as to the every day lives of Christians which are now conceived of as daily enacting the worship and service of the Pentateuch in Spirit and truth. In gravitating especially to cultic texts concerning the tabernacle and its priests, Cyril is intentionally interpreting the

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[642]Quoted in Fagerberg, *Consecrating the World: On Mundane Liturgical Theology*, 4; Fagerberg, "On Liturgical Morality," 128. Kavanagh expresses this sentiment in *On Liturgical Theology* when he writes: "A liturgy of Christians is thus nothing less than the way a redeemed world is, so to speak, done." Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*, 100.

[643]Fagerberg, "On Liturgical Morality," 133.

[644]See, e.g., Fagerberg, "On Liturgical Morality," 133.

[645]Fagerberg, "On Liturgical Morality." He is quoting from Ion Bria, "Liturgy After the Liturgy," *International Review of Mission* 67, no. 265 (1978), 87.

Christian way of life through the life of Israel's worship.[646] The new way of life is the new worship. There are many examples of Cyril doing this, especially throughout the second half of *De adoratione*. To take an example from Book 11, Cyril is describing Aaron's sons' underwear, as described in Exodus 28:36–9, when he says:

> They wear linen drawers to cover their ugliness and shame around their thighs. For everything that belongs to the saints is honourable, and there is nothing shameful in them. And linen over the parts of the body around the thighs, means the proper cooling of the pleasures of the body. For linen is cool. And the heat in the most ugly desires is foreign to every saint.[647]

Key to understanding the richness of Cyril's exegesis here is that the context of the Exodus text – the undergarments of priests – is a part of Cyril's interpretation. He does not use any old text to say that Christians should be chaste. Rather, it is in describing a priest, a minister of λατρεία, that Cyril reveals the fulfillment of the function of a priest is in holy conduct. It is in service as priests that Christians are to live out the life of worship by being in control of their desires. The life of worship extends to all manner of facets in daily life. It would be a mistake to say that Cyril is thereby moving from the cultic to the ethical. Rather, the way of worship and service to God is now performed in spirit and in truth. Cyril thus reframes all of life as a priestly participation in Christ.[648]

Exercising this priestly ministry is, of course, also a matter of engaging in the life of worship in the church. It is in both the "liturgy after the liturgy" but also the liturgy proper that Cyril sees the life of Christians as being the fulfillment of the Levitical priesthood. As a

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[646]Of course, within the Pentateuch itself the cultic and the moral are intermingled. As Eryl Davies puts it: "… the ritual and ethical aspects of ancient Israel's life are clearly interrelated in much of the biblical material. Thus, for example, the Decalogue of Exodus 20 begins by demanding exclusive worship of Yahweh (vv. 4–6), but continues with a list of ethical imperatives, including avoidance of murder, adultery, theft, and false witness (vv. 13–16). Moreover, in the laws contained in the Pentateuch, the ethical and ritual demands are frequently interwoven without implying that they belonged to two entirely different categories or that one was in any way subservient to the other (Exod 23, 1–19; Lev 19, 26–37; cf. Cothey 2005)." Eryl Davies, "The Ethics of Worship," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ritual and Worship in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Samuel E. Balentine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 445.

[647]PG 68.749B-C (Book 11). Περισκελές τε λινοῦν αὐτοῖς, τὸ ἀκαλλές τε καὶ ἄσχημον τῶν περὶ μηροὺς κατασκιάζον εὖ μάλα. Σεμνὰ γὰρ εὖ μάλα πάντα τὰ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἄσχημον ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν· ὑποσημαίνει δέ πως τὸ λινοῦν τοῖς περιμηροῖς τοῦ σώματος μέρεσιν ἐπενηνεγμένον, ὅτι τοῖς ἁγίοις πρεπωδεστάτη τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν ἡ ἀπόψυξις· ψυχρὸν γὰρ τὸ λινοῦν. Τὸ δὲ θερμὸν εἰς ὀρέξεις τὰς μυσαρωτάτας, ὁσίου παντὸς ἀλλότριον.

[648]This approach harkens back to Origen's way of reading Israel's cultic practices. This is all the more noteworthy given that, according to Paul Bradshaw, by Cyril's day a different way of reading Old Testament cultic texts had emerged: "Indeed, Origen, writing in the middle of the third century, claimed that the daily "perpetual" sacrifices of ancient Israel found their true fulfilment in the perpetual prayer of Christians (*Hom. in Num.* 23.3; *Cont. Cels.* 8.21–2). Thus, it was not until the fourth century, as part of a new trend to seek physical rather than spiritual counterparts to cultic objects and ritual practices in the Hebrew Scriptures, that the hours of morning and evening prayer began to be regularly interpreted as being the fulfillment of the morning and evening sacrifices in the Temple (see, for example, John Chrysostom, *Expos. in Ps.* 140.3)." Bradshaw, "Influence on Early Christian Worship," 383.

part of the consecration of priests, Exodus 29:31–34 provides details on how Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the sacrificed ram, by which they have already been consecrated. Cyril comments that "Our Lord Jesus Christ sanctifies us in innumerable ways [μυρίους... τρόπους]". Jesus' death is holy, but so too is the Eucharist, for the body and blood of Christ are "of the greatest use and necessary for our salvation".[649] The consecration of Aaron and his sons as priests is a type, then, of the consecration of all Christians, who are made holy in their priestly service by the Eucharistic body and blood. The worship service of Cyril's audience is again shown to be the place where the Pentateuch reaches its fulfillment.

The relationship between being made holy and then of living out a life of worship through right conduct, is the priestly relationship between receiving consecration and then, having been made holy, offering sacrifices to God. Cyril can communicate this with respect to the Old Testament priesthood,[650] but also with reference to the sacrifice:

> Do you understand, then, that we have been saved on the one hand in the heifer, with Christ having died for us, but on the other hand we are fragrant smelling to our God and Father, through submission to him and a life in holiness?[651]

The heifer is both the slaughtered redemptive offering, and the present-tense offering of a holy life. While this theme of offering spiritual sacrifices occurs throughout *De adoratione*, it is especially taken up by Cyril in Books 14 and 15, on presenting oneself to God in the purification that comes through Christ. It follows on from Cyril's three books on the priesthood, because the goal of being a member of the royal priesthood is to then bring spiritual sacrifices to God. At the beginning of Book 14, Cyril looks back to the previous five books.

> So then concerning the tabernacle and also priests and the Levitical ministry, it is clear that these things have clearly been expounded upon most sufficiently by me.[652]

Picking up a new theme, Cyril then says that Christians should exhort each other to go up to the mountain of the Lord. But then he asks for what purpose (σκοπὸς) should one do this? Palladius responds with Psalm 95(96), that the purpose is to bring forth offerings. Cyril concurs, and states that all enter into the house of the Lord "bringing sacrifices for themselves, that is, spiritual sacrifices, and approaching according to spiritual worship". Cyril then introduces the theme of the two books, that this approach can only be made having washed off sins, and having been "adorned with the radiance of Christ and sparkling

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[649]PG 68.756A-B (Book 11). Χρειωδέστατά τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν...

[650]See, for example PG 68.752C-D (Book 11).

[651]PG 68.760A-B (Book 11). Συνίης οὖν ὅτι σεσώσμεθα μὲν ὡς ἔν γε τῷ μόσχῳ, τεθνεῶτος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐωδιάζομεν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ διὰ τῆς ὑποταγῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν ἁγιασμῷ ζωῆς·

[652]PG 68.885C (Book 14). Σκηνῆς μὲν οὖν πέρι καὶ μέν τοι καὶ περὶ ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτικῆς ὑπουργίας διαρκέστατά μοι ταῦτα λελέχθαι φαίνεται...

with the all-encompassing beauty of God-loving virtue."[653] As the book progresses, it is evident that this approach and the offering of spiritual sacrifices is also an act of liturgical morality. The purification that enables one to approach the holy presence of God without blemish is constituted in part by right deeds. Cyril can use the example of circumcision to show that the pleasures of the flesh must also be cut off in order to share in the divine vision (θεοπτίας) and become a holy dwelling of the holy and consubstantial Trinity.[654] And he can also use the dietary regulations for Israel to illustrate this same connection between purification and right conduct. For example:

> Observe, therefore, that in mentioning innumerable species of cattle, and birds and water creatures, he rejects some of them as wholly unclean, and some others he receives and frees them from accusation. This is so that those who venerate God rightly might see which deeds will lead them not to be accepted; and those deeds, desisting from which, will take them far from accusation, so they might become splendid and worthy of being received and honoured by the heavenly approval.[655]

In these texts, we see that the relationship between worship and morality goes both ways. That just as the life of worship is enacted in following the commands of God, so also right conduct is ordered towards growing deeper in adoration of God so that the Christian can become a holy dwelling of God. Cyril's concerns are never "just" moral, but are more broadly concerned with how his readers are to receive and maintain holiness, so as to approach God. Towards the conclusion of Book 15, Cyril states:

> For it is only after we have been cleansed and sanctified through Christ that we will draw near, truly bright, and no longer defile the holy tabernacle, but being pure, we will purely worship the all-holy God when we frequent the churches.[656]

The life of the church is also then the goal of the Christian way of life, as well as its source. And here we see Cyril referring to the actual entrance into the church building to participate in the divine liturgy. Purification is thus ordered towards pure worship in the holy tabernacle, the church, and the holy presence of God.

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[653]PG 68.888A-C (Book 14)...{ΚΥΡ.} Προσκομίζοντες οὖν ἄρα τὰς ὑπέρ γε σφῶν αὐτῶν θυσίας, δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὰς πνευματικὰς, καὶ μὴν καὶ προσελευσόμενοι κατὰ νοητὴν προσκύνησιν, εἰσίασί τινες εἰς τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς αὐτοῦ... Ἥκιστά γε, λαμπρότητι δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ κατηγλαϊσμένους, καὶ τὸ παμποίκιλον τῆς θεοφιλεστάτης ἀρετῆς διαστίλβοντας κάλλος.
[654]PG 68.941A-B (Book 14).
[655]PG 68.916C (Book 14). Ἄθρει δὴ οὖν ὅτι μυρία μὲν ὅσα κτηνῶν εἴδη, καὶ μὴν τὰ πτηνῶν καὶ τὰ νηκτῶν παρενεγκοῦσα χρησίμως, τὰ μὲν, ὡς ἀκάθαρτα καταμιαίνει παντελῶς, τὰ δὲ αὖ προσίεταί τε καὶ ἀπαλλάττει διαβολῆς, ἵν' εἰδεῖεν ὀρθῶς οἱ Θεῷ λατρεύοντες, τίνα μὲν δρῶντες, οὐκ εἰσδεχθεῖεν ἄν· τίνων δὲ νουνεχῶς ἀπεσχημένοι, μώμου μὲν ἔσονται μακρὰν, λαμπροὶ δ' ἂν εἶεν καὶ ἀξιόληπτοι, καὶ ψήφῳ τῇ ἄνωθεν τετιμημένοι.
[656]PG 68.1004C (Book 15). κεκαθαρμένοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡγιασμένοι διὰ Χριστοῦ, τότε δὴ, τότε λαμπροὶ προσίεμεν ἀληθῶς, καὶ οὐ μιανοῦμεν ἔτι τὴν ἁγίαν σκηνήν· προσκυνήσομεν δὲ καθαροὶ καθαρῶς τῷ παναγίῳ Θεῷ φοιτῶντες ἐν ἐκκλησίαις.

## "A SALVIFIC FEAST": FEASTING AND RESTING IN BOOKS 16–17

On this goal of morality, Fagerberg wrote: "Philosophy has noticed the benefits that asceticism offers to a person, but its primary purpose is the greater glorification of God."[657] The asceticism of a Stoic philosopher differs from that of a Christian "by motive and end", even if some of the ascetical disciplines might look the same.[658] Liturgical morality has, for Fagerberg a unique motive, and a uniquely supernatural end, which is the subject of the final two books of *De adoratione*.

When he introduces the seventeenth and final book of *De adoratione*, Cyril frames this final stage as "the reward for labours". He continues:

> So it is fitting, O Palladius, for those who have exercised themselves in the renowned and select life, and who abound in such a way of life that is illustrious to such a degree, so as to attain the best verdict of all, to be in perpetual prosperity, celebrating the feast and rejoicing, and having as the chief of their festival Emmanuel, resting in hopes that are firmly fixed.[659]

He goes on to say that he will investigate the feasts in type and the sacrifices involved in them, transforming them into their fulfilled meaning, the truth. Feasting, then, is the reward for the long journey of progress that Cyril has mapped through the treatise, just as the feasts of Israel were the culmination of the cultic laws prescribed in Exodus. Feasting and resting recur as themes throughout Book 17 especially, although Cyril leaves these terms relatively open in meaning. He does not provide a clear definition of what precisely they mean, although we can look at how they function is his roadmap of the spiritual life.

I have been arguing that *De adoratione* broadly follows the pattern of Exodus, and while Book 17 fits into this pattern, it also shows Cyril re-envisioning the structure somewhat. The final chapter of Exodus, Exodus 40, concerns the erection of the tabernacle previously described, and the glory of the Lord filling it. Cyril does not discuss this in Book 17, but rather back in Book 10, when he explicates how the tabernacle is a type of the church in Christ.[660] The first text in Cyril's discussion of the tabernacle in Books 9–10 is Exodus 20:22–25 in which God instructs Moses to make an altar for sacrifices and offerings.[661] That text directly follows on from the Decalogue, which Cyril looked at in Books 6–8. But, as it concerns the tabernacle, Cyril collects many other texts, including Exodus 40, in his

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[657]Fagerberg, *Consecrating the World: On Mundane Liturgical Theology*, 1.

[658]Fagerberg, *Consecrating the World: On Mundane Liturgical Theology*, 1.

[659]PG 68.1061C (Book 17). Πρέποι γὰρ ἂν, ὦ Παλλάδιε, τοῖς τὴν εὐκλεᾶ καὶ ἀπόλεκτον ἐξησκηκόσι ζωὴν, καὶ πολιτείας τῆς ὧδε διαφανοῦς εἰς τοῦτο ἥκουσι μέτρον, ὡς τὴν ἁπασῶν ἀρίστην ψῆφον ἑλεῖν, ἐν εὐημερίαις εἶναι μακραῖς, ἑορτάζοντάς τε καὶ διευθυμουμένους, καὶ πανηγύρεως ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσι κειμένους ταῖς ἐρηρεισμέναις.

[660]See PG 68.652B-660A, 689C-693A (Book 10).

[661]PG 68.592B-593B (Book 9).

discussion across Books 9–10. Books 11–13 explicitly address the priesthood, which is established in Exodus 28:1, the text that Cyril quotes at the beginning of those books.[662] Cyril's logic seems to be that as the priests are to serve in the tabernacle, collecting texts relating to the priesthood is a fitting follow-on from texts relating to the tabernacle. Books 14–16 contain very little from Exodus, but can be broadly considered as continuations of Cyril's discussion on the priesthood, concerned as they are with personal purity and offering sacrifices. Under those categories Cyril gathers texts mainly from Leviticus and Numbers. At the start of Book 17, Cyril returns to Exodus. It is Exodus 23:14–17 that he quotes first, establishing by it the structure of the final book. In that text God decrees that three feasts shall be held each year, that of Passover or Unleavened Bread, then the feast of First Fruits or Harvest or Weeks, and finally the feast of Trumpets or Booths with the Day of Atonement. This third and final feast Cyril says is "on the anniversary of the Exodus", picking up the language of Numbers 29:35.[663] In this way, we can see Cyril still following Exodus albeit in a looser way. The main themes of Books 10–17 – tabernacle, priesthood and sacrifices, feasting – all take their cues from the second half of Exodus and are framed by means of Exodus texts. But Cyril also organises the texts in his own way, with the progression from the tabernacle, to the priests that work in it and the sacrifices they offer, to the specific feasts that draw all men of Israel to the tabernacle and its priests. These are the themes of Exodus after the Decalogue, but they have been re-ordered, or re-envisioned in Cyril's account.

The three feasts are covered progressively in Book 17.[664] At the beginning of the third feast, Cyril summarises the three feasts. The first (Passover) concerns Christ's death for people, the second (First Fruits) concerns his resurrection, while the third (Trumpets) indicates the coming age, owing to it also being held in the seventh month, a sign of the end.[665] It is not completely clear whether Cyril has in mind the Good Friday and Easter celebrations of his church with respect to Passover and First Fruits, but it seems possible. At the beginning of discussing the second feast, Cyril summarises the first and second.

> For truly it is a salvific feast, the death of Emmanuel for us. For he has paid our debt on our behalf, and it is the truth that "He himself bears our sins and suffers pain for us,... by his bruise we were healed" [Isaiah 53:4–5]. For he nailed to His cross the record against us [Colossians 2:14] and prevailed in this over those who once ruled

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[662]PG 68.725–729 (Book 11)

[663]PG 68.1064C (Book 17)... ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. At the end of Book 17 (1124B-C), Cyril quotes Numbers 29:35–39 and draws attention to verse 35 in which the LXX has that on the eighth day, Ἐξόδιόν ἐστιν, which could be "there will be a finale" to the feast, but could also mean "there will be a commemoration of the Exodus". Cyril's reading there tends to the former translation, as he connects the eighth day to Christ's resurrection as the end of the λατρεία in shadows. But at the beginning of Book 17, in calling this third feast of Trumpets/Booths/Atonement an "anniversary of the Exodus", he seems to be alluding to Numbers 29:35 as meaning "there will be a commemoration of the Exodus".

[664]PG 68.1065–1092; 1092–1101; 1104–1112 (Book 17).

[665]PG 68.1104A-1105A (Book 17)

over the earth, by which I mean, the leaders and authorities, and the spirits of wickedness, and before all others, Satan. And a neighboring feast, no less than the first, is the resurrection from the dead, which has removed corruption, destroyed sin, and changed us over to a new life, which is in holiness and incorruption, with death having been abolished. For we have stripped off the old man, and been clothed with the new, that is, Christ, or the way of life and life in Christ.[666]

The death and resurrection of Christ are two neighbouring feasts, corresponding to how the feast of Passover is in the same month as the feast of First Fruits. If Cyril is referring to the feasts of Good Friday and Easter, then it makes the connection with the third feast, the Eschaton, all the more striking. Cyril's readers are celebrating two of the three feasts, with the third one awaiting them.

After discussing the three feasts, Book 17, and *De adoratione*, concludes with some other sacrifices of the Pentateuch culminating in the rest from all labours on the Sabbath, which corresponds to the rest that is found in Christ. Some of the final words of the treatise are: "We keep the Sabbath in Christ, having reached our end in rest".[667] And so while the book is concerned with feasting, that feasting also is a state of resting in Christ and, as we shall see shortly, not a feasting in food and drink. Instead, it is a feast of respite from activity, and joy in Christ. For a work that is dedicated to "moral guidance" and practical virtue, it could seem peculiar that the goal of the Christian life is the end of activity. In Cyril's mind, though, the strivings of the life of virtue are a prelude to the rest that is to come. So, just as the Israelites, on the feast of First Fruits, would bring forth the harvest at which they had toiled before resting on the feast, Cyril says of those who now reach the holy feast to God: "Resting and filling their minds, they revel in their zealous efforts towards virtue."[668] There will be revelling in the feast, albeit of a kind that is in spiritual satisfaction at having reached the end of the Christian way of life.

Cyril thus returns to familiar *De adoratione* themes when discussing Israel's feasts – repentance, Christ's death and resurrection, and the life of virtue. But there is nevertheless an eschatological dimension to his discussions of familiar themes. For example, Cyril comes to the instruction in Exodus 12:10 not to leave any of the Passover lamb until the morning,

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[666]PG 68.1093C (Book 17). Ἑορτὴ μὲν γὰρ σωτήριος ἀληθῶς, ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θάνατος τοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. Ἐκτέτικε γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὰ ὀφλήματα, καὶ ἔστιν ἀληθὲς, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αἴρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν. Προσήλωσε γὰρ τῷ ἰδίῳ σταυρῷ τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον, καὶ τεθριάμβευκεν ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς πάλαι κρατοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀρχὰς δὴ λέγω καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας· καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων, τὸν Σατανᾶν. Ἑορτὴ δὲ γείτων εὐθὺς, τῆς πρώτης οὐ μείων, ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβίωσις, κατασείουσα τὴν φθοράν, ἀποκείρουσα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ εἰς νέαν ἡμᾶς μεθιστᾶσα ζωήν, τὴν ὡς ἐν ἁγιασμῷ τε καὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ, κατηργημένου θανάτου. Ἀπεδυσάμεθα γὰρ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ μετημφιέσμεθα τὸν νέον, τουτέστι, Χριστόν, ἤτοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ πολιτείαν καὶ ζωήν.
[667]PG 68.1124D (Book 17)... σαββατιοῦμεν ἐν Χριστῷ, καταλύοντες εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν...
[668]PG 68.1092D (Book 17). Ἀνέντας δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ πληροῦντας τὸν νοῦν, τοῖς εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐντρυφᾶν σπουδάσμασι.

but rather consume it all. Previously when discussing, for example, the need for the sacrificial ram at the consecration of priests to be completely consumed as a burnt offering (Exodus 29:18), Cyril says that this shows how Christ endured death to put an end to death.[669] But now in Book 17 the approach is different. That the Passover lamb must be fully consumed shows that:

> ...in the age to come Christ will sanctify and bless according to some other manner those who consecrate themselves to Him through faith and holiness, and will by no means feed them again with His body, nor will He make them alive with His blood, as he does now, but since death is already abolished and corruption will be completely destroyed, there will be a certain spiritual manner of sanctification."[670]

For Cyril, the feasting to come will not even be on the body and blood of Christ, but will be of a spiritual sort. We have argued earlier that Cyril's exegesis of any particular passage in *De adoratione* needs to be understood in the context of where it occurs in the journey of spiritual progress. This eschatological focus on the Passover in Book 17 is one further example. And this passage also shows that Cyril does not have a clear picture in mind when discussing the eschaton. There will be "some other manner", "a certain spiritual manner of sanctification". When it comes to feasting, Cyril also never clearly says what he means, but points in a general direction of resting from labours in Christ. Be that as it may, John O'Keefe is perhaps a bit too strong when he concludes his study of Cyril's eschatological thought by saying that "the thought of Cyril of Alexandria did not revolve around eschatological themes".[671] *De adoratione,* which is not included in his study, could be the work in which Cyril most clearly stresses the eschaton as the culmination of the journey of spiritual progress, even if he does not provide concrete explication of what the eschaton fully involves.

In one sense the whole of the treatise has been leading to this point, but I have included Book 16 in this discussion, as a part of the culmination of the Christian way of life. For at the beginning of Book 16, Cyril begins to address the goal of the Christian life. This has been building from Book 14. The movement Cyril introduces at the beginning of Book 14 is one of ascending the mountain of the Lord, approaching according to spiritual worship and offering spiritual sacrifices.[672] Book 14 is especially concerned with approaching God free

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[669]PG 68.757A (Book 11). "[Death] disappears into nothingness." [...οἴχεται πρὸς τὸ μηδέν.]

[670]PG 68.1073A (Book 17)... ὡς εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα, καθ' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον ἁγιάσει τε καὶ εὐλογήσει Χριστὸς τοὺς ἀνακειμένους αὐτῷ διὰ πίστεως καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ πάντως ἀποθρέψει πάλιν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ, καὶ ζωοποιήσει τῷ αἵματι, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη κατηργημένου θανάτου, καὶ λυθείσης εἰσάπαν τῆς φθορᾶς, νοητὸς ἔσται τις ὁ τοῦ ἁγιάζοντος τρόπος.

[671]John J. O'Keefe, "Incorruption, Anti-Origenism, and Incarnation: Eschatology in the Thought of Cyril of Alexandria," in *The Theology of St Cyril of Alexandria: A Critical Appreciation*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy and Daniel A. Keating (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 203.

[672]PG 68.888B (Book 14)... προσελευσόμενοι κατὰ νοητὴν προσκύνησιν...

from impurity, with Book 15 then concerned with the method (ὁ τρόπος) for addressing this cleansing so that, Cyril says, we can gain a likeness (οἰκειότητά) with God through holiness.[673] While Books 14 and 15 were more preparatory, concerned with liturgical uncleanness and the way to be cleansed and so approach God, Book 16 is a more positive treatment of offering one's life as a spiritual sacrifice, thus perfecting spiritual worship or service (πνευματικὴν λατρείαν).[674] This penultimate book has a focus on Sabbath rest and the complete union with God in spirit and holiness (οἰκειότητος ὁλοτελοῦς, τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἁγιασμῷ).[675] It begins to look at what purification is in service of, reaching a fuller expression in Book 17.[676] The final book progresses to what is then the reward for labours from God (παρὰ Θεοῦ τῶν πόνων ἔκτισις).[677] The eternal hope and treasure for the age to come are a focus now for Cyril. Whereas the previous book had a focus on Sabbath rest, that focus is now heightened when treating especially the Sabbath feasts, and reading them as shadows of the eternal heavenly feast in rest.

With Book 16's concern with offering spiritual sacrifices in a state of purification from evil, described in Books 14 and 15, one may wonder whether there is any great difference here with his concerns in Books 1–5. There, Cyril stressed the need for repentance and justification and the pursuit of virtue. But Cyril at various times reveals that his concern in Books 14–16 is with the kind purification that occurs within the baptized life. Nearing the end of the journey of spiritual progress, Cyril is addressing mature Christians who need ongoing purification. Commenting in Book 16 on Numbers 6 and the instance of someone failing to keep their vow to God, Cyril compares this to the baptized Christian who falls in sin after baptism.

> So if in the meantime the sanctified should somehow be defiled, they would be harmed by what they had done before, yet this loss is not irreparable. For they are cleansed in Christ... they do not suffer as a result the loss that is hard to escape, for they are rubbed clean in Christ... who justifies the ungodly, and strengthens the weak, and raises the fallen, and turns back the erring, and washes the defiled.[678]

The discussion in Book 16, then, is concerned more with purification and sacrifice in the lives of baptized Christians. Repeatedly in the book, Cyril makes reference to people who

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[673]PG 68.949A (Book 15).
[674]PG 68.1012A (Book 16).
[675]PG 68.1013B (Book 16).
[676]See Justin Gohl's introduction to his translation of Book 16. Gohl, "Book Sixteen Translation," 3.
[677]PG 68.1061B (Book 17).
[678]PG 68.1048B-C (Book 16). Οὐκοῦν εἰ γένοιτο μεταξὺ καταμιαίνεσθαί πως τοὺς ἡγιασμένους, ζημίαν μὲν ὑποστήσονται τῶν ἤδη προειργασμένων, οὐ μὴν δυσδιάφυκτον τὴν ἐντεῦθεν νοσοῦσι ζημίαν· διασμήχονται γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ, ... τοῦ δικαιοῦντος τὸν ἀσεβῆ, καὶ ῥωννύντος τὸ ἀσθενές, καὶ ἀνιστάντος τὸ πεπτωκὸς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντος τὸ πλανώμενον, καὶ ἀπονίζοντος τὸ μεμολυσμένον.

"have been" justified by faith, sanctified by the Spirit.[679] They are to live in a kind of perpetual purification even after baptism, seeking from God forgiveness for ongoing sins and strength for ongoing weaknesses. In contrast to Books 1–5 which dealt with Exodus passages prior to Mount Sinai, at which God makes Israel his own people, now Cyril in Books 14–16 deals with texts relating to the need for purification among God's holy people of Israel. Leprosy, castration, defilements by foreign gods, unclean animals are all under discussion, and provide a way for Cyril to discuss how Christians who have been baptised and justified nevertheless still need to be on watch for temptations to corruption and sin, and to receive God's ongoing purification.

In Book 16 and 17 Cyril dwells at length on the access Christ has won for all people to enter through, entering into the Holy of Holies, by partaking (μετάληψιν) of Christ,[680] passing from sin to justification, death to life, acquiring the glorious grace of sonship,[681] being partakers of eternal life, friends and well-known by God the Father and conquerors of death, with the result that we will never cease to celebrate the feast (ἑορτάζειν) in Christ.[682] It is not so much that Cyril develops a considered theology of the eschaton or of the last things. Rather, he enacts a kind of rhetorical crescendo of the consummation of life, bringing together different dimensions and Scriptural pictures of the goal of life.

As we have seen, Cyril ascribes the feasting at the goal of the Christian life to human perseverance, as a fruit of the life of right moral conduct. In the following passage from Book 17 Cyril is discussing the feast of the Passover. He begins by ascribing the feast as a participation in Christ, but moves on to the necessities incumbent upon human endeavours in maintaining the spiritual feast.

> Therefore, those who are sanctified through partaking in Christ in a fashion which is clearly mystical, and anointed in holy blood, are participants in eternal life, and friends and acquaintances of God and the Father, and stronger than death. Then he says that it is necessary that they incessantly hasten to fulfil the law towards this end. For let us by no means cease to celebrate the feast with Christ, removing the leaven from our own territories, that is to say, from all the earth on which we live. For it will be necessary for those who have been called through faith to righteousness through Christ, when they celebrate the feast spiritually, that they do not do so in leaven, but rather, cleansing evil and wickedness, transform the old leaven to something better, and make it come forth as somehow a new kind of dough, with the whole tribe and household, and those of the whole country, through which is indicated the multiple

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[679]See, e.g., PG 68.1036D, 1049D, 1056A.
[680]PG 68.1056D (Book 16).
[681]PG 68.1073D (Book 17).
[682]PG 68.1076C (Book 17).

and innumerable holy multitude of those who have accepted the faith.[683]

The disciplined path of the Christian way of life is never far from Cyril's thoughts or exegesis, even here as he is concluding his work and speaking of the goal of feasting in Christ. Evil and wickedness still need to be cleansed, including here perhaps an allusion to the spreading of Christianity in Cyril's own lands, even as those who are sanctified through participation in Christ reach their final end.

Does that mean that for Cyril there is never a final state of rest? Alexis Torrance has recently written a study of patristic writers' conception of the goal of the spiritual life, noting the diversity that is present regarding the eschaton.[684] One of his key distinctions is between those who favour the "perpetual progress" (ἐπέκτασις) that is found especially in Gregory of Nyssa, compared with those envisaging an "eternal rest" (στάσις), for which Torrance uses the example of Maximus the Confessor.[685] Cyril does not use the language of στάσις in *De adoratione,* and is operating within a different framework from Maximus' conception of procession and return. So I am not suggesting that Maximus is drawing from Cyril, although it is true that Maximus knew Cyril well. But Torrance's discussion of different goals of the spiritual life among different patristic writers helps to show that Cyril is at least hinting at his own vision among options. For all of Cyril's concern with ensuring that the Christian way of life continues to be disciplined and purified from sin, the predominant note of Book 17 is one of stability and rest. While he does not develop his thoughts to clearly describe a final state of perfection such that no further perfection is possible, he regularly uses the language of rest and feasting in describing the eschaton. At the institution of the Passover, God tells the Israelites that the seventh day shall be called holy, with no work to be done (Exodus 12:16). Commenting on this, Cyril says that for the Christian, it is proper for those who have entered into the rest of Christ to cease all bodily labours, doing only those things which lead to the "immortal life". "For as the wise Paul writes to us, "whoever has entered God's rest has also rested from his works as God did from his" (Hebrews 4:10)."[686] At times

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[683]PG 68.1076C (Book 17). Οὐκοῦν καὶ ζωῆς τῆς αἰωνίου μέτοχοι, καὶ Θεῷ τε καὶ Πατρὶ φίλοι τε καὶ γνώριμοι, καὶ θανάτου κρείττους, οἱ ἡγιασμένοι, διά γε τοῦ μετασχεῖν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τρόπον δὲ δηλονότι τὸν μυστικὸν, καὶ αἵματι τῷ ἁγίῳ κατακεχρισμένοι. Χρῆναί γε μὴν ἀκαταλήκτως αὐτοὺς ἀποπεραίνειν ἐπείγεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷδε νόμον εὖ μάλα φησί. Καταλήξομεν γὰρ, οὔτι που τοῦ ἑορτάζειν ἐπὶ Χριστῷ, ζύμην ἀφανίζοντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὁρίων, τουτέστιν, ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς ἐν ᾗπερ ἂν ἔχοιμεν τὰς διατριβάς. Δεήσει γὰρ δὴ τοὺς διὰ πίστεως κεκλημένους εἰς δικαίωσιν τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ, πνευματικῶς ἑορτάζοντας, μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ τοῦτο δρᾷν, κακίας τε καὶ πονηρίας, ἐκκαθαίροντας δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, μεταπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον, καὶ νέον ἤδη πως ὁρᾶσθαι φύραμα, παγγενῆ τε καὶ πανοικὶ, καὶ τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, δι' οὗ σημαίνεται τῶν τὴν πίστιν παραδεδεγμένων πολλή τις οὖσα καὶ ἀναρίθμητος ἡ ὁσία πληθύς.
[684]Alexis Torrance, *Human Perfection in Byzantine Theology: Attaining the Fullness of Christ* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
[685]See Chapter 2, 'Perpetual progress or eternal rest? Contemplating the eschaton in St Maximus the Confessor': Torrance, *Human Perfection in Byzantine Theology: Attaining the Fullness of Christ*, 40–81.
[686]PG 68.1076D-1077A (Book 17).

