

The Image of God in the Theology of Gregory of Nazianzus

Gregory of Nazianzus, known best for his Christology and Trinitarian doctrine, presents an incomparable vision of the image of God. In this book, Gabrielle Thomas offers a close analysis of his writings and demonstrates how Nazianzen depicts both the nature and experience of the image of God throughout his corpus. She argues that Nazianzen's vision of the human person as an image of God is understood best in light of biblical and extra-biblical themes. To establish the breadth of his approach, Thomas analyses the image of God against the backdrop of Nazianzen's beliefs about Christology, Pneumatology, creation, sin, spiritual warfare, ethics and theosis. Interpreted accordingly, Nazianzen offers a dynamic and multifaceted account of the image of God, which has serious implications both for Cappadocian studies and contemporary theological anthropology.

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> I too am also an *eikon* of God ... you should worship me Εἰκών εἰμι καὶ αὐτὸς Θεοῦ ... σύ με προσκύνησον Gregory of Nazianzus, On *Baptism*, Oration 40.10



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Preface

'Why choose Gregory of Nazianzus?' I have lost count of the times I have been asked this question, often accompanied by a mystified expression on the face of the enquirer. On more than one occasion I have asked myself, 'Why have I chosen to spend so many years exploring, translating, and grappling with the work of this particular theologian?' Like many before me, who have delved into these texts, I resonate with Gregory's writing. He theologises on Scripture, doctrine, pastoral care, prayer, and faith within the context of his own experience. Gregory's love of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, radiates through the pages of his work and is contagious. The more time I spend in his company, the more I find myself aspiring to be a good theologian.

This book represents the culmination of nearly a decade of research; no reader would thank me for acknowledging the generosity of every person who has contributed to its formation and completion. I am thankful for the friends and near-strangers who have given invaluable feedback on my ideas, commented on translations, read through drafts, provided encouragement, and more.

The seeds of this book began during my training for ordained ministry in the Church of England. Desiring to continue to explore Gregory's theological anthropology, I pursued doctoral work at the University of Nottingham. During this time, I was funded fully by the Church of England Research Degrees Panel, the Sylvanus Lysons Trust, and St Luke's Trust. I am grateful for their support, which allowed me the luxury of being a full-time researcher.

My supervisor, Mary Cunningham, went far beyond the call of duty at every stage of my research and writing. The fellowship and friendship we



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shared through reading ancient texts together contributed significantly both to my academic and spiritual formation. My other supervisors, Simon Oliver and Alison Milbank, provided essential, critical feedback whilst demonstrating what it means to be a scholar-priest.

Crispin Fletcher-Louis, Ben Fulford, Nick Wilshere, Suzanne Abrams Rebillard, Ian Paul and Mark Cartledge gave particularly helpful advice at various stages of the research. Fr. Andrew Louth, Scot Ray Douglass, Dragos Giulea, Sophie Cartwright and Alistair McFadyen kindly shared unpublished work with me, which made the research run more smoothly. Thanks also to Terry J. Wright, Alex Williams, Carole Schultz, Lavinia Cerioni, and Judy Nesbit. Long conversations with Tarah Van de Wiele prevented me from becoming a curator of the texts. I am grateful to her and her husband Brady for the open door to their home in Nottingham during the two years I was based near London, making trips back and forth.

Fr. John Behr made the journey from Crestwood, New York to examine the thesis. I have long been influenced by his work and value his support. Along with Simeon Zahl, my other discerning examiner, he encouraged me to pursue publication; both shared valuable insights that contributed to the revision.

I moved from Nottingham to an equally rich and rewarding time at Durham University, working as a Postdoctoral Research Associate within the Centre for Catholic Studies. I am grateful for the funding from the National Board of Catholic Women and The Caulfield Foundation, which made this possible. During this period, I have continued to develop the book, receiving excellent advice from Karen Kilby and Lewis Ayres. Encouragement from them ensured that I saw the manuscript through to completion (although, is a book ever really finished!?). My thanks also to Beatrice Rehl and the editorial team at CUP.