throughout *De adoratione,* Cyril locates this rest in the "city above".[687] While the pilgrimage of life entails moral striving and discipline, its conclusion is in more of a stable, eternal life than one of perpetual progress, a place of "everlasting delight and rest".[688]

Considering that *De adoratione* follows the broad arc of Exodus, it is significant to Cyril's project that the journey of Exodus concludes with the act of God dwelling among his people. As I have mentioned, Cyril treats that text in Book 10 when discussing the tabernacle. But there is nevertheless a thematic overlap with Exodus 40 and Cyril's concerns in Book 17, in which the goal of the Christian life includes a corporate resting in the holy city. In contrast, Gregory of Nyssa attends more to the individual soul. As Hans Boersma has pointed out, for Gregory, "human persons find their telos when in union with Christ they become ever purer, in an ever-increasing growth in the beatific vision".[689] The emphasis on growing purity is key in *De adoratione*, but the stress is on a corporate consummation in eternal feasting, rest and worship. As we saw in the quote above, prominent for Cyril is "the whole tribe and household, and those of the whole country". In contrast with Gregory, Cyril's reading of Exodus has its goal in right worship of the Triune God.

In some ways, *De adoratione* could be seen as one long festal letter. At the conclusion of his festal letters, Cyril can exhort his audience to celebrate the feast (Easter) in the context of spiritual worship. Consider this example from the conclusion of Festal Letter 14: "For it is thus, thus indeed, that we will celebrate the feast in a pure manner when we have rid ourselves of every stain, and when we distinguish ourselves by a right faith."[690] Or this conclusion to Festal Letter 10: "For all these reasons it is understandable that we celebrate the radiant feast, living no longer for ourselves, as sacred Scripture says, but for Christ, who redeemed everyone."[691] The Festal Letters were also addressed to as broad an audience as possible, something in keeping with the universal scope of the moral vision sketched in *De adoratione*. And in the body of the Festal Letters, Cyril often concerns himself with spiritual worship and the offering of one's life as a spiritual sacrifice. And so when the Festal Letters refer to feasting, as in these examples, Cyril is referring there to the concrete, historic feast of Easter. It is further evidence to suggest that this is what he means when discussing the neighbouring feasts of Christ's death and resurrection. The centrality of celebrating the Paschal mysteries in the Christian life is a noteworthy summit for the way of life in Christ according to Cyril. But he also departs somewhat from the Festal Letters by promoting the eschatalogical rest in the third feast. At the conclusion of the whole work, Cyril quotes from Leviticus 25 on the Sabbath year and the year of Jubilee. For Cyril, this is a type of the

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[687]See, e.g.. PG 68.272B (Book 3).
[688]PG 68.1104D (Book 17)... εἰς αἰῶνα τρυφῆς τε καὶ ἀναπαύσεως.
[689]Hans Boersma, "Becoming Human in the Face of God: Gregory of Nyssa's Unending Search for the Beatific Vision," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 17, no. 2 (2015), 131.
[690]*Ep. pasch.* 14 (SC 434.164). O'Keefe (trans.), *Festal Letters 13–30,* 28.
[691]*Ep. pasch.* 10 (SC 392.240). O'Keefe (trans.), *Festal Letters 1–12,* 194.

Sabbath rest that Christians are moving towards. The "seven weeks of years" points to eternity – "forever and ever" (αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων) – where Christians will rejoice and enjoy the blessings prepared by God, celebrating the feast (ἑορτάζοντες).[692]

# CONCLUSION

In this chapter, while canvassing the second half of *De adoratione*, we have seen how Cyril's way of life is located in the church, the antitype of the Old Testament tabernacle. Cyril does not develop a theoretical ecclesiology, but rather a vision of the church built on practice. It is in the church, and from the church and her worship, that Christians engage in a priestly life, both putting on the sacramental grace won by Christ, and offering their lives as spiritual sacrifices. The priests of Israel thus become models of Christian maturity in their offering of sacrifices to God, in the presence of Christ the high priest. The moral guidance that Cyril gives, then, is a guidance also in worship, for the disciplined way of life in Christ emerges from the life of worship and also finds its culmination in worship, in a feasting and rest that is both liturgical and eternal, both connected to the life of the Alexandrian church, and also an anticipation of the new age to come. In making this case, I have drawn resources from liturgical theologians who have brought worship and morality together in meaningful ways that help to illuminate Cyril's own goals. Finally, I have argued for the place of rest and feasting, however vaguely defined, for Cyril's own vision of the eschaton and the consummation of worship and the Christian way of life.

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[692]PG 68.1125C (Book 17).

# 6.

# Conclusion

When Ronald Knox published his religious autobiography in 1918, he called it *A Spiritual Aeneid.* Reading his own journey into that of Aeneas, Knox writes in his preface that the Aeneid-motif runs through his chapter headings and also parts of the book. Providing a key to some of the symbols he draws on, he writes, for example: "Troy is undisturbed and in a sense unreflective religion... Carthage is any false goal that, for a time, seems to claim finality."[693] In calling this dissertation *A Spiritual Exodus* I have not consciously followed Knox – the resonance only came to me later on – but the comparison is apt. A physical journey, like the Exodus, has become a roadmap for a spiritual journey, employing typological readings of people and places.

But our study has shown that Cyril's project extends further than this. Behind Cyril's understanding of the journey of Israel as the journey of the one seeking to pursue the way of life in Christ, we have argued that a rich biblical theology is at play. For Cyril, the Old Testament already bears within itself the mystery of Christ, and this is true especially for its worship. By drawing near to Israel's cult, exegeting the narratives and laws that established the worship of Israel, Cyril thus invites his readers to draw near to Christ who is "everywhere and in everything".[694] In this way the strands of Pentateuchal exegesis, moral guidance, and worship are all interwoven and mutually dependent. The Pentateuch is a fitting text for moral guidance because it bears within itself the mystery of Christ, leading people into worship which is fully realised in worship of God the Father, in Spirit and Truth. Rather than consider *De adoratione* purely according to *loci* or topics that he considers, my goal has been to show how the whole treatise is designed to work together. At times that has meant looking at the work progressively, at other times employing a particular angle. But I have done so in order to illuminate the whole.

Recapping now on the trajectory of this thesis, I began by arguing that scholarship on *De adoratione* has not always given due attention to Cyril's stated goals in the work. I showed how through the book headings, and in the title and preface, Cyril seeks to guide the reader to consider *De adoratione* in certain concrete ways. I described these as the three threads of Pentateuchal exegesis, moral exhortation, and a concern with worship. Cyril foreshadows these aspects of the work from the beginning, and I have sought to show how their interplay makes *De adoratione* especially rich. In Chapter 2, I then moved on to consider how Cyril

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[693]Ronald A. Knox, *A Spiritual Aeneid* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1918), i.
[694]PG 68.661B (Book 10)... πανταχῆ γὰρ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Υἱός.

goes about enacting this vision, through the genre and the structure of the work. Considering a range of genres, I argued that Cyril alludes to difference genres in support of his catechetical, didactic, paraenetic and pastoral goals. By comparing *De adoratione* with its companion work, the *Glaphyra*, I sought to show the uniqueness of *De adoratione* especially in its progressive structure. By building this long, sequential dialogue, I argued that Cyril is making a claim about the role of progress in the spiritual life, and how the journey of Israel corresponds to Christian spiritual progress.

In Chapter 3 I looked at Cyril's reading strategies as a way of understanding how the two journeys of Israel and Christians could be brought to bear on each other. Through a study of how Cyril uses both ἱστορία and θεωρία in *De adoratione*, I argued that Cyril's paraenetic goals are often what drives his readings, and that these goals are thus important to consider when understanding Cyril's method of reading. I then argued that Christophanic exegesis is a central way in which Cyril bridges the gap between the lives of his Christian readers and the journey of Israel. It is by revealing the mystery of Christ at the heart of Israel, including its cultic life, that Cyril can collapse the distance between his audience and the Pentateuch, enabling them to participate in the Exodus in a spiritual way. Having argued this, I could then move in Chapters 4 and 5 to look closely at the progressive stages that Cyril maps out in *De adoratione*. Rather than just claim that *De adoratione* maps progress, these chapters sought to make arguments concerning what the progress actually is in, and where it is headed. My argument was that worship is not just for Cyril the goal of the Christian way of life but is constitutive of its stages. While I had earlier argued for considering *De adoratione* as a work in which Cyril re-envisions Scripture, in these chapters I could show how practically he does this. After stages of faith, virtue and love, I argued that Cyril in the second half of *De adoratione* constructs an ecclesial exegesis that seeks to address his readers in the context of the church. A key part of this project for Cyril, is to enable his readers to see themselves as members of a royal priesthood participating in offering living sacrifices akin to, but even greater than, the sacrifices of the Old Testament priests. I drew on contemporary liturgical theology to illuminate how Cyril sees both morality and worship together, all in the context of Pentateuchal exegesis. The three threads, then, are necessarily interwoven. By growing in Christian virtue and maturity, his readers draw near to God to offer spiritual sacrifices, all according to the template given in the Pentateuch. I showed finally how for Cyril this progressive journey culminates in a kind of rest and feasting akin to the cultic feasts of Israel.

What this study shows is a Cyril whose early interests are in spiritual growth, virtue, holiness in life, worship, and in exegesis that is in service of this. While Cyril is justly famous for his later Christological writings and ecclesiastical leadership, there is room to consider how an early work like *De adoratione* sheds light on his later career. If this is indeed his first work, it reveals a young Cyril seeking to use the Pentateuch to catechise and instruct his

readers in the way in which Christians are to practically worship and serve God. This is for their own perfection and holiness, revealing an essentially pastoral concern for his readers.[695] He does this by providing pastoral guidance to his readers and by leading them in biblical exegesis. It is by reading the text that one is meditating on Scripture with Cyril, and so already growing and maturing into the way of life that is in Christ. And in his guidance he is also keen to identify threats to the Christian way of life particular to his community, seeking to restore them to the worship and service to God the Father that is in spirit and truth. And Cyril's is a pastoral vision that is dynamic. The Christian life in *De adoratione* is not static, nor even stable, but a journey beset with trials, requiring courage to continue, strength and perseverance, love and dogmatic faithfulness, to reach the goal of holiness, worship and rest in Christ. But in this journey, they are, for Cyril, united with Israel. For the story of Exodus is the story of the Christian. And Cyril invites his readers to locate their own lives within the larger story of Israel, as a story about worship and service in spirit and truth.

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[695]See Villani, "Bibelzitate in Cyrill Von Alexandriens Werken Zum Alten Testament," 809. "Cyrill verfolgt in De adoratione ein pastorales Anliegen. Es geht ihm in erster Linie darum, eine moralische Anleitung zusammenzustellen, wie er selbst in seinem Vorwort schreibt, eine, die Christen den Weg zu einem gottgemäßen Leben zeigt, und zwar zu einer Lebensweise im Einklang mit dem Alten und dem Neuen Testament." ["Cyril pursues a pastoral concern in *De adoratione*. He is primarily concerned with compiling a moral guide, as he himself writes in his preface, one that shows Christians the way to a Godly life, namely a way of life in harmony with the Old and New Testaments."] I have earlier made reference to John McGuckin and Pauline Allen's appeal to consider Cyril the Pastor. McGuckin, "Cyril of Alexandria: Bishop and Pastor"; Allen, "St Cyril, Bishop."

# APPENDIX A

# Brief Summary of *De adoratione*

*De adoratione* is one of the longest surviving works of the late antique era and unlike a conventional commentary has a novel structure. For these reasons and more it is difficult to get a grasp on the text and place a particular passage in its right context. The following summary was developed in order to help navigate the work and is here provided not as the final word on how best to understand the structure of the text, but as an aid to the reader. It provides the kind of headings and sub-headings a modern translator might add to divide the dialogue into manageable sections and arguments. These divisions have often been made according to the main pericope under focus in the dialogue, which is underlined. Reference to the relevant *PG* column numbers are in parentheses.

**1. Fall and captivity in sin, together with conversion according to repentance**

   i.  Moses reveals the mystery of Christ in shadows (133–145)

   ii. Sin begins when we are enticed by pleasure (145–149)

   iii. Sin moves from pleasure to the mind: <u>Genesis 12:10–17</u> (149–156)

   iv. Unbridled sin leads to slavery: Babylonian Exile (156–160)

   v.  Our eyes are tempted by prosperity away from the city God has given us (160–165)

   vi. Conversion involves separating oneself wholly from pollution in order to sacrifice to God: <u>Genesis 12:1–7</u> (165–169)

   vii. The temptation to return to sin after conversion, but the necessity to separate in order to worship God: <u>Genesis 19:1–4</u>; <u>Genesis 13:1–4</u>; (169–208)

   viii. Worship requires separation from evil (208–209)

**2. Christ alone brings escape from sin, death and the devil**

   i.  Christ intercedes for us (212–216)

   ii. The law warns of what is evil and reveals sin, but doesn't provide a remedy (216–217)

   iii. Righteousness by faith comes before and after the law (given in the middle) that shows sin: <u>Galatians 3:17–18</u> (217–221)

   iv. Law was needed for childish Israelites, but is still a teacher in shadows and types (221–232)

   v.  Christ, not the Law, is pure to bring us into God's holiness: <u>Exodus 3:2–5</u> (232–240)

   vi. Christ alone restores us to Adam's state of holiness: <u>Exodus 3–4</u> (240–249)

   vii. Moses is unable, weak, and afraid of death: <u>Exodus 4:10–20</u> (249–256)

   viii. The Israelites are saved by Christ: <u>Exodus 4:24–25</u> (256–261)

**3. The Same**

   i.  The Law is circuitous, enigmatic, and fearful, in contrast to the Gospel. Holy

b. Exodus 28:4–5: colours (732)

c. Exodus 28:6–12: shoulder-straps 732–736)

d. Exodus 28:13–23: gold shields, gold tassels, oracle of judgments, twelve stones bearing the names of the sons of Israel (736–744)

e. Exodus 28:27–31(31–35): blue garment with pomegranates, bells and blossoms on the hem (744–745)

f. Exodus 28:32–34(36–38): "Holiness of the Lord" plate (745–748)

g. Exodus 28:35–39(39–43): Turban, sash for Aaron, and for his sons tunics, sashes, turbans, linen drawers (748–749)

h. Exodus 29:1–9: The priests are sanctified in their garments (749–752)

iii. Sacrifices for priests: Exodus 29:10–34 (752–764)

iv. Presentation of the priests: Leviticus 8:1–11, 33–35 (764–765)

v. The first work of the priests (765–776)

a. In Leviticus 9:1–7 Moses instructs Aaron in sacrifice.

b. In Leviticus 9:22–24 Aaron blesses the people, then again with Moses, then the fire consumes what was on the altar.

c. In Leviticus 6:23–27 the Aaronic blessing is given

vi. Levites purified: Numbers 8:6–14 (776–781)

**12. On the priesthood continued...**

i. Qualifications for tabernacle service: Leviticus 21:16–23 (781–793)

ii. Profanation and the holy (793–809)

a. In Leviticus 22:2–9 God commands against profanation (793–805)

b. A priest's daughter shall not marry a foreigner: Leviticus 22:13 (805–808)

c. Leviticus 22:14,16 concerns those eating sacred things out of ignorance (808–809)

iii. Priests must be holy and pure (809–817)

a. In Leviticus 21:1–6 priests are forbidden from defiling mourning practices. (809–812)

b. In Leviticus 21:7–9 instruction on priestly marriage is given. (812–813)

c. In Leviticus 21:10–15 high priests are given a higher standard. (813–817)

iv. The work of the priests (817–841)

a. They are not to reveal their shame going up the steps of the altar (Exodus 20:26).(817–820)

b. The law of the whole burnt offering is given in Leviticus 6:8–13. (820–824)

c. The law of the grain offering is given in Leviticus 6:14–18. (824–828)

d. Priests bring an offering on the day they are anointed in Leviticus 6:20–23. (828–829)

e. Law for a sin offering in Leviticus 6:24–29 (829–832)

f. In Leviticus 6:30–40(7:10) the guilt offering entrails (832–833)

g. The sacrifice of praise is given in Leviticus 7:1–5(11–15) (833–837)

h. In Numbers 18:1,8–19 food to the priests' families. (837–841)

i. Beware of uncleanness and worldly care, as given in Leviticus 10:9–11. (841)

**13. On the priesthood continued...**

iii. Sacrificial gifts differ in the degrees of glory of the saints (1028–1040)

    a. In <u>Numbers 15:1–16</u> added to the lamb sacrifice are Hebrew measures of flour, wine, oil (1028–1033)

    b. In <u>Leviticus 27:1–8</u> God gives instructions on vows (1033–1040)

iv. Offer worship in spirit and truth (1040–1061)

    a. How we worship God as a gift is shown in <u>Numbers 6:1–12</u>. (1040–1052)

    b. The one who fulfils the days of his vow is described in <u>Numbers 6:13–21</u>. (1052–1060)

    c. In <u>Numbers 30:1–6</u> God warns that vows must be kept (1060–1061)

**17. The holy feasts**

i. Introduction: <u>Exodus 23:14–17</u> (1061–1065)

ii. Passover (1065–1092)

    a. <u>Exodus 12:1–6</u> commands the beginning of the year and in the first month (1065–1077)

    b. In <u>Exodus 12:21–23</u> a sheep per family is taken, and blood on the lintels (1077–1080)

    c. The Israelites keep Pascha in <u>Numbers 9:1–14</u> (1080–1085)

    d. <u>Deuteronomy 16:1–6</u> mandates the Passover in the holy city (1085–1088)

    e. <u>Numbers 28:16–25</u> adds not only lambs for sacrifice but sheep and cows (1088–1092)

iii. Feast of First Fruits / Weeks (1092–1101)

    a. <u>Numbers 28:26–31</u> describes the neighbouring feast (1092–1093)

    b. In <u>Leviticus 23:9–16</u> the feast of first-fruits is described (1093–1097)

    c. This feast of weeks is described in <u>Leviticus 23:17–21</u> (1097–1101)

iv. Feast of Trumpets / Booths (1104–1112)

    a. The time of the third feast is the seventh month: <u>Leviticus 23:23–25</u> (1104–1105)

    b. In <u>Leviticus 23:27–32</u> the day of atonement is given on the tenth day of the seventh month (1105–1108)

    c. On the fifteenth day a feast is held at the finish of the produce of the land, as given in <u>Leviticus 23:39–41</u>, as well as the construction of a booth (1108–1112)

v. The perpetual sacrifices (1112–1125)

    a. In <u>Numbers 28:1–8</u> God commands the daily whole burnt offering perpetually (1112–1113)

    b. The sacrifices of the Sabbath are described in <u>Numbers 28:9–10</u> (1113–1116)

    c. Monthly or new moon offerings are added in <u>Numbers 28:11–15</u> (1116–1120)

    d. In <u>Numbers 29:1–2</u> the feast of convocations for blowing trumpets is given (1120)

    e. And in <u>Numbers 29:12–16</u> the festival of booths is described (1120–1124)

    f. Offering of sacrifices until the Sabbath in <u>Numbers 29:35–39</u> (1124)

    g. <u>Leviticus 25:1–10</u> in the Promised Land rest on the Sabbath year (1125)

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