Finally, my family. I am so very thankful for a mother and father who raised me to believe that almost anything is possible through prayer and perseverance. This belief has served me well through hitting the troughs of research, writing, and editing. My sister, whose belief in my abilities far exceeds reality, has refused to collaborate with me when I have doubted my ability to complete this book.

My husband, Matthew, has been a longsuffering companion from the day I first enthused about Gregory's theology. He has consistently cheered me on every step of the way; he has listened to ideas, read countless drafts, and allowed generously Gregory into almost every aspect of our life together. As an image of God, Matthew is indeed 'divine'. I dedicate this book to him.



Abbreviations

PRIMARY TEXTS

Carm. Carmen (Poem)
Ep. Epistula (Letter)
Or. Oratio (Oration)

ANCIENT SOURCES

Basil

Josephus

Athanasius De Incarn. De Incarnatione

Vit. Ant. Vita Antonii

Ep. Serap. Epistulae ad Serapionem Hex. Hom. Homilae in Hexaemeron

Clement of Alexandria Paed. Paedagogus

Strom. Stromata
In Gen. In Genesia

Didymus the Blind In Gen. In Genesim

Gregory Nyssen Op. Hom. De opificio hominis

HerodotusHist.HistoriesHomerIl.Iliad

Irenaeus Dem. Demonstration of the Apostolic

Preaching

Haer. Adversus haereses
Ant. Jewish Antiquities

Justin Martyr 1 Apol. Apologia 1

Dial. Tryph. Dialogus cum Tryphone

Origen Cels. Contra Celsum



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Comm. Jn. Commentarii in evangelium

Joannis

Dial. Dialogus cum Heraclide Hom. Gen. Homiliae in Genesim

Princ. De Principiis

Pausanias Descr. Descriptio Graeciae Philo Opif. De opificio mundi

> Her. Quis rerum divinarum heres sit Leg. 1, 2, 3 Legum allegoriae I, II, III Spec. 1, 2, 3, 4 De specialibus legibus I, II,

> > III, IV

Plato Crat. Cratylus

Gorg. Gorgias
Phaed. Phaedo
Resp. Respublica
Soph. Sophista
Symp. Symposium
Theaet. Theaetetus
Tim Timaeus

Plutarch Princ. Iner. Ad principem ineruditum
Socrates HE Historia Ecclesiastica
Suetonius Aug. Divus Augustus
Tertullian Marc. Adversus Marcionem

SECONDARY LITERATURE

ABD Anchor Bible Dictionary

ACO Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und

Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung

BLE Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique

BM Benediktinische Monatsschrift zur Pflege religiösen und

geistigen Lebens

BSK Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter

BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft BZNW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

CBAA Catholic Biblical Association of America
CBQMS Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBOTS Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CCSA Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum



List of Abbreviations

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CMCCambridge Medieval Classics CRAIComptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-Lettres CSRChristian Scholars Review DOP **Dumbarton Oaks Papers GELS** A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint GOTR Greek Orthodox Theological Review Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies GRBS Harvard Theological Review HTRIrish Theological Quarterly ITO Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion **JANER** IBLJournal of Biblical Literature Journal of Egyptian Archaeology JEA **IECS** Journal of Early Christian Studies IHPJournal of the History of Philosophy Iournal of Iewish Studies IIS Journal for the Study of the New Testament *JSNT* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament ISOT ISP Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series **JSPSS** ITS Journal of Theological Studies **LCL** Loeb Classical Library LSI Liddell, Scott and Jones' A Greek-English Lexicon Massachusetts Institute of Technology MIT MSR Mélanges de science religieuse **NETS** New English Translation of the Septuagint The New International Greek Testament Commentary **NIGTC** NSBT New Studies in Biblical Theology NTS New Testament Studies **NPNF** Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers OTL Old Testament Library **OUP** Oxford University Press PBRPatristic and Byzantine Review PG Patrologia graeca [= Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857-1886 PGLPatristic Greek Lexicon Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain PIOL Popular Patristics Series **PPS PUF** Presses Universitaires de France

Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum

RAC



xiv	List of Abbreviations
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TB	Tyndale Bulletin
TFC	The Fathers of the Church
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
SVTQ	St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft