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THE DOCTRINE OF  
THE INCARNATION

# THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION

BY

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## PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

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THE demand for another edition of this book seems to imply that the study of the history of Christian doctrine still has its peculiar attractions. At the same time, there must be very many who are primarily interested in the apologetic and philosophic aspects of the Church's faith, and I am conscious that a work of this kind is not calculated to meet their requirements. I must, however, accept the limitations imposed by my original plan; and have therefore contented myself with adding here and there references to recent works which deal with the problems of thought and fact involved in the doctrine of the Incarnation, mainly from the apologetic standpoint. Since 1896 important additions have been made to the literature of New Testament theology, and much valuable work has been produced, bearing upon the relation of Christianity to philosophy. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader what great services have been rendered to religion by the labours of such scholars

and thinkers as Dr. Sanday, Dr. Illingworth, the late Dr. Moberly, and Dr. Du Bose. The last-mentioned writer in particular has wisely warned us that we ought "to do full justice to what we consider mutilated or incomplete conceptions of Christianity." In Germany, at any rate, there is a marked tendency among scholars to take for granted a purely humanitarian conception of our Lord's Person, and Christological problems (*e.g.* the mystery of the Virgin Birth) are approached in the light of this prejudice. I am convinced that in the interests of religion it is our wisdom to make the best and not the worst of the gospel of humanitarianism, while for ourselves we hold stedfastly and confidently to the immemorial belief of Christendom; assured by growing experience that it alone corresponds to the complex and profound need of humanity. τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

R. L. O

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

---

THIS book is primarily intended for theological students. The writer's aim has been to meet a want which he believes to exist: the want of a compendious and plain introduction to the doctrine of the Incarnation, giving a connected outline of the theology and doctrinal history which may be studied separately, and more minutely, in larger books. The different elements which are combined in the work may be gathered from the following account of its general plan.

In the introductory part a general survey is given of the fact of the Incarnation: its nature, different aspects, and relation to various provinces of thought and inquiry.

Another section (Part II.) is devoted to the scriptural presentation of the doctrine. The writer believes that this division of the subject strictly belongs to the history of dogma. It seems indeed to be reasonable, both on historical and critical grounds, to assume that the New Testament lies behind the dogma of the Church, as its presupposition, and a determining factor in its development. The theory that the theology of the Church is

merely a product of Greek metaphysics would seem to be largely based on the deliberate exclusion of the evidence of the New Testament;<sup>1</sup> and it is accordingly very important to estimate fairly the strictly dogmatic element in Scripture, if the subsequent process of ecclesiastical definition is to be correctly understood. There is ample ground for the conclusion that a far more considerable element in the development of dogma than "Hellenism," has been the influence of Scripture and the religious experience of Christians.

The third and largest portion of the work (Parts III.-IX.) consists of an historical sketch covering the period between the Apostolic Fathers and the close of the sixteenth century.

The last section (Part X.) may be best described as a connected series of notes on the actual "content" of the doctrine, comprising a brief discussion both of theological points and of the technical terms most frequently employed by ecclesiastical writers.

In dealing with a subject which has been the theme of a literature so vast, the writer has been largely dependent on the labours of others. With a general acknowledgment of indebtedness he must be content; but in particular he feels himself under obligation to the well-known works of Dorner, Harnack, Weiss, Seeberg,

<sup>1</sup> The value of such works as Dr. Hatch's *Hibbert Lectures*, or Dr. Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, is considerably impaired by this preconception. See a valuable chapter on "Hellenism" in Dr. Bigg's recent work on *Neoplatonism* (chap. viii.).

Hagenbach, Liddon, and Bruce. He is deeply conscious of the many shortcomings of a book written amid frequent interruptions, and necessarily limited in scale. If to any the exact study of dogma seems in days like ours a profitless labour, it may be sufficient to reply in the words of a mediæval writer: *O quam frustra timemus circa illam materiam studiorum nostrorum moras impendere, quam semper oporteret, si fieri posset, præ oculis habere, et in ejus admirationem jugi occupatione animos suspendere.*<sup>1</sup> The writer trusts that his work will do nothing to wound or hinder, but rather something to stimulate and encourage, the spirit of practical devotion to HIM whom *to know is life, whom to serve is freedom.*

<sup>1</sup> Ric. de S. Vict. *de Emman.* ii. 20.

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§ III. Evidence for the Incarnation summarised ; Apostolic belief ; the History of the Church ; the spiritual experience of Christians ; the early New Testament literature.

# THE INCARNATION

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## § I. THE FACT OF THE INCARNATION

To the question, What is Christianity? the simple answer is that in its essence it is not an idea, nor a particular view of life, nor a speculation, but a fact, a unique phenomenon. Of this fact we must consider at the outset the nature, the method, and, in outline at least, the purpose.

1. In its nature or essence what is the Incarnation? It is a movement of Divine compassion and sympathy towards man; the assumption of human nature by the eternal Son of God, in order that He might restore and consummate it by uniting it to His own person. It is an act of grace whereby God actually brings man into fellowship with Himself. This is the account of S. John in his first Epistle: *That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ.*<sup>1</sup> Being then an action which originates in the Divine love, we are prepared to find that redemption is a work beyond our power to completely analyse or comprehend.<sup>2</sup> It must ever be

<sup>1</sup> 1 S. Jo. i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. W. H. Mill, *Five sermons on the nature of Christianity*, Nos. i and ii.

borne in mind that the Incarnation is a *mystery of godliness*.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Method by which the fact has been accomplished must next be considered. It has been summarily described by Bernard, *Modus quidem Dei exinanitio est*.<sup>2</sup> By a continuous act of self-limitation and self-sacrifice, the Son of God condescended to aid humanity from within; taking our nature in its entirety as the robe or vesture of His own personality, and as the medium of His self-revelation; passing through the different phases of a human life, so as to share, not by Divine intuition merely, but by actual fellowship, the reality of our human experience; enabling our nature to achieve that of which in its native strength it was incapable; consecrating it to God in a life of obedience and suffering; perfecting it by submission to the law of mortality; carrying it through and beyond the state of death into the glory of the resurrection life; exalting it to the throne of God, and winning for it acceptance by the merit of His Divine person; finally, re-creating it by the grace and power of His glorified manhood, and henceforth using it as the organ of universal sovereignty. We shall best begin our study of the doctrine by examining the authoritative statement contained in S. John's prologue (S. Jo. i. 1-18). That great passage may be somewhat expanded, and its teaching expressed in six propositions:—

i. As regards the Divine Being, S. John intimates a plurality of Persons in the Godhead. He states the existence, and summarises the work of the Word, who is the eternal self-expression or utterance of God; the revealer of His character and mind; personally distinct from God, yet living in eternal fellowship and communion with Him; in essence coequal with Him: *the Word was God*.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Bern. *in Cant.* xi. 3.

ii. A doctrine of creation follows. The cosmos is called into being by a *fiat* of the Divine will, but God acts through the agency of His Word. The Word impresses on the universe its visible order and rationality, upholds it in existence, and is Himself its predestined end or climax. Two other points may be noticed. The act of creation seems to be a prophecy of the Incarnation in so far as it is a first step in Divine self-limitation—an act whereby God calls into existence beings other than Himself, sets them over against Himself, and enters into relationship with them. Thus a self-imparting movement of love is seen to be the first cause of the creation. Further, S. John is careful to teach the doctrine of Divine *immanence*. God indwells His own world “absolutely separate from the creature, yet in every part of the creation at every moment; above all things, yet under all things.”<sup>1</sup> He is the sustaining cause, the persistent energy, of all that exists.

iii. Humanity is next introduced,—the rational, self-conscious life in which created being culminates. The Logos has ever been *the light of men*. *He lighteth every man, coming into the world*; being present in the dictates of conscience, in the faculties of invention or discovery, in the organisation and development of social life, in the energies of thought; imparting at once to objects their truth, and to man his faculty to know. As all objects of human thought—all laws scientific, moral, social, artistic—are ideas of the Logos, so all right exercise of human faculties depends upon His enabling presence. He is immanent in His entire creation; but His highest and most distinctive operation is the illumination of the reason and conscience of man.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Idea of a University*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Bern. *in Cant.* iv. 4: “Tali proinde dignatur modo illa maiestas suis esse creaturis, omnibus quidem quod sunt, animantibus autem quod et

iv. S. John's doctrine presupposes a fall from light. Under the abstract term "darkness" he includes the varied forms of moral evil. The fall is described by Athanasius as "the aversion"; by Gregory of Nyssa as "the withdrawal of the soul from moral good."<sup>1</sup> Just as a planet on its averted side is dark, so man, in turning away from the true centre of his being, became "darkened," and fell under the power of evil. Thenceforth the universe became a scene of conflict between the darkness and the light, which did not forsake men, nor was itself utterly quenched. S. John's Gospel describes, in its main outlines, the historic conflict thus indicated in the prologue.

v. In due time occurred the self-manifestation of the Logos. He had ever given tokens in the works of creation of His indwelling *pōwer and Godhead*; throughout the course of history He had ever visited men in providence and in judgment. Further, His coming had been heralded by prophecy. John the Baptist is mentioned as the type or crowning example of the whole chain of prophets *which have been since the world began*. In different ages there had been those whom the Divine wisdom inspired in varied degrees and manners; here and there speaking to chosen souls among the heathen, intensifying their thirst for light and truth, and preparing the way for a fuller self-manifestation. For history and prophecy alike pointed to a climax which was reached in the Incarnation. The Logos finally manifests Himself personally and specially to an elect people; but the manifestation has a twofold issue, and acts as a principle of judgment or severance. On the one hand, the incarnate Word meets with national rejection; on the other, with individual acceptance,—the

vivunt, porro ratione utentibus lux, recte vero utentibus virtus, vincen-  
tibus gloria."

<sup>1</sup> Ath. c. *Gent.* v. : ἡ τῶν κρείττωνων ἀποστροφή. Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Catech.* v. : ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναχώρησις.

“imperturbable mercy” of God holding on its course in spite of human perversity.

vi. S. John concludes by taking a final survey of the Incarnation. He views it generally as the communication to mankind of a permanent re-creative force, lifting men individually into the life of Divine sonship; as a fulfilment of human destiny,—the Word crowning the ascent of created life by taking a material nature to be the organ of His self-revelation, for “Wisdom, to the end she might save many, built her house of that nature which is common unto all”;<sup>1</sup> and lastly, as a supreme act of condescension, unveiling the Divine glory, *i.e.* the Divine character and life, under the conditions of an historic human life.

## § II. THE PURPOSE OF THE INCARNATION

The Purpose of the Incarnation may be conveniently considered under four chief aspects.

I. In the first place, it may be viewed as the climax of human history. So it seems to be considered by S. Paul when he declares that in *the fulness of the time God sent forth His Son born of a woman*.<sup>2</sup> This expression implies that the Incarnation was a preordained event which in due course consummated a divinely-guided education of mankind. In all spheres of human activity throughout the ancient world we may discern traces of a deliberate providential guidance: in the history of religion, philosophy, and civilisation. “All history previous to His coming was a prophecy of Jesus Christ. The whole course of external events, and the progress of the human mind, were tending towards Him; the result of both was to demand without being able to produce Him.”<sup>3</sup> Christ was ever *He that should come* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος). This line of

<sup>1</sup> Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* v. 52, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Luthardt, *Fundamental Truths*, etc., p. 324.

thought has been often pursued in detail, and need not be enlarged upon for our present purpose. There is, however, a passage in S. Paul's writings which has been justly said to contain a philosophy of history, and to which, by way of illustration, a brief allusion may be made. In 1 Cor. i. 21-24 the apostle seems to summarise at once the searchings of the Gentile world after God, and the prolonged discipline of the Jewish people. The religion and philosophy of Greece were efforts of the natural reason to find out God. Reason indeed was *the candle of the Lord* in man. The search after God should have been its highest function and purest joy. But reason was unfaithful, and failed miserably in its task (Rom. i. 21, 22). It was therefore "befooled" by God. By a judicial act of Divine righteousness, it was punished for its unfaithfulness. The search after God failed: the world *by means of its wisdom did not come to know God*. From a religious point of view the interest of Greek thought in its later stages lies in its unconscious testimony to the unsatisfied needs of the human spirit. "The Gentiles were brought by these long and fruitless efforts to a consciousness of their own impotence, and they admitted, by erecting an altar to the *unknown God*, how unavailing had been all their endeavours."<sup>1</sup> The despair of the Gentile world is described by S. Paul in a single sentence: *having no hope, and without God in the world.*<sup>2</sup> Yet it must be remembered that this very despair was preparing the Greek to welcome Christ as the Word from God, the very truth, for which he had longed and waited; and the products of Greek thought were destined to be consecrated to the service of the true faith, and to clothe it in imperishable forms.

As in Greek philosophy S. Paul discerns the search of

<sup>1</sup> Pressensé, *Apostolic Age*, p. 271; cp. *Lux Mundi*, p. 202

<sup>2</sup> Eph. ii. 12.

reason, so in the history of Judaism he contemplates the search of conscience. He teaches that the principle of law, as embodied and expressed in the Jewish Torah, fulfilled a negative function. It served as a Divine discipline, compelling the Jew, through utter self-despair, to look for a revelation of grace. Thus while the Greek *sought after wisdom*, the Jew *asked for signs*, i.e. for a display of power, for a Divine triumph of righteousness both inwardly in man's heart and outwardly in the order of human society. The intended result of the law was to deepen the sense of moral impotence. As to the Greeks Christ was *the wisdom of God*, so to the Jew He proved to be *the power of God*.

The general line of thought here followed by S. Paul might be illustrated from the history of Oriental religions. Their tendency, like that of Greek thought, is to culminate in a practical pessimism.<sup>1</sup> They too witness to inextinguishable longings and aspirations of the human heart, which it was intended in God's purpose that the Incarnation should satisfy.

Indeed, one important feature of Christianity is its claim to be the final, the absolute religion. It is final in the first place because it perfectly accomplishes the great end of religion: the union of God and man. In the Incarnation a union of the Divine and human is effected, than which none closer is conceivable. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is mainly concerned to emphasise this point, that in Christ man really finds access to God. "Perfection" (*τελείωσις*) is rendered possible, i.e. the final accomplishment of that to which the heart of man had hitherto aspired in vain,—the joy of unimpeded communion with his Creator. Again, Christianity claims finality as including all elements of truth which other religions had partially anticipated; it exhibits them in

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Pfleiderer, *Gifford Lectures*, vol. i. Lect. x. See also F. D. Maurice, *The Religions of the World*.

their due proportion and relation to other truths. The study of comparative religions deepens our sense of the fact that God in no period of the world's history *left Himself without witness*. It is a favourite thought of the Alexandrine theologians, especially of Clement, that Gentile religion and philosophy were like the Jewish law, *a schoolmaster leading the Gentiles to Christ*, or rather that the Word Himself was in every age guiding men onwards towards the knowledge of Himself. The pearls of truth which we meet with in Stoicism, for example, or Buddhism, only illustrate the unity of all religion, the profound correspondence of the gospel to the spiritual needs of men, and the reality of that providential discipline by which the heathen world was being prepared to welcome its rightful Lord. "The pre-Christian religions," it has been beautifully said, "were the age-long prayer. The Incarnation was the answer."<sup>1</sup> Finally, Christianity is the absolute or catholic religion in so far as it tends to develop and consecrate the special gifts and endowments of every race of mankind. All that each race can contribute is required in order perfectly to exhibit *the fulness of the stature of Christ*. A religion which claims to satisfy the fundamental needs of man's nature must display its power to heighten and hallow the riches of individual and national character. And Christian thinkers have loved to trace the way in which each age and race of men has seen a new and special significance for itself in the Divine example;<sup>2</sup> how "since He came, the ministry of the nations has in unexpected ways illuminated the truth of the Incarnation."<sup>3</sup> Christianity,

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Illingworth, *Lux Mundi*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 160-161; Church, *Gifts of Civilisation*.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, p. 57. See the same writer's essay on "Christianity the Absolute Religion" in *Religious Thought in the West*.

then, is the absolute religion. It is in harmony with the highest ideas of God at which other religions had arrived. It is in this sense "a republication of natural religion" that it endorses all the highest anticipations that had been formed of God's personality, character, and modes of action. It met the realised needs of human nature: the longing for definite and authoritative truth, the desire for holiness as the one condition of fellowship with God. Christianity answers the questionings which other religions had prompted but could not satisfy. And if it be asked why we should assume the religion of Christ to be final in view of the fact that all other systems "have their day and cease to be," the true answer is suggested by another passage of S. Paul (Gal. iv. 1-7), where the apostle teaches that man being a child and heir of God, God only waits for the *fulness of time* to admit him to his heritage. He waits, that is, till man is sufficiently educated to be capable of using aright the greatest of Divine gifts, namely, the self-disclosure of God in His Son. The process of education has been laborious and slow, because a premature revelation might have been useless or even dangerous. It is intelligible if we interpret God's dealings as those of a Father. Fatherly love is eager to impart its richest and best treasure, so soon as the capacity for worthy use and enjoyment is developed.

II. We pass to a second aspect under which the mystery of the Incarnation may be studied—as the climax of creation: the predestined goal of the whole process of natural development.

According to the Christian view of it, the material universe was designed ultimately to reveal God, and the process of nature from the first tended towards some form of being which should adequately express the most distinctive elements in the Divine life: holiness, love, and

power. On a broad survey this process is seen to be marked by unity, gradation, and specialisation.

(a) Unity. The world is an order, or cosmos, and according to the invariable Christian doctrine the Logos was from the very beginning the unifying principle in nature. This is nobly expressed by Athanasius: <sup>1</sup> "The all-powerful, all-perfect, and holy Word of the Father, descending upon all things and everywhere extending His own energy, and bringing to light all things whether apparent or invisible, knits them and welds them into His own being, leaving nothing destitute of His operation. . . . And a certain marvellous and Divine harmony is thus veritably brought to pass by Him." Nature, in fact, reflects one supreme intelligence; irresistibly suggests the idea of a single efficient force—one universal cause that lies at the basis of phenomena.

(b) But further, nature exhibits gradation: an ascent of life culminating in the rational and moral nature of man; that is, in a being possessed of spiritual energies and capacities by which nature can be moulded, manipulated, and subdued. The goal of the universe thus appears to be the appropriation and control of matter by spirit, and the slow process of evolution gradually manifests more and more of the nature of God, for He is essentially *spirit*. With the advent of man appears a being in whom the progressive movement of things takes a new departure, and enters upon a higher plane. From this point "the natural process passes over into the historical"; <sup>2</sup> the physical becomes the basis and sub-

<sup>1</sup> *cont. Gentes*. xlii. Cp. *Tert. Apol.* xvii.: "[Deus] totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum, corporum, spirituum, verbo quo inquit, ratione qua disposuit, virtute qua potuit, de nihilo expressit in ornamentum maiestatis suæ: unde et Græci nomen mundo *κόσμος* accommodaverunt."

<sup>2</sup> Pfleiderer, *Gifford Lectures*, i. p. 155 (Lect. x. "Revelation in the Natural Order").

stratum of the psychical and moral. The universe thus exemplifies the profound and far-reaching law pointed to by S. Paul in his treatment of the resurrection: *first that which is natural, afterward that which is spiritual.*<sup>1</sup>

(c) And so, thirdly, nature ever exhibits a tendency towards differentiation and specialisation,—towards the production of more and more highly organised individual forms of being which themselves inaugurate and propagate new species. “The line of progress is through individuals. All things conspire together to produce the highest, best, most richly endowed individual form, and that brings in the new species.”<sup>2</sup> The analogy of nature thus suggests that what Christian theology claims for Christ is strictly in accord with the entire movement of the universe. Since man is the crown of creation, and sums up all the stages of the long ascent of evolution in his own organism, analogy suggests the possibility of a new type, a new individual “recapitulating,” as Irenæus expresses it, all that is behind and below him, and becoming the first of a new species, the fountain-head of a new humanity. It is intrinsically credible that in the risen Christ of the Christian creed we have the goal of the whole natural process of the universe, and that His *spiritual body* is “the result aimed at in fundamental and essential impulses of our nature; towards which, therefore, that nature must ever point as what alone can satisfy its desires, fulfil its hopes, and complete its glory.”<sup>3</sup> In the language of S. Paul, *The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is of heaven.*<sup>4</sup> Christ consummates the material creation, crowns the nature which from the first He purposed to assume, and exalts

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Newman Smyth, *Old Faiths in New Light*, chap. v.

<sup>3</sup> Milligan, *The Resurrection*, Lect. iv. (p. 134).

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 47.

it into a loftier, supra-physical order. He becomes the parent of a spiritual progeny. In His own person He marks a new beginning; He is supernatural, but not unnatural, and His advent is marked, as in the ascent of life a new phenomenon ever is marked, by the display of larger powers and capacities. The old order is succeeded by an order which is new, but at the same time fundamental and complete, inasmuch as it corresponds to an original Divine purpose for the universe.<sup>1</sup>

But at this point we are face to face with the question of miracles. If the Incarnation be the manifestation of a new type in the universe, it is, in relation to the order of nature, miraculous, and as such it is pronounced incredible. It is "inconceivable" that there should be "an occasional interruption and disturbance of the regulated order."<sup>2</sup> The question is, in what relation the new beginning stands to the known and regular course of nature, to the law of uniformity as generally understood.

For present purposes it is enough to suggest two lines of thought which make the idea of miracle antecedently credible.

1. We must remember the relation of the physical universe to the moral.

We have seen that Nature culminates in man, and the highest things in man are thought and will, *i.e.* the characteristic elements of personality. In a word, the highest category within our reach is personality, and no use of the term "nature" is accurate which does not include

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Le Conte, *Evolution and its relation to Religious Thought*, p. 362: "As with the appearance of man there were introduced new powers and properties unimaginable from the animal point of view, and therefore from that point of view seemingly supernatural . . . so with the appearance of the Christ we ought to expect new powers and properties unimaginable from the human point of view, and therefore to us seemingly supernatural, *i.e.* above our nature."

<sup>2</sup> Pfeleiderer, *Gifford Lectures*, i. p. 169.

what is supreme and most distinctive (*κυριώτατον*) in man. Again, nature is the sphere of God's progressive self-manifestation, and we are obliged to conceive of God under categories within our reach. If, then, the highest thing known to us is moral personality, we inevitably judge of God as a Person, so that in man's character and personality we are practically justified in finding an image of the invisible Deity. But what is man's relation to physical Nature? It is to a large extent under his control; he is the interpreter, the servant, and by that very fact the lord of Nature; the most potent force in the universe is moral energy, the self-determined exertion of human will.<sup>1</sup> It appears, then, on a survey of the world that moral ends and purposes are higher than physical laws and conditions. The universe is evidently moulded by moral forces, and directed towards a moral and spiritual end. "The final end of the government of the world," says a thinker who repudiates the miraculous, "is not to be primarily sought in the natural life but in the spiritual and moral life."<sup>2</sup> Here is the point in which the Christian conception of the universe is distinctive: that we live in a moral universe of which the physical world is only a subordinate department.<sup>3</sup> To a moral Deity, *i.e.* a Deity having will, purpose, and character, the moral interests of the universe must be of paramount importance. He cannot be chained down to the course of physical Nature. In a disordered universe such as ours, He must be supposed able to intervene, in order to bring about its restoration, the world being after all from the Divine standpoint a

<sup>1</sup> Temple, *Bampton Lectures*, iii. p. 90: "The freedom of the human will is but the assertion in particular of that universal supremacy of the moral over the physical in the last resort, which is an essential part of the very essence of the Moral Law. The freedom of the will is the Moral Law breaking into the world of phenomena." Cp. Martensen, *Dogm.* § 17.

<sup>2</sup> Pfeiderer, *Gifford Lectures*, i. pp. 201, 272.

<sup>3</sup> Wace, *Boyle Lectures*, Ser. ii. p. 302.

*spiritual* order. "Physical law," says a thoughtful writer,<sup>1</sup> "must be looked upon as the normal method by which the moral purpose of the universe is served." But in miracle "God retaining unchanged His purpose of self-revelation adapts the physical order to it in a way which, from the point of view of that physical order, is strange and startling. To the physical order, to the human intelligence, miracles are certainly supernatural; but from the point of view of the will of God, and of that wider conception of nature which covers all His self-manifestation through the world, they are natural enough." Yes, natural enough, God being what Christian faith believes Him to be. "For," says Gregory of Nyssa, "even the good is not truly good if it be not conjoined with justice, wisdom, and *power*."<sup>2</sup> To deny to God the power to intervene in nature is so far to deny His spiritual attributes. Perfect goodness involves the highest intensity, the most completely unfettered action, of righteous will. Accordingly S. Paul contemplates the fact of redemption as a supreme intervention of power. A leading thought of the Epistle to the Ephesians is that of the unbounded wealth and resourcefulness of the Divine might.<sup>3</sup> Man's moral misery and helplessness evokes an unspeakably great assertion of God's character; a unique crisis and upheaval. This we have in miracle, which lays bare the arm that had hitherto worked under the veil of ordinary natural causation. The essential characteristic therefore of a miracle is that it is an event bearing the impress of rational and moral purpose.

All natural laws are indeed expressions of the Divine intelligence,—purpose and design being impressed on the ordinary phenomena of nature considered as a whole. But

<sup>1</sup> Strong, *Manual of Theology*, pp. 69, 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. Cal.* xx.

<sup>3</sup> See Eph. i. 19 ff.; cp. H. S. Holland, *Creed and Character*, p. 184.

in miracle human attention is arrested by the sudden revelation of a purpose, a will and character, analogous to but transcending the will and character of man. Miracle thus takes its place as an element in the course of God's providential government of the world. It is an occurrence, however, marked not merely by the rationality which pervades all physical phenomena, but by the gracious character of a loving Personality.

2. Another line of thought pointing to the antecedent probability of the Incarnation is suggested by the general course of development. Scientific thought recognises the *teleological* element in the age-long process. We shrink from insisting with the old confidence on the law of uniformity, *i.e.* the necessary resemblance of the future to the past. Present experience is no longer held to be the criterion of what may be expected. And this reminds us of Butler's often quoted remark that men's notion of what is natural will be enlarged in proportion to their greater knowledge of the works of God and the dispensations of His providence. The word "supernatural" is, in fact, ambiguous. There must be a conception of "nature" which will embrace the immaterial elements in man's constitution, and so cover the entire sphere of God's self-manifestation.<sup>1</sup> Professor Huxley candidly allows that "no one is entitled to say, *a priori*, that any given so-called miraculous event is impossible. . . . Nobody can presume to say what the order of nature must be."<sup>2</sup> In fact, the widest experience can only justify a proportionate expectation that the future will resemble the past. All we know certainly is that each higher and

<sup>1</sup> "On any logical theory of theism there can be no such distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' as is usually drawn, since on that theory all causation is but the action of Divine will."—G. J. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1887, p. 628.

more advanced product of evolution exhibits new laws and fresh capacities. And what we claim for Jesus Christ is that in Him a new type of being appears, to which new effects, physical and moral, are strictly natural. The Incarnation is, in fact, "the one absolutely new thing under the sun."<sup>1</sup> It is the appearance of a sinless man; a new phenomenon from which new supernatural effects may be looked for as a matter of course. Christ's person is a miracle; and miracles, whether those recorded in the Gospels, or those moral miracles which are matters of daily experience within the Christian society, are just what we should expect from Him, being what He is. They are revelations of a higher life. They force upon us the conviction that "what we call the physical order must be interpreted by, and finds its final explanation in, that higher revelation which in a special sense we call the moral."<sup>2</sup>

In an apologetic treatise this line of thought might be pursued at length, but no more is needed for our present purpose than the above brief restatement of what has been, indeed, a commonplace of recent theology.<sup>3</sup> The effect of these considerations is to dispose us to approach the historical evidence for miracles without undue bias or prepossession. And this is most necessary if, as has been said, "there can be no question that the most serious objections raised against the Incarnation are

<sup>1</sup> Damasc. ap. Petav. *de Incarn.* 2. v. § 20 : τὸ πάντων καινῶν καινότερον τὸ μόνον καινὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων. Cp. Newman Smith, *Old Faiths*, etc., c. v.; Le Conte, *Evolution*, etc., chaps. vi.-viii.; Holland, *Christ or Ecclesiastes*, Sermon. ii. On attempts to account for the sinless Christ as "a sociological variation," see Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. Moore, *Science and the Faith*, p. 104 f. Downer, *System of Christian Ethics*, § 6 : "A miracle, in the strict dogmatic sense, is constituted by every specifically higher stage, as distinguished from the lower."

<sup>3</sup> See C. Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, no. 2, for an admirable summary of Christian teaching on this subject.

really of an *a priori* character."<sup>1</sup> Evidence can never, in regard to such a subject, be demonstrative or compel belief. An enforced faith would not, we may reverently say, be worth God's while to secure. For the appeal of revelation is moral, as well as historical; it is supported by moral evidence, and lays a claim on man's entire nature. And since the cogency of evidence obviously varies with the particular disposition, experience, and presuppositions of the person who judges, our acceptance of the Christian facts will depend on the idea we have formed of man's condition and needs; of the Divine character and methods of action; of the capacities and destiny of the human soul.<sup>2</sup> For "he who already counts it likely that God will interfere for the higher welfare of men, who believes that there is a nobler world-order than that in which we live and move, and that it would be the blessing of blessings for that nobler to intrude into and to make itself felt in the region of this lower, who has found that here in this world we are bound by heavy laws of nature, of sin, of death, which no powers that we now possess can break, yet which must be broken if we are truly to live,—he will not find it hard to believe the great miracle, the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, and His declaration as the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead; because all the deepest desires and longings of his heart have yearned after such a deliverer, however little he may have been able even to dream of so glorious a fulfilment of those longings."<sup>3</sup>

III. The Incarnation may be further regarded as the divinely ordained means for the restoration of humanity.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> See this point further developed, below, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Trench, *The Miracles*, p. 77; cp. H. S. Holland. *Christ as Ecclesiastes*, esp. pp. 48-58.

According to ancient theologians, Christ came to "re-create the universe."<sup>1</sup> He is *the first and the last*. The Mediator in the work of creation is the natural Mediator in redemption. Ignatius speaks of Him as "the mind of God" (*γνώμη θεοῦ*); i.e. as the revealer of God's ultimate purpose for the world, and for humanity.

For the scriptural view of man is at once humbling and inspiring; it represents him as weakened and depraved, but encourages him by presenting a high ideal of his present capacities and ultimate destiny. The work of Jesus Christ may be looked at from this point of view as a revelation of the possibilities of our nature.<sup>2</sup> He represents man as he was intended to be; He fulfils the Divine ideal for our race.

How is this restoration effected?

1. Christ reveals man's destiny. In Him God sees humanity corresponding to His eternal purpose, fulfilling its true law; living in unbroken fellowship with Himself amid all the vicissitudes of creaturely life. He sees human nature *faithful unto death*, and perfected through suffering. So the apostolic writer to the Hebrews finds the explanation of man's present depression and failure, in the triumph which Christ has already achieved. As for man, in spite of the promised subjection of all things to him, *we see not yet all things subjected to Him. But we behold Him who hath been made a little lower than the angels, even Jesus, because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour.*<sup>3</sup>

2. Christ pays man's debt.<sup>4</sup> He takes humanity as it is, with all its obligations, its accumulated heritage of

<sup>1</sup> Ath. *de Incarn.* vii. ἀνακτίσαι τὰ ὅλα.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. iii. 18. 7; Christ's function as Mediator is θεῶ παραστήσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. ii. 8, 9; cp. Westcott's *Christus Consummator*, chap. II.

<sup>4</sup> Ath. *de Incarn.* ix.; Aug. *de Trin.* xiii. 18.

infirmity and pain; humanity as the Fall had left it, sin only excepted; and by an act of perfect obedience, to which His Divine person gave infinite merit, He discharged the debt of self-devotion which man owed to His Creator, and in so doing fulfilled man's most deeply seated aspirations. The doctrine of the Incarnation is the necessary foundation of any true conception of the Atonement.

3. Jesus Christ introduces into the heart of humanity a new regenerative force—the energy of His own spiritualised human nature, in order *that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us*.<sup>1</sup> In a noble passage, Chrysostom describes the miserable condition of stricken humanity as it lay, fevered with sin and polluted with defilement, appealing to the compassion of the good physician. “But what doeth He? Like an excellent physician He provideth remedies of great worth, and first tasteth them Himself. For He first followed after virtue, and so imparted it to us.”<sup>2</sup> It is the infusion of a new spiritual force that is the means of restoration,—the Divine life engrafted upon the stock of human nature.

4. Finally, Christ makes a moral appeal to man's heart. “Nothing was so needful to raise our hope as the display of the Divine love towards us.”<sup>3</sup> The Incarnation, as the assurance of Divine compassion, touches the conscience and the will through the heart. Christ speaks as a fellow-man, a fellow-sufferer, and in His acceptance of the extremities of our human lot makes known God's purpose towards us. *As many as received Him*, says S. John, *to them gave He power to become sons of God*; and the hope of filial fellowship

<sup>1</sup> Kom. viii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Hom. in Ep. ad Phil.* 289 E.

<sup>3</sup> *Aug. de Trin.* xiii. 13; cp. *de Trin.* viii. 7: “Hoc enim nobis prodest credere . . . , humilitatem qua natus est Deus ex femina . . . summum esse medicamentum quo superbiæ nostræ sanaretur tumor, et altum sacramentum quo peccati vinculum solveretur.”

with God rests on that which we behold actually realised in the life of Jesus Christ. Thus, as Gregory says, the Incarnation had a twofold end: *adjutorium et magisterium, exemplum et auxilium*. "To this end He appeared in flesh, that He might arouse humanity by His admonitions, stimulate it by providing an example, redeem it by dying, restore it by rising again."<sup>1</sup> Similarly Bernard explains 1 Cor. i. 30, "Christ was made unto us wisdom in His preaching, righteousness in His revelation of Divine forgiveness, sanctification in the example of His holy life, redemption in His passion whereby He paid the price of man's salvation."<sup>2</sup>

IV. The Incarnation is in a supreme sense the revelation of God. After long and gradual self-disclosure in Nature, God *spake unto us in a Son*.<sup>3</sup> Revelation has been a continuous process, of which the Incarnation is the culminating moment. It is needless at this point to argue with those who answer in the negative the question whether man can know God? That something is revealed in Nature concerning its Author few will deny; and we have already noticed that unless we content ourselves with a very narrow, arbitrary, and restricted idea of what Nature means, we must include in the term the highest thing within the range of our observation: the personality, will, and character of man. If, in fact, the laws of human character are not arbitrarily excluded from the sphere of Nature, it becomes "strictly scientific to derive notions of God from that human personality, which is the highest object within present experience;"<sup>4</sup> and since a wider view of

<sup>1</sup> Petav. *de Incarn.* ii. 6, § 1, quoting Greg. Mag. *xxi Moral.* c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> in *Cant.* Serm. xxii. §§ 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. i. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Illingworth, *Univ. and Cathedral Sermons*, p. 9. This thesis is worked out at length in the same writer's *Bampton Lectures*, "Personality, Human and Divine."

Nature compels us to conceive of God as personal, we can scarcely find difficulty in the alleged fact that He has revealed Himself, a capacity for self-communication being of the essence of personality. "Agnosticism," it has been justly said, "assumes a double incompetence—the incompetence not only of man to know God, but of God to make Himself known. But the denial of competence is the negation of Deity. For the God who could not speak would not be rational, and the God who would not speak would not be moral; and so, if Deity be at once intelligent and moral, there must be some kind or form of revelation."<sup>1</sup>

Here we touch again upon a point already noticed, namely, the fact that our attitude towards what claims to be a Divine revelation will depend on the presuppositions with which it is approached. In part, at least, the preconceived idea of God with which we examine the evidences of revelation is derived from what we know of human personality. The phenomena of personality suggest the probability that God will speak to man, and will educate his capacities for apprehending the revelation when it comes. For men are spiritual beings, and a revelation which is addressed to such "does not constrain us mechanically to receive the truth, but enables us to know it; does not merely tell us what God would have us believe, but raises us into conscious intelligent sympathy with His mind and will."<sup>2</sup> And the history of revelation exhibits exactly this phenomenon. Parallel with the outward self-manifestation of God in history is an inward action on man's spiritual faculties. Revelation and inspiration, history and prophecy, seem to be complementary facts of experience. The Divine reason imparts to the objects known their truth, and to the

<sup>1</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Caird, *Philosophy of Religion*, chap. 8.

knowing subject his power.<sup>1</sup> The ground of reality and the basis of knowledge alike are to be found in God.

Two points demand attention in this connection—(1) the substance of the revelation of God implied in the Incarnation; (2) the nature of its appeal.

1. The Incarnation supplements the testimony of organic nature, and of human conscience and character. In Nature God reveals Himself in His power and Godhead; He displays His omnipotence and wisdom; in a word, He manifests Himself as a Being possessed of will and intelligence. If it be true that our notion of causality is derived from observation of our own will, we are forced to ascribe to the first cause what we find to be the central force within ourselves.<sup>2</sup> And further, Nature reveals intelligence. In its modern form the argument from Design comes to this, that natural selection is not an arbitrary or haphazard force, but, as is clear from the immense range, and graduated scale of its operations, it is evidently under the control of a designing mind, having a definite purpose, of which in fact our knowledge is only partial and fragmentary.<sup>3</sup> Finally, when we consider the appeal that Nature makes to the sense of beauty,—the direct action, as it would seem, of spirit upon spirit, we gain an enlarged sense of the constancy and directness with which Nature witnesses to the being and character of its author. And beyond

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Plato, *Repub.* vi. 508 E.

<sup>2</sup> Mill, *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 146, thus describes the argument: "In voluntary action alone we see a commencement—an origination of motion; since all other causes appear incapable of this origination, experience is in favour of the conclusion that all the motion in existence owed its beginning to this one cause—voluntary agency, if not that of man, then of a more powerful being."

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 152, ff.; Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, No. iv. The modern form of the argument from design is admirably stated by G. J. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 67.

the witness of organic nature is that of conscience and history. "The world," says Dr. Martineau, "reports the power, reflects the beauty, spreads abroad the majesty of the supreme cause; but we cannot speak of higher attributes, and apprehend the positive grounds of trust and love, without entering the precincts of humanity."<sup>1</sup> In history God reveals Himself as something more concrete than "a tendency, not ourselves, making for righteousness." In judgments and catastrophes a character displays itself, which the presages of conscience invest with clearer outlines. Conscience at least reveals God as personal. "If the sense of authority means anything, it means the discernment of something higher than we; but what am I?—a person—higher than whom no 'thing' assuredly, no mere phenomenon, can be, but only another person, greater and higher and of deeper insight."<sup>2</sup> Conscience reveals God as a righteous person standing in direct relation to the moral beings whom He has called into existence.

But it may be asked, Can we go no further than this? is it true that Nature and Conscience reveal nothing in the Divine Personality beyond infinite power, calm and inflexible constancy of purpose, righteous will? Butler appears to answer this question tentatively when he points to traces even in Nature of a dispensation of compassion or mercy.<sup>3</sup> More recently indications have been noted that a principle of self-sacrifice has acted as at least a partial factor in development, and that the prevalence of pain in Nature has been overstated;<sup>4</sup> that, in short, Nature reveals a being who is guided by a purpose

<sup>1</sup> *Seat of Authority in Religion*, bk. i. chap. i. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. p. 104; cp. *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, pp. 70, 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Analogy*, pt. ii. chap. v.

<sup>4</sup> See Wallace, *Darwinism*, chap. ii.; Drummond, *Ascent of Man*.

of love. Such a line of thought is welcome as rendering antecedently credible the new word of God which comes to man in Jesus Christ.

For Jesus Christ finally reveals God's nature and character. "If," says Luthardt, perhaps somewhat unguardedly, "we could penetrate all space, we should find but the gospel of power; if we could survey all time, we should see but the gospel of righteousness. We can know the gospel of grace only in Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup> In Him redeeming grace and love are finally revealed as belonging to the essence of God's Being. "Characteristic of the Divine activity is the salvation of those in need," says Gregory of Nyssa. "The love of man is a proper attribute of the Divine nature."<sup>2</sup> Christ incarnate not only teaches us something of God's nature by indicating that in the Divine Being relationships exist; that God is no mere barren unity, but that to Him belongs an unending, self-sufficing life of love. He also authoritatively reveals the Divine character, the gracious possibilities of heavenly compassion and grace. Accordingly we can point "behind the physical appearances" of Nature to a "moral justification." Over against the impression produced by the severity and relentless sternness of natural laws,<sup>3</sup> we are able to set the revelation of God involved in the life of Him who *went about doing good*, who *pleased not Himself*, who was made *perfect through sufferings*. His relation to pain is an historic fact; a sinful personality has actually suffered the worst that could befall the most guilty. And in the event the fact of suffering is explained; in the light of the resurrection pain is seen to be the way of man's exaltation, and the means whereby he attains to the fulfilment of his true

<sup>1</sup> *Fundamental Truths*, etc., p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. Cat.* xxxvi. and xv.

<sup>3</sup> See a statement in G. J. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, pp. 76, ff.

destiny.<sup>1</sup> In some sense it must be true that Love is the key to the history of the universe, and thus

“Consolation springs  
From sources deeper far than deepest pain.”

In Jesus Christ, then, Divine revelation culminates, for He claims that the Father is *in Him*. The sight of Him is the sight of God; <sup>2</sup> the love He bears towards man is the love of God. He answers man's cry, “Can God be known,” by pointing to Himself not merely as One who knows God, but as One in whom God Himself is unveiled, and in so doing He satisfies the deepest spiritual needs of mankind, burdened with the sense of universal suffering and sin. For as has been finely said, “What is needed is such a living faith in God's relation to man as shall leave no place for that helpless resentment against the appointed order so apt to rise within us at the sight of undeserved pain. And this faith is possessed by those who vividly realise the Christian form of theism. For they worship One who is no remote contriver of a universe to whose ills He is indifferent. If they suffer, did He not on their account suffer also? If suffering falls not always on the most guilty, was He not innocent? Shall they cry aloud that the world is ill-designed for their convenience when He for their sakes subjected Himself to its conditions?” <sup>3</sup>

2. It remains to consider the nature of the appeal made by revelation. It is the constant teaching of Scripture that for the knowledge of God a certain moral quality or affinity is necessary. *He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love.*<sup>4</sup> In other words, revelation is supported by moral, not demonstrative evidence, and responds to wants, capacities, and instincts which

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Heb. ii. 5-10.

<sup>2</sup> S. Jo. xiv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Balfour, *The Foundations of Belief*, p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> 1 S. Jo. iv. 8; cp. the maxim, “*Scientia Dei sapientia potius quam scientia*” (Alex. Alens.).

must be properly developed before the evidence can be fairly estimated. Revelation does not and cannot appeal to reason only. It makes an imperious claim on man's entire nature; it brings direct motives to bear on will. Thus without the sense of dependence on a creator, without the presages of conscience, the hope of immortality, the sense of sin, and the desire to be free from it—in a word, in the absence of certain great primary needs of the soul—the Incarnation cannot but be antecedently incredible. Our ground of belief is an antecedent sense of probability responding to, or uniting with, external evidence. It is therefore strictly relevant to the question of evidences in such a subject-matter to ask whether the facts testified correspond to our nature, supply its spiritual wants, explain its present condition, and satisfy its upward aspirations. Much has been said and written as to this question of the logical cogency of faith.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion of the matter is perhaps summarily expressed in a sentence of Dr. Newman's: "As a general rule, religious minds embrace the gospel mainly on the great antecedent probability of a revelation and the suitability of the gospel to their needs."<sup>2</sup> Or in the words of a more recent writer: "It is undoubtedly the case that just as the truths of religion account for and appeal to his [man's] whole being, so the evidence for them appeals to his whole being also. For its complete appreciation there are requirements other than intellectual. There must be not only certain endowments of mind, but the life of a spiritual being. There must be moral affections, moral perceptions, spiritual affinities and satisfactions."<sup>3</sup> In a

<sup>1</sup> See especially Newman, *Gram. of Assent*, and *Univ. Sermons*, x., xi., xii.; Mozley, *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, No. 1; Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Univ. Serm.*, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> R. C. Moberly in *Lux Mundi*, pp. 229, 230.

word, *pectus facit theologum*. A certain preparedness of heart, a certain submissiveness of will, is needful for the estimation of evidence in matters of religious truth. Divine truth is not dead, or abstract, or inert—making no claim on the will and shedding no warmth on the heart.<sup>1</sup> Truth finds man, rather than man truth; and its appeal is before all else to his will, to his faculty of self-surrender.

It is from this point of view that we approach the historic evidence of the Incarnation. The testimony is not of such a character as will compel belief. Revelation is addressed to man as rational and free; it presents itself authoritatively indeed, but not with an absolute or peremptory authority. The evidence is cogent, but not absolutely demonstrative, and it therefore leaves room for the play of character and individuality. The evidence of the Incarnation is weighty, but falls short of carrying absolute conviction unless the idea of Divine condescension is antecedently credible. Historic testimony is of no avail when it is approached with a negative bias which prejudices the case. It has "no power to produce religious faith in a revelation not in itself acceptable or self-evidencing."<sup>2</sup> We must approach it with a consciousness of needs and experiences with which the Incarnation will be coherent; not asking for scientific certainty, but for tokens corresponding to our sense of probability

### § III. EVIDENCE FOR THE INCARNATION

The Evidence for the Incarnation may be conveniently summarised under four main heads.

1. The fact of apostolic belief. A careful study of the Gospels and Epistles will show us how the apostles came by their belief in Jesus Christ. It will be our duty to

<sup>1</sup> See conclusion of Mozley's *Essay on Blanco White*.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 494; cp. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, chap. iii.

investigate the account in the second part. It is enough to say, at this point, that the apostles were led on slowly and hesitatingly through intimacy with Christ to the solemn conviction that He was the very Son of God. The crowning fact that proved this was the Resurrection. It is consequently on this event that their testimony concentrates itself, and all subsequent organisation of the Church seems to have been intended to secure a valid and formal witness of this one fact.

Why is the evidence so cogent?

First, because of the character of the witnesses. They are plain, literal-minded men, who profess that *they cannot but speak the things which they have heard and seen*.<sup>1</sup> They tell their story on the very spot where the events which they testified had occurred, and there they deliberately remain.<sup>2</sup> Nothing can shake the strength of their conviction. They persist in declaring it even under every imaginable form of hostile pressure. As to the occurrence of this one fact all are unanimously agreed in spite of the variety of their character, their independence of mind, and their unimaginative temperament.<sup>3</sup> Further, we may fairly insist on the striking change which as a matter of fact the resurrection produced in them. Our Lord's death had scattered them. All had forsaken Him and fled. Their slowness of belief was proof against all announcements that He had risen; He Himself *upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart*. How is it that when once the resurrection is believed their whole character is changed? How come these timid, despairing men to be so strenuous, confident, and bold in telling their story and preaching the risen Christ? Did ever imagination or hallucination produce

<sup>1</sup> Acts iv. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See H. S. Holland, *On Behalf of Belief*, Sermon on *The Gospel Witness*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, chap. viii.

a change so complete and so permanent? <sup>1</sup> At least there can be no question in regard to the robust solidity of the apostolic belief, and, indeed, the reality of the fact is the only key to the problem involved in the wonderful change that comes over the men themselves, and the only adequate explanation of the results which they achieved in the strength of their conviction.

2. Another department of evidence is constituted by the rise and progress, the permanent continuance, the world-wide expansion, and the peculiar institutions of the Christian Church. The apostolic office is based on the fact of the resurrection, the weekly and yearly commemoration of which is perpetuated in the observance of Sunday and Easter Day. The life of the Christian Church is indeed "a great fact which everyone ought to measure." <sup>2</sup> For the Church claims to be the product of the Incarnation; it is a living organism which cannot be explained apart from the living Person from whom it derives its life. No collection of forces within humanity itself can have created the Church. "To read the history of the Christian Church," says a modern writer, "without the belief that Christ has been in vital and organic relation with it, seems to me to read it under the impression that a profound illusion can for centuries exercise more power for good than the truth." <sup>3</sup> Indeed, we have only to consider what the Church is and has been, and how Christ's prophecies were fulfilled in its history, to estimate Gibbon's "five causes" at their true value. <sup>4</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 120. So Coleridge speaks of the evidential value of "the standing miracle of a Christendom commensurate and almost synonymous with the civilised world" (qu. by Trench, *Miracles*, p. 60).

<sup>3</sup> Hutton, *Theological Essays* (ed. 3), p. 285. Cp. Illingworth in *Luz Mundi*, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> Newman, *Gram. of Assent* (ed. 6), p. 457.

the assertion that the Church "created" or invented the representation of Christ's person leaves the Church itself a phenomenon to be accounted for.<sup>1</sup> We may, in fact, apply to the Church an observation of Dr. Martineau, which concerns the origin of the physical universe, "Whatever you would require as adequate to the last term must already be present in the first."<sup>2</sup> If the permanence and vitality of Christianity is a fact of experience, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Church lives in virtue of its dependence on an originating cause. Christianity, in fact, cannot be explained apart from Christ.

3. Another field of evidence lies open in the spiritual experience of Christians. It is an argument to which Cyprian appeals in his *Epistle to Donatus*. *Dei est, inquam, Dei omne quod possumus*.<sup>3</sup> The grace of God, the fruits of the Incarnation, are as a matter of fact tested by the experience of Christians. In every age and every class of mankind are found those who have verified Christ's promises; have set to their seal that God is true; have tasted the joy of Divine forgiveness, the workings of grace, the blessedness of a Divine presence sustaining them. Thus the figure of Christ presented in the Gospels is "intimately, indissolubly linked with the whole vast movement whose beginning they describe."<sup>4</sup> It may be justly urged that it is unscientific in any appeal to experience to omit the well-attested facts of man's spiritual history. From S. Paul and Augustine downwards, there is a long line of witnesses who are unanimous in attributing miracles of spiritual power to Jesus

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *Doc. of the Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Seal of Authority*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *ad Donat.* c. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 198. Cp. the same writer's *Univ. and Cathedral Sermons*, pp. 28-30; Dale, *The Living Christ*, etc., chaps. i. and ii.

Christ. Here then we have a class of facts for which only the Incarnation can adequately account. The moral victories of the gospel are, we find, often urged by Christian apologists as a ground of belief in the truth of the Incarnation. Cyprian, for instance, appeals to the facts of personal experience,—the illuminating, cleansing power of the Christian sacrament of baptism in his own case.<sup>1</sup> Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa<sup>2</sup> dwell on the moral miracles which Christ has achieved in human society, His power to subdue the hearts of multitudes, and to deliver them from the fear of death and the taint of sin; the evanescence and decay of idolatry; the supernatural endurance of the martyrs; the disappearance of the superstitions, the pollutions, the cruelties of heathendom. “To those,” says Gregory, “who do not wilfully resist the truth, no slight demonstration of the Divine Incarnation is afforded by the testimony of the facts themselves.” The ruins of the Jewish temple, the deserted and decaying shrines of heathen deities, alike witnessed to the Redeemer’s triumph.

4. One more group of facts must be noticed, namely, those presented by the literary products of the second half of the first century. The Incarnation alone satisfactorily accounts for the portrait of Christ contained in S. Paul’s earliest Epistles. S. Paul, it has been said, “is a history in himself, man and system alike being in need of explanation.”<sup>3</sup> Now there are four Epistles universally acknowledged to be S. Paul’s, written between the years 57 and 59, *i.e.* within thirty years of the ascension. These contain—(1) a certain view of Christ’s person. Christ is Divine: the phrase *Son of God* occurs

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. ad Donatum.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. de Incarn.* xxix.—xxxi. and xlvi.—lv.; *Greg. Nyss. Orat. Catech.* xviii.; *ep. Just. M. Apol.* i. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 246.

fourteen times. He is called *Image of God, Power and Wisdom of God, Messiah, Lord*. He is represented as the revealer of God, the instrument in creation, a pre-existent Being, yet really human, having *begged Himself* for man's sake, sinless and a propitiation for sin, *a quickening spirit*.<sup>1</sup> (2) There also underlies these Epistles a tradition as to the facts of Christ's life: His birth, His life of poverty, His institution of the Eucharist, His crucifixion and resurrection, His claim to judge the world.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the Pauline portrait there is the picture of the synoptic Gospels to be accounted for. There is, it is true, much dispute as to the mode of their formation; opinion inclines to the hypothesis of one or even two or more fundamental documents, one at least approximating to the Gospel of S. Mark, the other to that of S. Matthew. But it is on the whole the prevalent view that the three Gospels existed in their present shape before the year 80 A.D., and they appear to represent a collective tradition. Now we find that S. Paul's account of the method of Christ's manifestation, the gradual recognition by men of His Divine nature through experience of His humanity, corresponds to the process of belief as described in the synoptic account. Accordingly we are left to account for a many-sided portrait of Christ, which on the surface at any rate seems to harmonise readily with the substantial reality of the Christian belief as to His person. Theories which represent the gospel account of Christ's person and claim as an afterthought, must inevitably proceed on *a priori* grounds. They do not profess to accept the records as they stand. The Gospels on this theory

<sup>1</sup> See 2 Cor. iv. 4; 1 Cor. i. 24; 2 Cor. iv. 6; 1 Cor. viii. 6; 1 Cor. x. 4, 5; Gal. iv. 4; Rom. viii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 21; Rom. iii. 24 f.; 1 Cor. xv. 45.

<sup>2</sup> This is implied in Rom. ii. 16; 2 Cor. v. 10. Cp. Sanday, *Oxf. House Papers*, No. iv. "What the first Christians thought of Christ."

represent "a Christian mythology"; they are products of "the retrospective anxiety of tradition to force upon [Christ] a theory of His person, of which first Himself and then His religion has been the victim."<sup>1</sup> And thus in point of fact we are left to choose between the acceptance of the Incarnation as a fact, and the supposition that the Gospels represent a late and artificial belief or fancy which persisted in ascribing to a mere man claims and sayings, acts and institutions, which are utterly alien to his historical character and spirit.

It will have been observed that the Incarnation has been dealt with in the preceding pages as a *hypothesis*, the actual truth of which is necessary to account for the results which have appeared to follow from it. This is the only kind of testimony by which such a fact could be supported. The question is whether an Incarnation of God is coherent with known historical facts, and with the general impression derived from the study of human nature and history. Looking thus at the Incarnation, we cannot but admit that "the story fits in with known facts. It is rooted in a great supernatural history. Its supernatural elements are vitally related to the actual order of the world, and are necessary to account for some of the greatest events in the subsequent history of mankind."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Dale, *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*, pp. 86-90.

## PART II

## SCRIPTURAL PRESENTATION

### § I. Witness of the Old Testament.

1. Doctrine of Man.
2. Doctrine of the Divine Immanence; The Theophanies.
3. Intimation of plurality of persons in the Godhead.
4. Doctrine of the Messiah in the Old Testament and later literature.

## § I. WITNESS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE antecedent probability of such an event as the Incarnation is to be judged, partly at least, by its relation to the previous anticipations of mankind. Christianity makes its appeal, for instance in S. Paul's sermon at Athens, to truths already impressed on mankind by reflection and the action of conscience; to the knowledge of God already attained. Natural religion prepares the way for further self-disclosures of God, and one of its most important effects on the mind is the anticipation or desire which it produces that a revelation may be given.<sup>1</sup> So Gregory of Nyssa insists that our true starting-point in estimating the probability of the Incarnation is to consider the "pious conceptions of Deity" already current.<sup>2</sup> Now, the Jewish race in particular had been the subjects of a special religious education. Israel was "a sacred school of Divine knowledge for the whole world."<sup>3</sup> In the Old Testament we find, as a matter of fact, the loftiest doctrine of God's nature hitherto attained by mankind, and the clearest anticipations of a further self-manifestation. And it should be observed that the Jewish Scriptures seem to embrace the record of God's preparatory dealings, not only with Israel, but with the Gentiles. The books of Job and of Ecclesiastes may be studied as representing in general outline the final expectations of the ancient heathen world. In Job we see a righteous man, not himself a member of the covenant people, filled with awe at the manifestations in Nature of Divine power and wisdom, and waiting in humble submission for a new

<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Gram. of Assent*, p. 423. See generally chap. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. Cat.* xix. : τὴν οὖν ἄν γένοιτο ἀρχή; . . . τὴν ἄλλη ἢ τὸ τὰς εὐσεβείας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπολήψεις ἐπὶ κεφαλαιῶν διεξελεθῆναι.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. de Incarn.* xii.

self-disclosure of God ; while the writer of Ecclesiastes concludes his book with the presage of a moment of Divine judgment which shall finally reveal the character and purpose of the Being whose dealings in human life and history are so full of mystery and anomaly. Thus it becomes necessary to study the witness of the Old Testament.

i. The Old Testament doctrine of Man.

Man is made in the *image of God*<sup>1</sup> (Gen. i. 26, ix. 6). It is difficult to determine the precise significance of this expression ; but at least it implies that both in nature and destiny man is "theomorphic."

1. In nature : man is possessed of free and rational personality, capable of communing with God, and standing in a necessary relation to ethical good. As such, he is the representative of creation, the high-priest of nature, recapitulating the material universe, and acting as God's vicegerent in relation to it (Gen. i. 28) ; involving it therefore in the consequences of his fall.<sup>2</sup> Thus it may be said with truth that the *image of God* involves "the whole superiority of man over the sub-human creation, his higher bodily and spiritual equipment, which makes him capable of lordship over the earth."<sup>3</sup>

2. In destiny : man is "theomorphic" ; he was made in God's image, and consequently possessed a natural

<sup>1</sup> A summary of patristic opinions is given by Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 56. According to Petavius (*de Incarn.* ii. 7, § 7), the expression "image" has two senses—(1) essential—the reasoning faculty ; (2) accidental—the wisdom and virtue in which consists perfection. The fall deprived man of the second, but not of the first. "Decus et ornamentum sive perfectionem illius amisit eamque iacturam transmisit in posterum." The gift of "perfection" involved *sapientia, integra libertatis functio, imperium et dominatus in animalia cetera, immortalitas*. This lost "image of God" Christ came to restore. Cp. Iren. v. 16. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Oehler, *Theol. of the O.T.* § 68 ; Westcott, *The Gospel of Creation* ; Wace, *Boyle Lectures*, Ser. ii. Lect. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Pfleiderer, *Phil. and Devel. of Religion*, vol. i. p. 205.

affinity to God, a natural aptitude for union with Him. His very body was so framed as to be capable of representing in a measure the form of Deity (Ezek. i. 26). The Divine plan was only interrupted by the fall; sin has disturbed and retarded the natural development of man, but is foreign to the true law and essence of his being. Man is destined, then, for union with God, and is capable of progress in assimilation to Him. *The likeness of God* is the appointed goal of his moral development. The Incarnation being the appointed means of perfecting human nature according to its Divine ideal, and lifting it into union with the Divine life, men may become in Christ *partakers of the Divine nature*. "He became human," says Athanasius, "that we might be made Divine."<sup>1</sup> Christian thinkers have recognised in the fact that man wears the image of God, at once a prophecy of the Incarnation, and a pledge of man's ultimate exaltation into the life of fellowship with God.

## ii. Doctrine of the Divine immanence.

In the Old Testament the Divine Being is represented as holding converse with man, and revealing Himself in various ways through visions, dreams, voices, the spirit of prophecy, and the ministry of an angel. Such immanence pointed ever to a more explicit self-manifestation. "From the beginning," says Irenæus, "the Son has been present with His creature, revealing to all the Father—even to those whom the Father wills, and when He wills, and as He wills."<sup>2</sup> Further, the doctrine of the Divine image implied that within the Divine Being existed in some sense the archetype of humanity. So Tertullian argues from the texts, *Let us make man*, and *In the image of God created He him*, that the second

<sup>1</sup> 2 Pet. i. 4. Ath. *de Incarn.* li. : *ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν.*

<sup>2</sup> Iren. iv. 6, 7; *op. the argument of Ath. de Incarn.* xli., xlii.

mention of God points to a distinction of persons within the Deity.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection we should specially notice what is implied in the *theophanies* of the Old Testament, as manifestations preparing men for an incarnation of Deity.

The earliest view of the *אֱלֹהִים* was that He was the second Person of the Trinity.<sup>2</sup> The lowest view, perhaps, requires that we should believe there was in Him at least a special presence of God.<sup>3</sup> Augustine insists that the theophanies were self-manifestations of God through a created being; in this finite spirit God personally presents Himself: Jehovah is in him. Oehler notes that the same expressions are used in speaking of the representation of God by the *Mal'akh* as in describing the Divine indwelling in the sanctuary; in both is the Divine "name" and the Divine "countenance." If the *Shekinah* be a real presence of God, "a sinking of the Divine into the sphere of the creature," so also is the *Mal'akh*.<sup>4</sup>

All these manifestations point—

(a) To the possibility of personal converse between God and man. This impression is strengthened by a free use of *anthropomorphisms* in describing God's dealings with man.<sup>5</sup>

(b) To the possibility of God revealing Himself through and in a created form. God was "training His people . . . at length to recognise and to worship Him when hidden under and indissolubly one with a created nature."<sup>6</sup> They are, as Bull says, "a prelude of the Incarnation."

<sup>1</sup> Tert. *adv. Prax.* xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See testimonies in Bull, *Def. fid. Nic.* lib. i. c. i.

<sup>3</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 53-59.

<sup>4</sup> Oehler, *Theol. of the O. T.* §§ 59, 60.

<sup>5</sup> Oehler, *op. cit.* § 46.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Novatian, *de Trin.* xviii.

(c) To a twofold relation of God to man: on the one hand God is hidden, on the other revealed. In His essential nature He is invisible (Ex. xxxiii. 20). The gradual development of the idea of the Divine *holiness* implies a constantly increasing sense of the transcendence of God, —His separateness from creation. Thus later prophecy (Isai. xl. 25) connects the conception of moral holiness with that of a spiritual being who cannot be represented in material form.<sup>1</sup> Yet the tendency to anthropomorphic expressions in relation to the Divine Being seems to be heightened in the later stages of Israel's history. We have to account for the strange fact that in those books of the Old Testament in which the strongest protest is made against material modes of conceiving the Divine Being, we have the most frequent use of anthropomorphisms.<sup>2</sup>

### iii. Intimations of a plurality of persons in God.

#### 1. The names *Elohim* and *Jehovah* (*Jahveh*).

The name *Elohim* cannot nowadays be pressed in the same way as formerly.<sup>3</sup> The plural is perhaps intensive—the general notion being “fulness of might.”<sup>4</sup> But in any case the form of the word combats the notion of a sterile monotheism by implying that all Divine powers and functions, which the heathen distributed among many deities, are concentrated in one being (cp. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6). It is noteworthy that in certain passages, e.g. Gen. i. 26, *Let us make man* (cp. iii. 22, xi. 7; Isai. vi. 8), the Deity is represented as speaking

<sup>1</sup> Oehler, § 46.

<sup>2</sup> Novatian, *de Trin.* vi., makes some interesting remarks on the meaning of anthropomorphic expressions in the Old Testament.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 49 ff.; Oehler, § 86.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. קרשים in Prov. ix. 10, xxx. 3, as an equivalent of יהוה. Some would regard the word as a remnant of primitive polytheistic ideas. See Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 172 and 502; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 150 f., 426.

on behalf of other heavenly beings who surround Him.

The name *Jahveh*, too, as designating a spiritual being who is identified with other Divine powers and attributes, and so reveals Himself under a variety of names, shows that the idea of God in Jewish monotheism is not a bare unit. "His nature can only be apprehended as that which involves diversity as well as unity."<sup>1</sup>

2. The Old Testament doctrine, both of the Angel and of the Spirit, prepares the way for a doctrine of the Trinity. In the Spirit, as in the Angel, is a special presence and special action of Jehovah.<sup>2</sup>

3. Triplication of the Divine Name—beyond any point we can call accidental, *e.g.*, the priestly blessing (Num. vi. 23 f.).

4. The doctrine of the Divine Wisdom.

In the book of Proverbs (*e.g.*, viii. 22) Wisdom is introduced as a quasi-personal being distinct from God. She is personified, but never perhaps actually hypostatized.<sup>3</sup> She is no mere attribute of Deity, but the creating, energising, all-subduing, and ordering *Thought* (*voûs*) of God—the Divine plan of the universe, the summary of the ideas embodied in creation. In the Wisdom-doctrine of the Old Testament we can discern progressive stages. Thus in Prov. viii. and Job xxviii. Wisdom is personified as a being distinct from God. In later books she is represented as at once emanating from God (Wisd. vii. 23–25) and immanent in nature (*ib.* viii. 1 f.). The ascription to her of personality is more clearly marked. Finally, in the Philonic doctrine of the Logos, which is the true complement of the Wisdom-doctrine, and is almost anticipated in such a passage as Wisd. xviii. 15

<sup>1</sup> Caird, *Phil. of Religion*, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Schnltz, *O. T. Theology*, vol. ii. p. 214 foll.

<sup>3</sup> This is a controverted point, and not easy to determine. Doubtless the language used about Wisdom reacted on the conception.

we seem to stand on the very verge of the New Testament doctrine. Indeed, these personifications of Wisdom 'mark the highest point to which Hebrew thought on the world rose.'<sup>1</sup> It is a difficult question to decide how far the Wisdom-doctrine in its later form betrays the intrusion of Hellenic thought, but it may be fairly maintained that the tendency to regard Wisdom as the highest moral principle in the universe is characteristically Jewish. It culminates in the lofty Philonic conception of the Logos as "second God," "servant," "archangel," etc., of the Most High.

Much has been written about Philo's doctrine of the Divine Logos. His theology is a blending of Stoic, Platonistic, and Judaistic elements; and his Logos-doctrine is based on the transcendental conception of God which he inherited from his religion. In His self-existence, His absolute essence, God is incomprehensible; He is without attributes; we know only that He is. The Logos, on the other hand, is the operative reason of God, the power through which the Deity comes into contact with the universe. Philo, however, appears to alternate between two conceptions of the Logos. On the one hand, He is immanent in the universe—scarcely distinguishable from the cosmos of which He is the inward principle; on the other, as the ideal of the universe, and as comprehending in Himself the different forces which produce it, He is transcendent, and has His abode within the Divine essence.<sup>2</sup> But, speaking generally, the Logos in the system of Philo occupies a ministerial, mediating position;

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, *Book of Job*, Introd. p. lxii. For a sketch of the Wisdom-doctrine, see Farrar, Introd. to "Book of Wisdom" in *Speaker's Commentary*; Dorner, *Doc. of the Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. pp. 16 f.; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 60-63; Oehler, §§ 235-242.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. pp. 95-99; Dorner, div. i. vol. i. p. 27; Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, etc. pp. 405 ff.; Pfeleiderer, *Phil. and Devel. of Religion*, vol. i. p. 123.

He is a creative and administrative instrument, translating the Divine idea of which He is the expression into concrete facts and laws.

It cannot be said that the Logos is anywhere regarded by Philo as strictly personal, but perhaps the simple reason is, as Dr. Martineau points out, that "the conception of personality as now held is a later acquisition of the Western European mind, and has no equivalent in the philosophy which threw itself into the old Greek moulds of thought."<sup>1</sup> It may be confidently maintained, however, that in closely connecting the idea of creation with the idea of the activity of the Logos, Philo recognises at least a distinct *function*, if not a distinct *personality*, and thus a path is opened towards a fuller recognition of distinctions within the Divine Being. In view of His lofty functions, the relation of the Logos to God cannot be that of a mere attribute to a substance. Some of the terms which Philo applies to the Logos anticipate to a certain extent the Logos-doctrine of S. John. Though S. John does not seem to be dependent on the Philonic idea of the Logos, it was through the influence of Philo's system that the thought of *mediation* between God and creation became fixed in a form from which it could never again be disconnected. "As the mediator of the creation, the Logos is also the mediator of all religious revelation. He is therefore called, on the one hand, the Servant, Ambassador, Substitute, Interpreter, Angel of God, and, on the other, the Representative, High-Priest, Intercessor, and Advocate (Paraclete) of men."<sup>2</sup> "This shadowy form of the Philonic Logos which wavers between conceptual abstraction and personality could naturally not suffice to satisfy the religious need of a real historical revelation of God; but its great historical

<sup>1</sup> *Seat of Authority*, etc. p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> Pfeiderer, *Phil. and Devel. of Religion*, vol. ii. p. 227.

significance consisted in this, that it prepared the conceptual form for the theological apprehension and expression of the new revelation in Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup> Beyond this point the influence of Philo's system cannot be said to extend. There is no trace of it in the teaching of S. Paul, and the central thought of S. John, the identification of the Divine Logos with the historical Messiah, seems to have been remote from Philo's mind. Further, in so intellectual a system as his, the function of faith appears relatively insignificant; while the Christian ideas of atonement, forgiveness, sacrifice, priesthood seem to have little or no meaning. Indeed, we see in the case of such a Platonist as Clement how alien are these ideas from the general tone of his thought.<sup>2</sup>

#### iv. Doctrine of Messiah.

The yearning for Messiah was at its root an anticipation of the union of Divine and human attributes in a single personality.

<sup>1</sup> Pfeiderer, *Phil. and Devel. of Religion*, vol. i. p. 123. A typical passage of Philo describing the functions of the Logos is found in *Quis rer. div. hæres*, i. 42. [Franckf. 1691, p. 509 B & C.]

τῷ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ λόγῳ δωρεὰν ἐξαιρετὸν ἔδωκεν ὁ τὰ δὲ γενήσας πατήρ, ἵνα μεθόριος στὰς τὸ γερόμενον διακρίνη τοῦ πεποιηκότος, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἰκέτης μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ κηραίνοντος αἰετὸς πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον, πρεσβευτὴς δὲ τοῦ ἡγέμονος πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον. ἀγάλλεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ, καὶ σεμνυόμενος αὐτῆν ἐκδιηγείται φάσκων· "κἀγὼ εἰσήκειν ἀπὸ μέσον κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν, οὔτε ἀγέννητος ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὢν, οὔτε γέννητος ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ μέσος τῶν ἀκρων, ἀμφοτέροις ὁμηρεύων, παρὰ μὲν τῷ φυτεῦσασθαι πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ σύμπαρ ἀφανίσαι ποτε καὶ ἀποστήραι τὸ γένος ἀκοσμίαν ἀπὲρ κόσμου ἐλθόμενος, παρὰ δὲ τῷ φῶντι πρὸς εὐελπίστια τῷ μήποτε τὸν ἕλεον θεῶν περιδεῖν τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσομαι τὰ εἰρηναῖα γενέσει παρὰ τοῦ καθαυρῆν πολέμου ἐγγνωκὸτος εἰρηνοφύλακος αἰετὸς θεοῦ." I owe the reference to Dr. Martineau's *Seat of Authority*.

As to Philo's later influence on Christian theology (esp. his exegetic methods), see Harnack, *l.c.*; also Pfeiderer, *Phil. and Devel. of Religion* vol. ii. Lect. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Lect. i. pp. 25, 26.

In tracing the history of this Messianic expectation, we may distinguish four stages.<sup>1</sup>

1. In the first stage, recorded in the Pentateuch, prophecy is vague and indeterminate. It begins with a promise to the race of mankind, according to which "antagonism to evil is decreed to be the law of humanity"<sup>2</sup> (Gen. iii. 15). This is further defined in the promise of a seed (צֶרֶם) to Abraham through whom the world is to be blessed—a promise which is repeated to Isaac and to Jacob (Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14). It should be noticed that though the Hebrew term is collective in form, it suggests, both in its primary reference to Isaac and in its ultimate application, an *individual*.<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlix. 10 points to the tribe of Judah, possibly to some individual chief, as the future holder of sovereignty over Abraham's descendants. With this we may compare the oracle of Balaam (Num. xxiv. 17), which hints at the sway of an individual, proceeding from Israel and extending over other nations. The words which tradition ascribes to Moses in Deut. xviii. 15–19 primarily refer to a prophetic *order*, but contribute an element to the Messianic idea, namely, the notion of a prophetic mediator through whom God will speak authoritatively to His people. The future ruler and lawgiver is to be in some sense a representative of God; and thus the moral and spiritual purpose of the future kingdom is indicated.

2. So far prophecy has been indeterminate, but the Messianic hope is found to take definite shape in the reigns of David and Solomon. The intervening period had not indeed been without its effect in giving depth and extension to the national hope. The deliverance

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Driver, *Sermons on the Old Testament*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Lightfoot on Gal. iii. 16.

from Egypt and settlement in Canaan was regarded as a great manifestation of Israel's God, by which He was declared to be supreme and unique among gods, and willing to fight on behalf of the people of His choice. Israel becomes conscious of its vocation as God's people. Thus the kingdom, when in due course it was actually founded, was naturally regarded in a theocratic light. The central idea of Messianic prediction is defined in the oracle of 2 Sam. vii. 5-16, which seems to have had a marked influence on the future direction of prophecy, and forms the starting-point of the Messianic teaching contained in the psalms. Three great ideas may be discerned in this oracle—(1) the Messiah is to be a son of David, *i.e. of human descent*. Henceforth the title "the Lord's anointed" acquires new significance. Originally *משח* (*χριστός*) denoted every one, especially the high priest, who was anointed with the holy oil; thus it would be applied to any organ of revelation. But henceforth it becomes specially the title of the theocratic king,<sup>1</sup> and is gradually limited to a descendant of the house of David.

(2) By a Divine covenant of grace, David's house and throne are to be *everlasting*. This interpretation is given to the oracle by the authors of Psalms lxxxix. and cxxxii.<sup>2</sup> The hope of everlasting dominion was destined to outlast the lowest humiliation that might overtake David's descendants.

(3) The theocratic king is henceforth to stand in a peculiar relation to God as His *son* (2 Sam. vii. 14; Pss. ii. and lxxxix.). "Sonship," perhaps, implies primarily a certain moral relationship between God and the monarch, filial devotion on the one side responding to loving faith-

<sup>1</sup> Not necessarily because every king was anointed. There is reason to think that only the first of each dynasty was anointed. See Oehler, § 168.

<sup>2</sup> *Op.* the prediction of 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7.

fulness on the other. The title "son," however, now solemnly transferred from Israel<sup>1</sup> to its king, implies that the son of David is henceforth to be regarded as the representative of his nation.

This oracle is of supreme importance in determining the scope and future direction of prophecy. We find perpetual references to it in later books, and it forms the starting-point of what is called "figurative prophecy," *i.e.* the ascription of ideal attributes to the reigning king. The king is seen "in the light of the promise made to David, and in that light he is transfigured,"<sup>2</sup> and invested with more than human attributes, whether as warrior (Ps. ii.), or royal bridegroom (xlv.), or king reigning in righteousness and peace (lxxii.). Each monarch is in some degree idealised, and thereby becomes a partial type of Christ. The highest point attained by this tendency is found, perhaps, in Psalm cx., where a king is described who combines in his own person the functions of sovereignty with those of priesthood. This combination of the two highest dignities is ascribed to the monarch under sanction of a Divine oath—a noteworthy circumstance which seems to mark the inauguration of a new dispensation.<sup>3</sup>

3. The next stage of the Messianic doctrine is represented in the teaching of the prophets and later psalmists. These great men are themselves, in fact, types of the Messiah. Just as David, the chosen of God, in his suffering and humiliation and final exaltation, foreshadows Christ, so Asaph, and every other afflicted righteous man, in so far as he complains of enemies, is a type of the suffering Messiah; every teacher (*e.g.*, in the didactic psalms<sup>4</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Ex. iv. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Perowne, *The Psalms*, vol. i. p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Heb. vii. 20, and Westcott, *ad loc.* See also A. B. Bruce in *Expositor*, 3rd ser. No. lvii.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 2 with S. Mt. xiii. 35.

represents Him in His prophetic office; every kingly figure points forward to His royal dignity. Further, the whole national history is seen to have a typical significance, and according to the tendency (always displayed by the Hebrew mind) to *individualise* national experiences, it is described in personal, individualistic terms—a fact which points to an individual as embodying and representing the chosen people.<sup>1</sup>

The Messianic doctrine of the prophets is best understood if studied in close connection with the history of their times. It is very important to recognise the circumstantial character of prophecy. It starts from historical data; it depicts the future in terms of the present. "The prophetic oracles," says Dr. Bruce, "were addressed to the present, were rooted in the present, were expressed in language suited to the present, and pointed to a good in the near future forming a counterpart to present evil, or to an evil in the near future which was to be the penalty of present or past sin."<sup>2</sup> For convenience' sake, the prophetic period may be divided into three main epochs: the Assyrian (*circ.* 800–700 B.C.), the Chaldaean (*circ.* 700–538), the post-Exilic (536–400).

(1) The Assyrian period is most conspicuously represented by the two prophets Hosea and Amos, whose scene of activity lies in the northern kingdom; and Isaiah and Micah, whose ministry is confined to Judah. During this period we can distinguish two lines of Messianic prediction—

On the one hand, the *form* of prophecy seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Cp. R. H. Hutton, *Essay on Hebrew Poetry*. Israel as a nation speaks in the first person singular; see, *e.g.*, Ex. xv.; Num. xx. 19, xxi. 22. This is very marked in the psalms, in some of which (*e.g.*, Ps. cxviii.) the personal and national elements are scarcely to be distinguished.

<sup>2</sup> *Chief End of Revelation*, p. 221. Cp. Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 95 ff.; Kirkpatrick, *Doc. of the Prophets*, pp. 13 ff.

determined by the importance of the Davidic kingdom in relation to the Assyrian struggle.<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian threatens the kingdom of God through its king. Consequently the idea emerges of a Davidic (*i.e.* Messianic) king, through whom there is to be deliverance from the national foe. This hope was encouraged by the comparative stability of the throne in the southern kingdom. Thus Amos points to the restoration of *the tabernacle of David* (ix. 11-15); and Hosea sees hope for Ephraim only in a return to *David their king* (i. 11, iii. 5). But these predictions of the king reach their highest point on the very eve of the struggle with Assyria—in Micah and Isaiah. Prophecy now becomes more explicit. The king is to come from David's city, and *shall stand and feed his flock in Jehovah's name* (Mic. v. 2-4); *i.e.* he shall stand in a unique relation to God—gifted with His Spirit (Isai. xi.), executing His righteous will, guided by His wisdom, even revealing His Divine attributes (Isai. ix. 6). The king's chosen city, Jerusalem, is to be the metropolis of nations; peace will be restored by his means to the divided kingdom;<sup>2</sup> his throne will be everlasting and his people holy (Isai. iv. 3). The Davidic monarch may be said, in fact, to be the central figure of prophecy during this critical period.

But side by side with these kingly visions we find the thought of a self-manifestation of Jehovah, who will descend to set up His throne in Zion, as the present sovereign, judge, and redeemer of His people. This thought passes over into the conception of a *day of the Lord*, which is to be the starting-point of a Messianic age, and accordingly is to be a moment both of judgment and deliverance. To the prophets it was quite evident

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Wellhausen, *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah*, chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Zech. ix. 9, 10—a passage which is thought to be written by a late contemporary of Hosea (Riehm, p. 122; but see Kirkpatrick, pp. 441 ff).

that the Divine purpose could be accomplished only through the overthrow of the existing theocracy, and the salvation of a mere *remnant* (Isai. vi. 13; Amos ix. 8; Mic. ii. 12, etc.). The corruptions of the time made it inconceivable that there should be deliverance except by the way of judgment.<sup>1</sup>

A limitation, however, is to be noticed in the development of these two lines of thought, namely, that they are nowhere *combined*. We nowhere find the Messianic king conceived as Jehovah appearing in person. In a later prophet, indeed, the two ideas are found in juxtaposition (see Ezek. xxxiv. 11, 23, 24),<sup>2</sup> but within the limits of the Old Testament canon the lines of prediction, though parallel, do not meet. Two thoughts are prominent—(1) the glory of a Davidic Messiah, (2) the appearing of Jehovah in Zion. The promised redemption is connected now with one, now with the other conception. Both elements enter into the total volume of Messianic prediction, and find fulfilment and adjustment only in Christ;<sup>3</sup> but the time and manner of accomplishment remains unrevealed to the prophets themselves.<sup>4</sup>

(2) What we may call the Chaldæan period of Messianic prophecy extends from the time when Assyria was itself threatened by the Babylonian power to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, *i.e.* from about 650 to 538. During this period of prophetic activity, royalty, owing to the moral corruption which had been fostered by the example of Manasseh, declined in influence; the national fortunes were felt by the faithful to be no longer bound up with the reigning monarch. The leading effects of this period

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Wellhausen, *Sketch*, etc. pp. 83-85, 104 f.

<sup>2</sup> In the apocalyptic literature the ideas are combined. See Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Oehler, *Theol. of the O. T.* § 216.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. 1 Pet. i. 11.

and of the exile were mainly two. First, the sense of Israel's universal mission was deepened. The universality of God's kingdom had been indeed a prophetic keynote long before the exile: it was probably suggested by the magnificence of Solomon's age, and became spiritualised in the prophetic pictures of the entrance of the heathen into the kingdom of God. But hitherto these great ideas had been conceived only under the form of a world-wide extension of the theocratic state; Jerusalem was still destined, it was supposed, to be the centre of a universal spiritual empire. The discipline of the exile tended to produce new and more profound conceptions of the people of God—its function in history and mission to the Gentiles. A remnant representing the true Israel was destined to be *the light of the Gentiles*. So should be fulfilled Israel's vocation to be *a kingdom of priests and a holy nation*. Thus the figure of the Messianic king melts into that of the commissioned *servant of Jehovah*. Again, the exile taught Israel the purpose and meaning of suffering. The great pictures of the righteous sufferer (*e.g.*, in the Book of Job, in Ps. xxii., and in Isai. liii.) seem all alike to be connected with the experiences of the exile. It is probable that while a large proportion of the exiles either abandoned the spiritual hopes of their race or lapsed into heathenism, the suffering remnant of the faithful persevered under great persecution and discouragement. Their history—of which we have hints here and there in Isai. xl.—lxvi.—was probably marked by great constancy under trial,<sup>1</sup> and amid circumstances of extreme depression and difficulty. This faithful remnant is idealised as an individual who bears the iniquities of his people. A new doctrine of suffering arises. It is recognised (*e.g.* by the author of Job) to be not only or

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *Sketch*, etc. p. 124; Davidson, *Introd. to Book of Job*, xx. ff. Cp. Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, No. v.; Kirkpatrick, pp. 361 ff.

necessarily a judgment on sin, but an element in the disciplinary dealings of God, and an indispensable condition or qualification for effective mediation and intercession. The idea of vicarious suffering is fixed and deepened, and seems to be brought to a focus in the conception of an individual righteous man, who, as the accepted representative of his nation, must needs make atonement by suffering for its sins, and so become a prevailing intercessor with God. In this ideal *servant of Jehovah* are concentrated the scattered characteristics of God's faithful: their spirit of dependence, their patient devotion, their unswerving faithfulness in the fulfilment of vocation, their brave constancy under trial, their meek acceptance of death. In this sense the figure of Isaiah liii. is the culminating point of prophecy; but death is not the end in that unique passage. The holy servant enters upon a new and glorified life, in which he sees *the travail of his soul and is satisfied*.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the central idea of prophecy during the critical period when Israel succumbs before the world-power represented by Babylon. The holy remnant (Zeph. ii.; Hab. i.) becomes conscious of its mission before the storm finally bursts on the nation; the education of this consciousness proceeds during the seventy years of the Exile, and the result is a new conception of the Messiah. Not that the idea of the Davidic king is entirely lost; but in accordance with the limitations which seem to be incident to the prophetic gift, the figure of the king is nowhere actually combined with that of the suffering servant. Indeed, so distinct are these conceptions that later Jewish theology invents its second Messiah, the son of Joseph.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the nearest approach to combination is the juxta-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Delitzsch, *O. T. Hist. of Redemption*, §§ 71-73.

<sup>2</sup> Oehler, § 234. See also (in qualification) Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 124.

position in Zech. vi. 13, 14 of royalty with priesthood (cp. Ps. cx.). In that passage Joshua is coequal in dignity with Zerubbabel; and possibly the double crowning of the high priest in chap. iii. points to a similar idea.

(3) The work of the post-exilic prophets is to deepen the convictions already current as to Messiah's person and work. After its brief revival in the person of Zerubbabel, the house of David sank into complete obscurity; the Messianic idea was accordingly dissociated from the fortunes of the monarchy, and became connected with humanity at large. Thus the later prophets dwell on the relation of the Messiah to the whole human race. He is called *the Branch* (Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12; cp. Jer. xxiii. 5), and in Daniel vii. 13 *the Son of Man*.<sup>1</sup> But he is at the same time depicted as standing in a unique relation to Jehovah. He is Jehovah's *fellow* (Zech. xiii. 7), His *angel* (Mal. iii. 1), One in whom Jehovah Himself is *pierced* (Zech. xii. 10). But these prophets also gather up the substance of former predictions. Haggai, for instance, unfolds the prospect of a Divine self-manifestation, and a new glory of the *temple* (ii. 9; cp. Mal. iii. 1), a fact which is significant when connected with the revival and reorganisation of sacrificial worship which followed the restoration. We find the Messianic period described in terms suggested by a restored temple worship, which colours the ideals of Ezekiel (chaps. xl.–xlvi.) and Haggai.<sup>2</sup> To these prophets the great feature of the Messianic age is that all things become new: ancient forms are filled with new spirit and power.<sup>3</sup> Nor must we overlook the providential purpose of the period which intervenes between the restoration and the birth of Christ. The main effect of

<sup>1</sup> On the significance of this title, see below, p. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. also Isai. lvi. 7, lxvi. 23; Zech. xiv. 16–19; Mal. i. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 82 ff., 136 ff.

the sacrificial ritual of the second temple was to strengthen and educate the consciousness of sin; to suggest hopes and anticipations of a spiritual kind through the agency of material symbols; to awaken yearnings for one who should not only restore the fallen fortunes of Israel, but should inaugurate a *new covenant*<sup>1</sup> between the holy God and His people: a covenant which should "not only vindicate the truth of the ancient promises, but supply the missing link between the creature who cannot rule and the Creator who cannot obey";<sup>2</sup> a covenant of which the central characteristic was not law, but grace.

What we witness in Christian history is the unfolding and development of those principles which inspired prophecy had learned to trace in the history of Israel. In the moral reign of Christ we recognise the transfigured kingdom of David; in the catholicity of the Church the universalism of the prophets finds its fulfilment; in the action of the Spirit upon society and individual men we discern the full accomplishment of prophetic visions of a righteous nation, and hearts sprinkled with clean water. "Jesus Christ," says Riehm, "so interpreted the Old Testament writings that He, as a Son, fully entrusted with the thoughts and intentions of the Father, brought forth the eternal thoughts of God from their temporary and national surroundings." He is the fulfiller of all the Divine purposes, and we discover in Christianity not so much the literal accomplishment of particular predictions, as a general but close correspondence between Messianic prediction in general and its spiritual fulfilment in Christ. Thus the argument from prophecy, when restated in the form rendered necessary by our

<sup>1</sup> This idea already emerges in Jer. xxxi. 31. Cp. Wellhausen, *Sketch*, etc. pp. 122 f.; Kirkpatrick, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Hutton, *Theological Essays* (ed. 3), p. 283.

present critical knowledge, is very parallel in its results to the modern shape of the argument from design. In both cases the inductive conclusion is drawn, no longer from the narrow field of special cases of correspondence (or adaptation), but from the broad area of prophecy (or Nature) surveyed as a whole. The Old Testament is seen to be "an organism of which Christ is the final cause." "Christ is, in the first instance, His own witness; and instead of being proved conclusively by prophecy, interpreted apart from the light of the Christian era, to be the Christ, He first enables those who believe in Him to understand aright the prophecies, and to see in the correspondence of these, rightly understood, and His personal character and history, the evidence of a Divine purpose running through the previous ages, and finding its fulfilment in Him."<sup>1</sup> The Incarnation is in fact the one key to the right understanding of Hebrew prophecy. The person and history of Jesus Christ alone explain the many-sided imagery under which, in the Old Testament, the hopes and yearnings of Israel are depicted.

#### 4. The Messianic hope in its later stage.<sup>2</sup>

The prophecies of the Book of Daniel had of course profound influence in shaping the Messianic idea. The core of Daniel's conception, however, is not so much the figure of a personal Messiah as the universal dominion of the saints (ii. 44, vii. 14, 27), an idea which tended to strengthen the expectation of a glorious national future which meets us in later stages of the Messianic hope.

In the apocryphal books there is practically no reference to a personal Saviour. Vague hopes of the future glory of Zion, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the deliverance of Israel from heathen foes are the most pro-

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Chief End of Revelation*, chap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Schürer, *The Jewish People*, etc. § 29; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, pp. 111 ff.; Westcott, *Introd. to the Gospels*, p. 94 f.

minent elements in the Messianic pictures of these books. The expectations of the later Jews, in fact, betray a vain-glorious and unspiritual nationalism, of which Judaism and the synagogue, not the Messiah, are the centre. But in the apocalyptic books, the ideal king of earlier prophecy is revived, and the title of Messiah becomes definitely restricted to an individual yet to come, who is to be the restorer and avenger of his nation. Thus in the Book of Enoch the title "Son of man" is repeatedly applied to the Messiah; and indeed its usage in this book seems to colour the expression as applied to Himself by our Lord.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary, however, to notice in detail the Messianic conceptions of the apocalyptic literature. In some of the writings of this class pre-existence is attributed to the expected Messiah, but only in common with other venerable things and persons, such as the tabernacle, the law, the city of Jerusalem, the lawgiver Moses himself, the people of Israel.<sup>2</sup> The apocalyptic picture is for the most part that of a human prince, exalted, majestic, richly endowed,—whose advent will inaugurate a glorious future for Israel. The Messiah is to be the instrument of judgment on heathen oppressors, the victorious avenger of the righteous. He is human, a son of man, though possessed of transcendent gifts of wisdom, knowledge, and power. According to one view,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, § 29 (vol. ii. p. 133, E.T.), says: "All the benefits of the future world come down from above, from heaven, where they had pre-existed from all eternity. They are kept there for the saints as an 'inheritance' which will one day be bestowed upon them. In particular does the perfect, the glorious New Jerusalem, which will at the time of the consummation of all things descend to earth in the place of the old, exist there already. So too the Messiah, the perfect King of Israel, chosen by God from eternity, is already there in communion with God. All that is good and perfect can come only from above, because all that is earthly is in its present condition the direct contrary to the Divine." Cp. Harnack, *Dogm.* i. 89 n.; Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, p. 292 f.

He will appear in days when the tribulation of the righteous has reached its height, and His reign will begin with a wholesale destruction of His foes, after which He will rule in tranquillity and peace, the Holy Land being the seat of His dominion. Palestine is thus the "narrow region of safety and happiness." The universalist ideals of canonical prophecy give way before meagre and exclusive national and legal hopes. Something, perhaps, was also contributed to the form of the Messianic expectation by the current exegetic literature, of which the Septuagint is an early and the Targums are a late example.<sup>1</sup> These last contain, as seems to be generally allowed, only scanty and faint traces of a Divine Messiah;<sup>2</sup> allusions to His being "revealed," and to His eternal pre-existence, cannot fairly be said to imply more than pre-destination in the Divine purpose and foreknowledge. For the most part the royal Davidic descent of the Messiah, His election as the servant of God, His judicial office, His conquest of Israel's enemies, are the most prominent ideas. The conception was a partial one, and gave rise to fatal prejudices, so that on the eve of the Advent, "the only temper which excluded all error was that of simple and devout expectation."<sup>3</sup> To the faithful, the entire period between the cessation of prophecy and the coming of our Lord would be one of devout reflection and spiritual discipline, a time of pause between prediction and fulfilment, in which religious hope was being slowly matured. Perhaps the most spiritual anticipation of the Messianic kingdom, and the most prevalent among devout Israelites at the time of Christ's appearance, is

<sup>1</sup> Schürer thinks they are as late as the third or fourth century after Christ, but they "often fall back on older exegetical traditions" (vol. ii. p. 153).

<sup>2</sup> Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, p. 294. For a summary of the pre-Christian Messianic idea, see the last chapter of Dr. Drummond's book.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, *Introd.* etc. p. 157.

that contained in the *Psalms of Solomon*. These give expression to that deep sense of sin which less than a century later was likely to welcome the preaching of John the Baptist, and the spiritual deliverance to be realised in the kingdom of heaven. True Israelites, though as yet very imperfectly conscious of their real needs, were, no doubt, already feeling after that which would satisfy their aspirations. Consequently, "as it is impossible to conceive that any Jew could have pictured to himself Christ as He really came, so it is equally impossible to imagine any other Saviour who could have satisfied all the wants which were felt at the time of His coming."<sup>1</sup> The true Israelite might have fittingly expressed his penitence and faith in such a petition as the following:—

"When Thy name makes its tabernacle in the midst of us we shall find mercy :

And a heathen nation shall not prevail against us, for Thou art our defender,

And we will call upon Thee, and Thou shalt hearken to us.

For Thou wilt show pity towards the race of Israel for evermore, and shalt not put them away.

Truly we are under Thy yoke for evermore, and under the scourge of Thy discipline.

Thou wilt restore us in the season when Thou helpest ; showing pity upon the house of Jacob, in a day wherein Thou hast promised them help."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Westcott, *Introd.* etc. p. 157. The *Psalms of Solomon* were probably composed between 70–40 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Psalms of Solom.* vii. 5–9. Cp. for penitential passages, ii. 16 ff., viii. 27–41 ; for Messianic passages, Pss. xvii., xviii.

The later Messianic expectation is described and summarised by Schürer (vol. ii. pp. 154 ff.). Its main elements are—(1) a time of tribulation preceding Messiah's advent, (2) the appearance of Elijah as forerunner, (3) a personal human Messiah divinely endowed suddenly appearing as a victorious ruler, (4) destruction of Israel's foes, (5) gathering of the dispersed, (6) renewal of Jerusalem, (7) Palestine and the Holy City the centre of the Messianic kingdom, (8) the general resurrection and judgment, (9) the idea (with some limitations) of a suffering Messiah.

## **PART II**

*(Continued)*

**§ II. The New Testament presentation.**

1. The development of Apostolic faith; the Gospel account of the person and claims of Christ.
2. The Early Preaching of Christ (Acts of the Apostles).
3. Christology of S. James.
4. Christology of S. Peter's First Epistle and S. Jude.

**§ III. Christology of S. Paul.**

1. Implicit teaching of earlier Epistles.
2. Explicit teaching of the later Epistles as to—
  - (a) The Method of redemption (Phil. ii. 5-11).
  - (b) The Redeemer's person (Col. i. 15-20).
  - (c) The extension of the Incarnate life (Eph. i. 3-14).

**General Survey.**

## § II. THE PERSON OF CHRIST : NEW TESTAMENT PRESENTATION

I. The New Testament largely consists of apostolic teaching as to Christ's person. But behind the testimony of the apostles, serving as its foundation, lies the narrative of the three Synoptic Gospels.<sup>1</sup> The Epistles describe the belief of the apostles in explicit terms: the Gospels tell us how they came by their belief. We learn in them the method by which faith was educated and reached its maturity. Incidentally we get some insight into the character of the apostles. We find them to be simple, unsophisticated men, witnesses of a fact, and, as such, "intensely matter of fact."<sup>2</sup> They are represented as advancing very slowly and hesitatingly, through intimacy with Christ's character and actions, to a deeper conception of His person. The great value of the Synoptists is that they record for us the actual history of faith in Jesus Christ. They describe His personality, and the impression actually produced by it on the men who were His constant companions. It is therefore of great importance to study the process by which the apostles arrived at their belief.

How, then, were they led to acceptance of Christ as the manifested Son of God?

1. The movement of faith begins historically with the

<sup>1</sup> Of late the tendency to insist on discrepancies in the Gospels has revived, but generally in criticism which starts from Unitarian assumptions. For our present purpose the general truth of the narrative is assumed; most critics would admit that the discrepancies, however closely insisted upon, do not interfere with the impression that we have in the Gospels an authentic portrait of Christ. Latham insists (*Pastor Pastorum*, chap. viii.) on the qualifications which the apostles eminently display as *witnesses*. There is no reason to doubt, in fact, that in the Gospels we have τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων (Justin, *Apol.* i. 83, 66, 67).

<sup>2</sup> Latham, *op. cit.* pp. 7, 241.

ministry and witness of John the Baptist. He is a representative figure, not only as the last of the Hebrew prophets, but as the type of those who in any age of the world's history have appealed to the highest conscience of their contemporaries. The Baptist first awoke in men the spirit of expectancy; the sense of unsatisfied spiritual need. He first made it possible to believe in such a kingdom as Christ afterwards proclaimed. And he produced on those who heard him the impression of a man absolutely convinced of his message, a man of entire sincerity; for his witness to Jesus Christ involved a brave self-abnegation. He pointed away from himself to Christ. Different causes have been suggested for the extraordinary influence of his preaching, but probably he fascinated men by appealing "to the common hope of Israel—the only hope that remained, that of the *kingdom*. That kingdom had been the last word of the Old Testament."<sup>1</sup> At the same time he met the highest aspirations of conscience by representing the deliverance to come as spiritual, for "the yoke which crushed Israel was not that of Rome; it was *sin*."<sup>2</sup>

2. Next in order we must consider the effect on the disciples of our Lord's personality. For His appeal was directly personal; He drew men by what He was rather than by what He did. Belief sprang from personal knowledge and intimacy; it was the result of subjection to the sway of an incomparable moral authority. To that authority the first disciples yielded themselves up. For them the word of Christ was enough. Thus S. John and

<sup>1</sup> Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. I. p. 275; cf. Pressensé, *Jesus Christ*, p. 293 (ed. 2): "Dès qu'il ouvre la bouche on reconnaît qu'il en a saisi le sens intime et qu'il s'est nourri de la moelle même des Ecritures. L'Ancien Testament revit en lui."

<sup>2</sup> Pressensé, *ibid.* p. 194.

S. Andrew followed the figure to which the Baptist pointed them; *they came and saw where He dwelt, and abode with Him that day.*

Nothing is told us of the manner in which conviction formed itself. We only know that they returned sure of what they had found; *we have found* (they declare) *the Messiah.* And a close study of the narrative assures us that discipleship grew out of direct contact with Christ's personality. He appealed immediately to those faculties in man which could respond to the claim of God. In Him "conscience recognised the rightful lord of conduct, and did Him homage";<sup>1</sup> the heart felt the "self-evidencing" power of His appeal; the intellect bowed before a fresh word of God. "He spoke, men felt it, on the strength of an original and direct knowledge of God and the will of God."<sup>2</sup> He gave His hearers the impression of being no mere teacher of truth, but its very source. For what distinguishes Him from other teachers is the positiveness of His teaching. "His doctrine is never a question and a weary doubt," but "an uninterrupted affirmation."<sup>3</sup> The impression made by this singular positiveness of Jesus is, as a thoughtful writer points out, mainly due to the nature and range of "the questions which He answers with an unwavering *Yea.*" All that men most need to know, all that is fundamentally necessary for the conduct of human life, He declares with unhesitating clearness: the truth that God can be known, loved, and imitated by man; the fatherhood and providence of God; the value of the soul; the necessity and efficacy of prayer; the possibility of forgiveness and restoration; the certainty of judgment. Such teaching at once commended itself to the hearers, because it confirmed the presages of their hearts and

<sup>1</sup> Dale, *The Living Christ*, etc. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Newman Smyth, *Old Faiths in New Light*, pp. 198-200.

consciences ; it needed no system of evidences. And what Christ's teaching was to the first disciples it still is. "It is self-evidencing ; it is rest-giving. Heart, conscience, reason rest in it."<sup>1</sup> It seems to follow that in the reconstruction of their faith men must begin with something analogous to this intimacy with Christ, which was the privilege of the first believers. They must put themselves under the sway of His personality. They must follow His footsteps as they are traced for us in the evangelic record. They must, through close study of the Gospels, come in contact with the person whom they desire to know.<sup>2</sup>

3. As the disciples *follow on to know the Lord*, they become conscious of an imperious claim exerting its pressure on them. The person who awes and attracts them, in the very act of revealing His character and purpose, puts forward a superhuman claim. The claims of Christ must always present an insuperable difficulty to those who believe Him to be no more than man ; and, indeed, Dr. Martineau has raised the important question how we are to reconcile "Messianic self-consciousness" with humility.<sup>3</sup> The real solution of this difficulty is to be found, not in arbitrary excision of the many passages in which our Lord puts forward a superhuman claim, but in a juster conception of the Messianic office. The popular Messianic hope of our Lord's contemporaries was utterly distinct from the ideal which He claimed to embody and fulfil. To Him it was not a dignity claimed or asserted, but "a vocation meekly accepted"—a vocation which, as He assuredly foresaw, would involve toil, humiliation,

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, p. 17, points out the value of the fourfold informal memoir as a powerful means of presenting a *personality*.

<sup>3</sup> In *The Seat of Authority*. For what follows, see Bruce, *Apologetics* pp. 364-368.

suffering, and death. A great necessity was laid upon Him, which made His self-assertion inevitable; and we may observe that the self-witness of Christ must at once inevitably raise the question of His relation to the God whom He revealed.

This self-witness may be considered under different aspects.

i. The assertion of sinlessness. He is "holier than Israel's holiest" (S. Mt. xii. 6). Dr. Martineau speaks of His "repentance," but Christ never confesses any consciousness of moral defect, in spite of the fact that He is so acutely alive to the evil and misery of sin, that He is the inculcator of humility, that He so vehemently rebukes the self-righteousness of the Pharisee, that He is the preacher of repentance. He never includes Himself among sinners; He has none of the sense of unworthiness that distinguishes Old Testament prophets and saints. And thus, in fact, the dilemma holds, *Christus aut Deus aut non bonus*. We must either forfeit, as some are willing reluctantly but decidedly to do, the moral ideal of a sinless man, or we must accept Christ's self-evidence as due to a fundamental necessity of His being. "Either He who testified concerning Himself that He was without sin . . . must have been an arrogant visionary wanting in all self-knowledge, . . . or in this and in everything else the relations must be as He said."<sup>1</sup>

ii. Closely connected with this is the claim of Christ in regard to human sin: to *forgive* and to *judge*. He claims to forgive sins, and declares Himself to be one that can be sinned against (S. Mt. ix. 2-6; S. Lk. v. 20, 24); and to be a sacrifice for sin in such sense that His blood is *shed for the remission of sins* (S. Mt. xxvi. 28)

<sup>1</sup> Martensen, *Christian Ethics (General)*, § 75. See Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, No. iv.; H. B. Ottley, *The Great Dilemma*; R. H. Hutton, *Theol. Essays* (ed. 3), p. 275.

But above all, He reveals Himself as the Judge of men. He impresses men with the conviction that He knows what is in men (S. Jo. ii. 25), and He plainly declares that it is He Himself before whom men will plead in the day of judgment. It is noticeable that it is in the Sermon on the Mount, which some would represent as the sum-total and substance of Christianity, that this tremendous claim is asserted, this judicial attitude towards mankind assumed. But the claim is consistent with the general moral authority with which He teaches. He presents Himself to men as an "incarnate conscience." He implies that they are to be judged by their relation to Himself; to reject Himself is to reject the good.<sup>1</sup>

iii. Christ presents Himself as the giver of a new law. He claims to repeal and to revise the provisions of the ancient law; He is greater than the temple; He exercises control over the observance of the Sabbath; He reinstates the law of marriage as it was *at the beginning*. He assumes the right to announce authoritatively what is binding on the human conscience (S. Mt. v. 22 ff., xii. 8, xix. 4). *It was said to them of old time, . . . but I say unto you.*

iv. Christ speaks as one who claims by right the homage and allegiance of men. He offers them rest (S. Mt. xi. 28). He promises not to *cast out* any who come to Him (S. Jo. vi. 37). He predicts His perpetual presence with His people; He declares that to Him *all authority is given in heaven and in earth* (S. Mt. xxviii. 18, 20). We find, in fact, that Christ puts forward that exclusive and jealous claim which can be rightfully exercised by God alone. He treats souls as His own, and bids them follow Him as their master. He claims

<sup>1</sup> Op. Dörner, *Person of Christ*, div. f. vol. i. p. 58. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 175 f.

to supersede all other ties (S. Mt. x. 37 ; S. Lk. xiv. 26), and, in fact, demands of man a self-surrender such as could only be legitimately required by the Creator Himself.

v. To a Jew it would appear that our Lord put forward one pretension that would reduce all others to insignificance. He allowed Himself to be called the Christ. At the culminating moment of His life He would not disown the Messianic claim. In point of fact, this Messianic claim is really involved in a title which our Lord is commonly found to apply to Himself: the title *Son of Man*. What did this designation imply?

(a) If, as seems probable, the Aramaic original of this title was currently used as an equivalent for "man," our Lord may have intended by it to set Himself forth as the embodiment of human nature, the representative individual in whom the race is "recapitulated" and finds its goal. It implies His relation to humanity as its "embodied ideal." He is neither Jew nor Gentile; His character is marked by a perfect harmony of distinct attributes—in a word, by a certain universality.<sup>1</sup> "Nothing local, transient, individualising, national, sectarian, dwarfs the proportions of His world-embracing character; He rises above the parentage, the blood, the narrow horizon which bounded, as it seemed, His human life; He is the archetypal Man, in whose presence distinctions of race, intervals of ages, types of civilisation, degrees of mental culture are as nothing."<sup>2</sup> We see Him "followed by the Greek, though a founder of none of his sects; revered by the Brahmin, though preached unto him by men of the fishermen's caste; worshipped

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. E. Abbott's recent monograph, "The Son of Man," in *Diatessarica*, pt. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 8 ; cp. Luthardt, *Fundamental Truths*, p. 323 ; and Sanday, *Christologies Anc. and Mod.*, pp. 124 ff.

by the red man of Canada, though belonging to the hated pale race." In Him mankind finds its archetype; towards Him it tends and converges. He is the embodiment of all that is essentially true and good in universal human nature.<sup>1</sup>

(b) But the title "Son of Man" had already acquired other associations. It had apparently come to be used, at least in certain circles, as a title of Messiah, with special reference to its use in the book of Daniel. The passage in which the phrase occurs in Daniel (vii. 13) seems to be a description of a kingdom which is to supersede and destroy the empire founded on brute violence and material force. The kingdom given to *One like unto a Son of Man* is to be in its origin Divine, in its range and extent universal, in its duration eternal, in its methods and constitution peaceable and righteous. It is quite possible that the reference is to the future destiny of Israel as a nation. But in the "Similitudes" (chh. 37-71) of the apocalyptic book of Enoch there is a significant variation in the title which points to a superhuman *person* as its rightful possessor.<sup>2</sup> *A Son of Man* is the phrase in Daniel; in Enoch is presented *the Son of Man*. The peculiarity of its use in this strange book is that the title has a purely supernatural import. The Messiah, or Son of Man, is of Divine origin, not of human descent; He shares the throne of God; to Him is committed universal dominion, and the supreme task of judgment. Thus, as it passes into the language of our Lord, the title seems to be already coloured by the conception which appears in Enoch. It implies a claim to superhuman attributes: spiritual dominion, judicial power, the right of remitting sins. But this, the popular notion of the Son of Man, seems to be gradually enlarged and modified by the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Orig. c. *Cels.* i. 29—a striking passage.

<sup>2</sup> This portion of the book is most probably pre-Christian. See Charles in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s.v. "Apocalyptic Literature" (vol. i. p. 224).

introduction of another element derived from the picture of *the servant of Jehovah* in Isaiah. All the associations that had gathered round that wonderful prophetic figure—the lowly condition, the submissive suffering, the human sympathies, the atoning death and final exaltation of the Isaianic *servant*—are gradually combined with the ideal derived from Enoch, and the supernatural claim and dignity of the Messiah receives its final vindication only as the issue of suffering meekly accepted. The two ideals are in fact brought together in the passage which introduces the culminating passage of Isaiah's Messianic vision: *Behold, my servant shall deal wisely, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high.*<sup>1</sup>

Thus our Lord's habitual use of the title Son of Man would readily convey to His contemporaries the idea of Messianic pretensions, while at the same time the context<sup>2</sup> in which He employs it was calculated to suggest deeper and more sober ideas of what the Messianic dignity involved: a lowly and obscure lot, marked by poverty and suffering; a faithful witness delivered; a death of sacrificial suffering endured; a victory attained, but only by the way of sorrows. To return for a moment to the title *Messiah* (*χριστός*), which, as we have seen, was implied in the designation *Son of Man*. The name *Messiah* points to the unction with the Divine Spirit by which the theocratic king was equipped for the fulfilment of His ideal calling.<sup>3</sup> When our Lord applied to Himself the passage Isai. lxi. 1,<sup>4</sup> He pointed to the accomplishment of the Messianic

<sup>1</sup> Isai. lii. 13. See Charles, *Book of Enoch*, Appendix B.; Westcott, *Gosp. of S. John*, add. note on i. 51; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of the N.T.* § 16; Stevens, *Theol. of the N.T.* chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> e.g., Mt. viii. 20, xvii. 22, xxvi. 24; Mk. ix. 31; Lk. ix. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Isai. xi. 2, xlii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> S. Lk. iv. 18, 21.

office in His own person. He implies that the Spirit resting upon His manhood is the source of its special illumination and supernatural power. To the Spirit He ascribes His power to expel devils (S. Mt. xii. 28). His works are wrought not in virtue of any human strength, but as the result of a Divine unction. The anointing with the Spirit is in fact to the manhood the source of grace and power, of Divine knowledge, of special consecration. Thus the title *ὁ ἄγιος τοῦ θεοῦ*,<sup>1</sup> and even the designation *King of the Jews*, may be regarded as explanatory phrases bringing out one aspect of the Messianic unction, namely, its consecrating efficacy. For the very name *Messiah* as claimed by Christ points to a peculiar dignity, which elevates Him who is called to the office far above the organs and ministers through whom Jehovah had revealed His will, or organised His kingdom, under the old covenant. "In Him Jehovah Himself comes to His people; whoever therefore receives Him receives God Himself."<sup>2</sup> His mission in fact implies a fellowship with God such as no other human being can share, and consequently His claim to the devotion and homage of man is such as only God can justly require.

The unction of the Spirit, however, implied more than supernatural equipment; it corresponded with the general expectation that the Messiah would be invested with royal dignity as the *Son of David*, a title by which in point of fact Christ was often saluted. But while accommodating Himself so far to the popular idea of Messiah, our Lord is careful to impress on His faithful disciples a deeper view of the prophecies which foretold the royal dignity of David's Son. The exaltation to royal glory was to follow, as in David's own case, rejection and humiliation. Only through suffering was

<sup>1</sup> S. Mk. i. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Weiss, *l.c.* § 18, referring to S. Lk. i. 17, 76; S. Mt. x. 40.

Messiah destined to attain the glory which David already foresaw when he called Him Lord.<sup>1</sup>

vi. Lastly, we must consider a claim which ultimately led to our Lord's condemnation. He claims to stand in a unique relation to God as His revealer<sup>2</sup> and His Son. Sometimes this claim takes the form of a co-ordination of His own Name with that of God, as in S. Mt. xxviii. 19; sometimes it is contained by implication in the assertion that He is One who can be sinned against (S. Lk. xii. 10). But it is by the title *Son of God* that He most directly challenges the hostility of His nation and their rulers. While He proclaims the brotherhood of men, and presents Himself to them as one who shares their lot, and fulfils the conditions of dependence and service that man owes to his Creator, He yet detaches Himself from men, by speaking of *My Father which is in heaven*.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, to be noticed that He only acknowledges Himself to be *Son of God* on occasions of exceptional urgency: He accepts the title as rightfully His own from S. Peter's lips;<sup>4</sup> He refuses to disown it when put upon His oath by the high priest;<sup>5</sup> and it is important to observe that the title is never used by Him merely in its theocratic sense. He is not Son of God in the sense that the Davidic king is so called in Psalm ii. and Psalm lxxxix. Nor is He Son of God in a merely ethical sense, as men might be called sons of God by right of creation, or in virtue of moral affinity to the Divine character. In the case of our Lord, the title implies a wholly exceptional relation to the Father whom He came to reveal.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weiss, *l.c.* § 19.

<sup>2</sup> Consider S. Mt. xi. 27; S. Lk. x. 22; cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* vol. i. § 17.

<sup>3</sup> S. Mt. vii. 21, etc.

<sup>4</sup> S. Mt. xvi. 16.

<sup>5</sup> S. Mt. xxvi. 63; cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 52 ff.

<sup>6</sup> It is, of course, possible to represent the title *Son of God* as an after-thought, a designation applied to Christ by His disciples as soon as they

Even M. Renan admits that "the position which He attributed to Himself was that of a superhuman being, and He wished to be regarded as sustaining a higher relationship to God than other men."<sup>1</sup> According to Renan this claim on the part of Christ is a part of His "transcendent idealism"; He only advanced it when "the admiration of His disciples overwhelmed Him and carried Him away." But the fact is that the claim is coherent with all else that is recorded of His teaching and life. "The historical Christ," says Luthardt, "and His teaching, are facts. These facts can be, and are, authenticated; but they will remain an insoluble enigma until we suffer them to receive the solution afforded them by His own testimony to His Divine Sonship. If He is the Son of God in this sense, then all is clear, and all else that we are told of Him necessary."<sup>2</sup> As the Fathers of the Church afterwards insisted, the fact of redemption itself is bound up with the literal truth of the declaration that Christ was *the Son of the living God*.

Thus, speaking generally, the rarity and solemnity of the occasions on which our Lord speaks of Himself, or allows others to designate Him, the Son of God, seems a proof that He employed the title in a higher sense than that in which it was used in the Old Testament. It is

recognised Him as the Messiah. Such is the view of Dr. Martineau (*Seat of Authority in Religion*, pp. 238 ff.), who thinks it is possible to discern stages in the "deification" of Christ: the first stage being connected with the baptism in Jordan, when the grace of Sonship was supposed to have been "conferred" on Christ. This is substantially identical with the *adoptianist* view which Harnack regards as the more prevalent of two types of Christology current in the primitive Church. It is enough to say that Harnack's view, like Dr. Martineau's, seems to be the result of a preconception, rather than of substantial evidence. See *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, § 11; Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 24 f.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Jesus*, c. xv.

<sup>2</sup> *Fundamental Truths of Christianity*, p. 381.

quite true that the title, as applied to the theocratic king for example, denotes primarily a unique relationship of love, a special claim to be considered the object of Divine election and providential care. Such ideas were probably not absent from Christ's consciousness when He used this sacred title. It implied His sense of being the elect of God, the object of special Divine favour, the mediator of Divine revelation, the instrument of human redemption. But the question remains whether, taken in conjunction with the other assertions and claims which have already been considered, the title *Son of God* does not imply such an original unity of essence with the Most High as could only be blasphemously claimed by a mere man.<sup>1</sup> The name *Son of God* is in fact something more than an official title. It is a title by which Christ seems to detach Himself from men and to speak of God as His Father in an exclusive sense.

4. Christ's miracles are appealed to by Himself as affording evidence of His claims. They are part of the evangelic tradition, an authentic element of the original gospel, and in fact the narrative which seems to form the basis of the synoptic record (that of S. Mark) contains nine narratives of miraculous cures. Thus we have to consider the place of miracles in Christ's teaching. As we have seen, He first presents Himself as *a teacher come from God*. He sways men by the power of His own personality. He authoritatively claims discipleship from men. Accordingly He is recognised and saluted as *Master* (Rabbi). The apostles accept His authority, submit themselves to His moral claim, and so come gradually to recognise the truth about His nature.

(1) First, then, we should observe the close correspond-

<sup>1</sup> This view differs from that of Weiss, *l.c.*, who seems to overlook the significance of passages which *illustrate* the meaning of Christ's claim to be *Son of God*. Op. Stevons, *Theol. of the N. T.* chap. v.

ence between the moral claim of Jesus and His exercise of supernatural power. His Person is a miracle in its blending of humility and majesty, and His explicit teaching is accompanied and illustrated by works of supernatural power. Thus the miracles seem to be a constituent and necessary element in His revelation of God; they have inherent probability just because they are in exact harmony with the declared purpose of Christ's coming; He is mighty in word before He is mighty in deed. His miracles have a unique congruity; they illustrate the very truth which He never ceases to proclaim in word and life: the exclusive claim of the Divine kingdom, the superiority of spiritual to material interests, the loving-kindness and grace of God. The supreme miracle is the Incarnation itself; the appearance of a Divine life in the universe charged with new powers and possibilities; the revelation of *the kindness and love of God our Saviour*.<sup>1</sup> The works of power which flowed naturally, as it were, from Christ, displayed Divine goodness in action up to the full measure of gracious possibility.<sup>2</sup> The oral teaching was illustrated by the works; for example, Christ constantly proclaims God's providential care for individuals, and enforces the lesson by cures wrought for the most part in individual cases.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tit. iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Trench, *The Miracles*, p. 8, with his quotation from Augustine, in *Joh. Tract.* xvii.: "Mirum non esse debet a Deo factum miraculum. . . . Magis gaudere et admirari debemus quia Dominus noster et Salvator Jesus Christus homo factus est, quam quod divina inter homines Deus fecit."

<sup>3</sup> Cp. a striking passage of Chrys. in *Matt. hom.* xxv. (init.), pointing out the close connection between Christ's words and works. He is seen by miracles *προοδοποιῶν τοῖς λεγομένοις*, and afterwards *βεβαιῶν ἐκ τῶν γινομένων τὰ εἰρημένα*. See also Aug. *de Trin.* viii. 11: "Itaque ipse Dominus Jesus Christus talia faciens ut mirantes doceret ampliora, et temporalibus insolitis intentos atque suspensos ad æterna atque interiora converteret: 'Venite, inquit, ad me omnes qui laboratis,' etc. Et non ait 'Discite a me

(2) We pass to consider the *character* of Christ's miracles, which are not meaningless portents like the miracles described in the apocryphal gospels, nor ever used for personal display or profit, but only for beneficence or instruction. They are, as it has been said, "not acts of preternatural power, but of preternatural love."<sup>1</sup> For there is no moral appeal in mere displays of power. Wonderful works impress men in proportion as they are recognised to be *σημεῖα*—"signs" of power subordinated to righteous and beneficent ends. So in Christ's works we witness no mere exhibition of abnormal power, but a revelation of grace. "We must not expect," it has been justly urged, "that the physical, *i.e.* the miraculous evidence for revelation, should be of such a character as to stand above the spiritual evidence."<sup>2</sup> Just as the main arguments for God's existence are those derived from man's personality and moral constitution, while proofs drawn from the order of physical nature are secondary; so in the case of the Incarnation, whatever reveals God's character stands higher than that which displays mere superhuman force. The miracles of Christ do in fact bear a moral impress; they are in keeping with all that He reveals of God's character and attributes. They are exactly such phenomena as we should expect in a moral universe, *i.e.* a world in which physical force is subordinated to righteous law and gracious purpose. The miracles are manifestations of power, but the power is that of righteous will;<sup>3</sup> they indicate that the

quia quatruiduanos mortuos suscito,' sed ait '*Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde.*' Potentior est enim et tutior solidissima humilitas, quam ventosissima celsitudo."

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Aug. *de Util. Cred.* xvi., where miracles are said to be of two classes, "Quædam sunt quæ solam faciunt admirationem; quædam vero magnam etiam gratiam benevolentiamque conciliant."

<sup>2</sup> Temple, *Bampton Lectures*, vii.

<sup>3</sup> Wace, *Boyle Lectures*, Ser. ii. Nos. v. and viii. Martensen, *Chr.*

kingdom of God embraces every purpose that relates to the well-being, whether physical or moral, of humanity. Further, they are parallel to, and illustrative of, the claim to exercise power in the spiritual sphere. They are symbolic representations of the redemptive action of God as the Saviour of human souls. Very instructive in this connection are the two miracles recorded in the fifth chapter of S. Luke's Gospel, the draught of fishes revealing to S. Peter his own unworthiness and moral misery, while the healing of the paralytic illustrates the claim to absolve the sinner by the injunction, *Take up thy couch and go into thine house.*<sup>1</sup>

(3) Something should be added as to the use which our Lord makes of miraculous power.<sup>2</sup> Miracles seem to be performed with different purposes in view. Thus, on some occasions at least, they clearly have an *evidential* importance. Some men, of whom Nicodemus may be selected as a type, are ready to recognise in miracle a presence of superhuman power, such as authenticates the teaching and mission of the worker. Miracles, indeed, must ever be the most popular form of authentication,<sup>3</sup> and at one time this was regarded by Christian apologists as their main or even their only function.<sup>4</sup> At least their attractive power may be admitted; they arrest attention, and awaken reflection. Thus S. John tells us *many believed on His name because they saw the signs that He did.*<sup>5</sup> What drew Nathanael, for instance, to Christ was a marvel of supernatural intuition; but our Lord spoke to him of *greater things than these*. He would

*Dogmatics*, § 147: "His power over nature is by no means arbitrary or unlimited; it finds its bounds in the law of holiness," etc.

<sup>1</sup> S. Lk. v. 8 and 24; cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> See an admirable chapter in Latham, *Pastor Pastorum* (c. iv.).

<sup>3</sup> Luthardt, *Fundamental Truths*, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Mozley, *Miracles*, Lect. i. p. 5; Butler, *Analogy*, pt. ii. chap. vii.

<sup>5</sup> S. Jo. ii. 23; cp. i. 50.

be believed primarily because of His word ; only secondarily because of His works.<sup>1</sup> He would draw men by the influence of His life and moral personality, rather than by the display of wonders. Belief, in the case of the apostles at least, grew out of personal intimacy and knowledge, and miracles served only the purpose of educating or informing a faith already rooted in their hearts.

Again, miracles performed by Christ are "the highest kind of symbolism." His "signs" are redemptive acts, and convey instruction as to God's spiritual dealings with mankind in the unmistakable language of typical outward facts. And this use of miracles seems specially adapted to the purpose of instructing the disciples. Thus some of the miracles which seem less obviously acts of beneficence, *e.g.*, the draught of fishes, the walking on the sea, the withering of the fig-tree, were means by which important truths were likely to be most vividly impressed on their minds.<sup>2</sup> Our Lord seems in fact to have laid Himself out specially to educate the faith of the Twelve ; and some of His actions were perhaps calculated to suggest heart-searching reflections or questionings that would afterwards bear fruit in deeper and more intelligent comprehension of the Divine methods and purposes.

Lastly, we should carefully notice the economy which marks the use of miracles. No sign is wrought apart from a benevolent or didactic purpose. Thus Christ is never found to provide by miracle for His own wants or those of His disciples ; nor, as a rule, does He supply any need that might be met by the exercise of human energies or foresight. There is also an absence of what

<sup>1</sup> S. Jo. xiv. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the withering of the fig-tree "presented in a parable the situation of the Jews' religion." Latham, *op. cit.* p. 97.

may be called *compulsoriness* in Christ's method. He never displays power in such a way as to overawe men or *compel* belief. For faith is only worthily so called if it be an act of free moral adhesion, and miracles are to be regarded as the effect and reward of a faith already existent, not, generally speaking, its originating cause. Faith can touch the springs of supernatural power. *All things are possible to him that believeth.*<sup>1</sup> In a word, miracles being moral and spiritual acts, as well as physical events, rest on moral evidence, make a moral appeal, and are the Divine response to a moral quality in man.

#### 5. The resurrection of Christ.

That which crowned and justified the faith of the apostles was the resurrection. S. John tells us that when he entered into the sepulchre and saw *the linen clothes lying* and the face-cloth *rolled up in a place by itself* (S. Jo. xx. 7), *he saw and believed.* The tokens of deliberate purpose, of calm and heavenly order and method, were too apparent to admit of doubt that Christ had risen by an act of power *as He said.* For we must remember how repeatedly the event had been foretold by our Lord Himself. S. Paul states for us the evidential significance of the resurrection in Rom. i. 4. He who had been manifested historically as a man among men was *declared* (or marked out) *to be the Son of God in an act of power, according to the spirit of holiness, by resurrection from the dead.* The holiness of His life had pointed to a momentous conclusion respecting His person which the resurrection justified; the combined holiness and miraculous power of Christ's life led to the recognition of His higher nature.

We find accordingly that the testimony of the apostles is concentrated upon this fact, the reality of which alone

<sup>1</sup> S. Mk. ix. 23. Cp. Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, chap. v.

appears to explain their spiritual transformation, and the steadfastness of their persistent witness in the face of hostile opposition; and this argument is greatly strengthened by due consideration of the character and training of those who thus bore their witness.<sup>1</sup> Again, the fact that the resurrection was first doubted and disbelieved, and afterwards proclaimed with calm and unshaken assurance, forbids us to accept any theory of illusion or imposture. It is morally impossible to believe that the whole structure of the Christian Church rests upon an hallucination or a lie.<sup>2</sup> Something has been already said upon this subject. It is here only necessary to recall the position which the belief in Christ's resurrection held in relation to the faith of the apostles. They soon came to understand that the resurrection was in fact inevitable, Christ being what He claimed to be. It afforded a key to the entire life. S. John, who had most closely watched the life of our Lord and had seen most deeply into its spiritual sublimity, was first convinced of the necessity of the resurrection. *He saw and believed.* "A secret flashed in upon him, and a thrill of insight rushed over him; . . . a new light broke over him, and he passed at one bound out of death into life."<sup>3</sup> The victory of Jesus Christ over death was to the disciples the ground of final assurance that under the veil of mortal flesh the eternal Son of God Himself had tabernacled among men. It was a culminating revelation to them of the glory of the Divine Word.

We are now in a position briefly to summarise the different stages which we have traced in the gradual growth of the apostles' faith. Faith, it appears, was formed in them partly as the result of their predisposi-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. R. H. Hutton, *Theol. Essays*, pp. 137 ff.

<sup>3</sup> H. S. Holland, *Creed and Character*, Sermon. ii.

tion to belief. The Old Testament discipline in which they had been reared, culminating as it did in the proclamation by the Baptist of a kingdom of heaven, had fostered in them longings, hopes, expectations of a spiritual kind. There appears in their midst one who is pointed to by S. John as He who can satisfy their needs. They follow, they watch, they study His character, as He discloses to them more and more the purpose of His coming and the nature of His claim. His works of power deepen the impression made by His personality; His teaching opens to them the Divine truths which correspond to their aspirations and needs. In one Gospel especially, that of S. John, we have presented to us the picture of a faith in different stages of its progress,—its fallings away and vanishings, its broken lights, its ventures, its recoveries. And faith is crowned by an ever larger disclosure and ampler promises; by more intimate experience and deeper insight. Faith discerns in Jesus Christ successively the Teacher, the promised Messiah, the Holy One, the Lord of Nature, the Searcher of hearts, the Revealer of God, the supreme Example of endurance and love, the faithful and true Witness, the Conqueror of death. It bows before Him as Lord and God. The apostles first make the venture of faith—first submit to experience, and then know and feel that they are known. Action and trust precede knowledge and assurance.

## II. The early preaching of Jesus Christ (*Acts of the Apostles*).

The experience of the apostles themselves seems to have led them to present the truth of Christ's person to others tentatively and in apologetic form. Their preaching starts from what is acknowledged by Jew and Gentile respectively. It appeals, and is adapted to the conceptions of God already current. It would have been

fatal to preach Christ as God to Greeks, whose notion of deity was so degraded, and who could so readily admit Christ into a national Pantheon, without some attempt to link the new doctrine with the fundamental truths of natural religion. It would have appeared to Jews an intolerable blasphemy that Christ should be proclaimed as one with the ineffable Being, whose very name they shrank from uttering.<sup>1</sup>

Thus there is a certain reserve in the apostolic preaching recorded in the *Acts*, but, on the other hand, there is no doubt as to the belief of the apostles themselves. Their faith is implied in the claim to baptize *in the name of Jesus Christ* (ii. 38); in the assertion that there was no *salvation in any other* (iv. 12). Further, Christians were known as those *who called on the name of Jesus* (ix. 14, 21); and S. Stephen is described as praying to Christ as Lord (vii. 59, 60). The undoubted belief of the first disciples was that in Jesus Christ God Himself had been manifested in flesh.

1. The preaching to Jews was apparently planned on a carefully considered system. We may notice—

(a) *The use of a historical starting-point.* The facts of Christ's life, ministry, and sufferings were known (ii. 22, *καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἶδαν*). Thus S. Peter can appeal to them as events notorious and of recent occurrence (ii. 22, iii. 13, iv. 10, v. 30, x. 37 ff.). Christ had manifested all the signs of Divine unction. There were unmistakable tokens that *God was with Him*. Starting from this as a secure foundation, S. Peter's preaching insists on the exaltation of Jesus. The man *approved of God* by mighty works publicly wrought (ii. 22) is finally declared to have been made by God *both Lord and Christ* (ii. 36). And, indeed, at an earlier point in the same discourse it is implied that the Lord on whom men must

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Wace, *Boyle Lectures*, Ser. ii. No. v.

call if they are to be saved is none other than Jesus (ii. 21).<sup>1</sup>

(b) *The insistence on prophecy, i.e. on the continuity of Christ's work and revelation of God with all that is recorded in the Old Testament.* Thus S. Peter designates Christ by the Old Testament title *Servant of Jehovah* (*παῖς κυρίου*, iii. 13, iv. 27).<sup>2</sup> His sufferings and resurrection were foretold (ii. 23-25). As the prophet *like unto Moses* (Deut. xviii.), as the rejected *corner-stone* (Ps. cxviii.), as the crucified and risen One (Ps. xvi.), Christ had been predicted by ancient prophecy (iii. 22, iv. 11, ii. 23 ff.) The same method is used by S. Stephen (vii.) and by S. Paul in his sermon at Antioch (xiii.); and it must be remembered that the title *Messiah* would to Jewish ears imply in itself a superhuman being. In a general review of the discourses in the Acts, perhaps the most striking point is the frequency with which the resurrection is insisted upon as the foundation fact of the apostles' testimony.<sup>3</sup> It is proclaimed as the seal of Christ's Divine mission (ii. 32 f., iii. 15, iv. 10, v. 31, xiii. 30); the reward of His work and justification of His claims; the decisive manifestation of the glory of His person. It is the resurrection that proclaims Him *Prince of Life* (iii. 15); *Lord and Christ* (ii. 36); *source of blessing* (iii. 26); *Prince and Saviour* (v. 31); *Judge of quick and dead* (x. 42); *Son of God* (ix. 20).

(c) *The practical nature of the apostolic appeal.* The

<sup>1</sup> Weiss, *ad loc.*, remarks that with the following verses (22 ff.) "beginnt der Nachweis dass der κύριος von dessen Anrufung die Errettung abhängt, Jesus sei."

<sup>2</sup> "Das in ältester Zeit viel gebrauchte und vieldeutige *παῖς θεοῦ*" (Harnack). Cp. the *Didache*, cc. ix., x.

<sup>3</sup> "Die Verkündigung von Jesus dem Christus ruhte zunächst ganz auf dem A.T., hatte aber an der Erhöhung Jesu durch die Auferstehung von den toten ihren Ausgangspunkt" (Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, § v.). Cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 39.

preaching of the apostles is addressed to the Jewish conscience, disciplined as it was by long familiarity with the law. *God hath made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified*, says S. Peter to the Jews (ii. 36), and we read that the appeal was effective. So the apostles invite their hearers to repentance (ii. 38, iii. 19); their aim is to touch hearts by appealing to the sense of unforgiven sin,—of a burden from which the law of Moses could not release the conscience (xiii. 39).

## 2. The Preaching to Gentiles.

This point is not one that needs much illustration. The general principle of S. Paul evidently is to find a basis for the Christian appeal in the acknowledged truths of natural religion, attested by the conscience and reason of man. Thus we find him insisting at Lystra and at Athens on the two fundamentals of natural religion—(1) the unity and providence of the Creator (xiv. 15 ff.), and (2) the certainty of a judgment to come (xvii. 24–31). He claims of the Gentiles that they shall be true to the teachings of conscience and reason.<sup>1</sup> God had not left Himself *without witness*, in the order of nature; and the doctrine of future judgment had been an accepted one among Greek philosophers. Tertullian even alludes to the prevalent belief as *testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ*,<sup>2</sup> and it is worth while to recall the fact that the book of Ecclesiastes had witnessed to the Divine compassion for the Gentile world by its recognition of the two attributes which even the heathen would ascribe to the supreme God,—those of *Creator* (xii. 1) and *Judge*

<sup>1</sup> The inevitable inference from the order and bounty of nature is suggested by Cicero, *Tusc. Quest.* i. 29: "Hæc igitur, et alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, si hæc nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur: vel si semper fuerint, ut Aristoteli placet, moderator tanti operis et muneris!" This passage is referred to by Bishop Jacobson on Acts xiv. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Apologeticus adv. Gent.* xvii.

(iii. 17). It is observable, however, that the sermon at Athens ends with an allusion to Jesus, and the authentication of His mission by the resurrection (Acts xvii. 31).<sup>1</sup>

### III. Christology of S. James.

The Epistle of S. James has by some been regarded as the earliest portion of the New Testament,<sup>2</sup> and *prima facie* it appears very unlike other New Testament books in tone and spirit. But there is little to warrant the hasty assumption that it represents the earliest type of Christianity, and that a Judaistic type.<sup>3</sup> The Epistle might rather be described as Hebraistic than Judaistic in tone. Its manner and style is that of the ancient prophets, and it may be without inaccuracy described as "the farewell voice of Hebrew prophecy." The circumstances, indeed, under which the Epistle seems to have been written might well kindle the prophetic spirit. The condition of Jerusalem was most miserable; the Jews, as a body, were still fanatically anti-Christian, and the ever-accumulating load of guilt and frenzy kept the city in perpetual disorder and agitation. On the other hand, the Christians were, as a rule, in a backward state of spiritual development. The work of S. James was to lead on men who were in an immature stage of religious belief. "He was specially fitted for this work, because he was so much in sympathy with those whom he addressed." It is possible that the details of Christ's life were as yet comparatively unfamiliar, which would account for the paucity of references to our Lord. But in any case S. James, by his own attitude towards Christ, implicitly repudiates the meagre Ebionitic view of His person, which, perhaps, may be seen exemplified in the *Didache*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Weiss, *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> See J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of S. James*, p. cxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 151, goes so far as to say, "It chiefly illustrates Judaistic Christianity by total freedom from it."

He calls himself the *slave of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ* (i. 1), and applies the title *κύριος* to God and Christ indifferently,—speaking of our Lord as *κύριος δόξης* (ii. 1);<sup>1</sup> he assumes that his readers hold *the faith of Christ* (*ibid.*); and he looks for His coming to judgment (v. 8, 9).<sup>2</sup> There is finally a reference to the power of *the name* (v. 14), which recalls the usage of *τὸ ὄνομα* in the Acts and in S. John's Third Epistle.<sup>3</sup> It thus seems fair to attribute the restrained language of S. James to intention rather than to imperfectly developed consciousness of Christ's person. His general aim seems to be, in accordance with his prophetic standpoint, the exhibition of the ethical aspects of Christianity—(1) as a fulfilment or expansion of the ancient moral law, (2) as a regenerating power. Christianity is viewed, first, as the perfect moral law. The Epistle seems to presuppose a perversion of S. Paul's characteristic doctrine of justification; for S. James takes pains to insist on moral law as a permanent element in true religion. As opposed to the Mosaic code, the Christian law is marked by three main characteristics. It is a law of *freedom* (i. 25), *i.e.* not a system of outward constraint, but a principle of inward life. It is a *royal law*, not only as given to man by one who is the founder of a kingdom, but also as all-regulating and supreme; the substitution of love for servile fear as the mainspring of religious obedience (ii. 8). Lastly, it

<sup>1</sup> Mayor understands this to mean *Our Lord, who is the glory*: *δόξα* being possibly a reference to the Shekinah. See his note, *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Observe that in this last place *ὁ κύριος* is used absolutely of Christ: *ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἤγγικεν.*

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fairbairn speaks severely of S. James as "timid and conservative." He complains of "the poverty" of his Christology; "the Christology," he says, "is so rudimentary because of a double defect,—it is not rooted in the historical person, . . . and it has no knowledge of the Sonship," etc. (*Christ in Mod. Theol.* pp. 328 f.). But surely, as Salmon remarks (*Introd. to N.T.* c. xxiii.), S. James' "whole religious life had Jesus for its centre and foundation."

is *perfect*, because it embodies the Divine thought, the absolute will of God for man (cp. Rom. xii. 2, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον).

So far, S. James writes from the standpoint of one to whom the Sermon on the Mount is the foundation of the Christian system, and accordingly he regards our Lord as lawgiver and judge. But in his conception of Christianity as *the word of truth* from God (λόγος ἀληθείας, i. 18), we find the complementary truth that Christian life is a new creation, Christian grace a regenerating power, and a gift of God. Two expressions are used in this connection. The gospel is λόγος ἀληθείας; it has a creative power in the spiritual sphere like the Divine fiat in creation, and it is the instrument of the soul's new birth. Λόγος in this text has not, indeed, a personal sense, but it implies that the message of God to man is embodied in the life and work of the Incarnate; Christ is Himself a word from God. The word of God is in Him, as a creative and operative power; in Him man is a new creature. Again, the word is implanted or *rooted* in the human soul that receives it (λόγος ἐμφυτός, i. 21),<sup>1</sup> and is the means of its salvation. The significance of this conception lies in the fact that it marks "an immense revolution in the ordinary consciousness of a Jew."<sup>2</sup> It implies that in Christ is revealed a principle of power which the law was unable to bestow; it is akin to the Johannine idea of Christ as the revealer of grace and truth: of a gift enabling man to respond to the requirement of God. Perhaps we should connect with the doctrine of the implanted word or law, the passage in which S. James describes the fruits

<sup>1</sup> A. V. translates ἐμφυτός as equivalent to ἐμφύτευτος, "engrafted"; but see Mayor, *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 66; cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 285 ff.

of wisdom (iii. 13 ff.). In the use of this term he seems to be referring to the Old Testament doctrine of wisdom, *i.e.* the inward knowledge of the Divine will which results in active and habitual obedience.<sup>1</sup> In any case, S. James' thought seems to be based on the teaching of Jeremiah as to the Messianic age, a predicted note of which was to be the writing of the law in the heart of God's people.<sup>2</sup> In Christ, not only is the will of God perfectly revealed, but the means of its accomplishment by man is provided. The Word of God has thus a twofold aspect: it is, on the one hand, God's authoritative message of requirement; on the other, it is a regenerating force imparted to Christians by which they are begotten again to a new life, which liberates from the power of sin, and brings about the actual realisation of the Divine kingdom on earth.

#### IV. S. Peter's first Epistle.

The Christology of S. Peter has the simple, direct, objective character which we should expect in view of the writer's own vivid experience of our Lord's life. Four leading thoughts may be discerned in the first Epistle.

1. The continuity of the covenant people. The titles of God's ancient people belong by right to Christians. They are the *elect race*, the *royal priesthood*, the *holy nation*, the *people of possession*, to which the Divine promises had been vouchsafed.<sup>3</sup> The gospel is the fulfilment of the inspired visions of prophecy; it is the full and glorious satisfaction of Israel's hopes, the crown and climax of its history. Even the Old Testament was as it were an organism quickened by *the Spirit of Christ*,<sup>4</sup> foretelling the grace and glory that should follow

<sup>1</sup> So Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 52.

<sup>2</sup> Jerem. xxxi. 33; cp. Weiss, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 9; cp. Ex. xix. 6; Deut. iv. 20, etc.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Pet. i. 10-12. See Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 48.

His sufferings. Christianity is in fact the embodiment of an eternal purpose. The sanctification of an elect people, consecrated to obedience by the blood of Jesus Christ, was foreknown from the beginning.<sup>1</sup> The Gentile Christians whom the apostle addresses are treated "as sharers in the ancestral prerogatives of Israel; and that not by an afterthought, as it were, of the Divine will, but in accordance with the Divine purpose as it existed before the beginning of things."<sup>2</sup>

2. The reality of the historic Christ. His appearance in the flesh<sup>3</sup> was real and substantial; both in flesh and in spirit He was a partaker of our human nature (1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, iv. 1). The value of His example lies in the fact that He actually suffered for us in the flesh, endured the penalty of sin, became by meek submission the pattern of faith (ii. 21-25), passed into the sphere of departed spirits (iii. 18 ff.). The saving power of Christian sacraments is derived from the grace of Christ's resurrection and ascension (i. 3, iii. 21, 22). Enthroned at God's right hand, He has power to bestow the gift of the Spirit by whose operation Christians are regenerated (cp. i. 23).

3. The preternatural power of Christ's human acts and sufferings. S. Peter lays special stress on the atoning virtue of the Passion (ii. 22 ff., iii. 18 ff.). The blood of Christ is *precious* (τίμιον αἷμα, i. 19); His bloodshedding derives its efficacy from the merit of His eternal person. Corresponding with this is the ascription of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> On 1 Pet. i. 20 ff., where Christ is said to be *προγεγνωσμένον μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δέ, κ.τ.λ.*, Harnack says: "We may trace the specially Jewish idea of pre-existence, i.e. existence in the foreknowledge of an omniscient and omnipotent God, of a being afterwards visibly manifested on earth" (*Dogmengeschichte*, vol. i. Appendix I.). In the same way pre-existence was attributed to the Church by early writers. S. Peter implies the *real* pre-existence of Christ in chap. i. 11.

glory to Christ in chap. iv. 11, and the use of *λόγος* in chap. i. 23, which implies "a perfect revelation of God apparent personally."<sup>1</sup> Like S. James, S. Peter regards this *living word* as the source or instrument of the new birth. Christ is, in fact, the perfect Mediator, revealing God to man, and bringing man *to God* (iii. 18). Here we have a point of contact between S. Peter's Epistle and the Epistle to the Hebrews; the sufferings of Christ restore to man the right of access to God which had been hindered by human sin. The whole body of Christian believers constitutes a holy or royal priesthood, all the privileges which under the Old Covenant belonged to the Levitical high priest alone having been transferred to the Church. The sufferings and exaltation of Christ are thought of as consecrating to the perpetual service of God all those who bear the Christian name.

4. The expectation of the Messianic judgment.<sup>2</sup> Through His resurrection Christ has been exalted to the Messianic glory (i. 21), and placed at the right hand of God, sharing the honour and sovereignty of the Most High (iii. 22). On this fact Christian hope is securely based; a hope which fixes itself upon the second coming of the Messiah. But His revelation will be a manifestation of Divine judgment. He who preached the message of salvation even to the *spirits that once were disobedient* (iii. 19) will Himself judge the quick and the dead. The salvation *ready to be revealed* (i. 5) means deliverance in the impending judgment, which therefore is the goal of Christian hope, and the moment of entry on the Christian inheritance.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 70; cp. *φανερωθέντος*, 1 Pet. i. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See generally Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* §§ 49, 50.

<sup>3</sup> The authorship and date of the so-called second Epistle are alike uncertain. It represents our Lord as an object of knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*, 2 Pet. i. 3, ii. 20; cp. chap. iii. 18), and this knowledge is the end of the life of grace. Here again by implication is given the most exalted view of Christ's person. To Him belong *μεγαλειότης* (i. 16), *δόξα και ἀρετή* (i. 3).

S. Jude speaks of himself as *the slave of Christ* (v. 1) His main thought is the finality of the faith of Christ, as One in whom we have union with God. His gift is eternal life; His mercy the object of hope; He whom heretics deny is *ὁ μόνος δεσπότης καὶ κύριος*.

### § III. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF S. PAUL<sup>1</sup>

The form of S. Paul's Christological doctrine is largely determined by the moral and practical aim which the apostle had in view at different epochs of his life, and by the spiritual experiences of his own career. In his earlier letters he exhibits Jesus Christ in His relation chiefly to the fundamental need of humanity, justification before God; and in relation on the other hand to the expectations and claims of the Jewish people. Christ is at once the Messiah, the promised seed of Abraham, and the source of the righteousness in virtue of which man finds acceptance with God. In later Epistles we find a more comprehensive view of Christ's person. The historical and cosmic significance of the Incarnation is insisted on; the fact that it is at once the consummation of an age-long purpose of God for man and for the universe; and the revelation of a *mystery of godliness* hitherto hidden from mankind.

I. In the two earlier groups of Epistles (ranging in To know Christ is to be a partaker of the Divine nature (i. 4). "The author, in teaching such a participation, shows that he has passed beyond the Jewish separation between God and the world; that a mighty revolution of Jewish conceptions has been brought about by the knowledge that in Christ the union of God and man had been accomplished" (Dorner, div. i. vol. i. note X. p. 353).

On the question of the genuineness of 2 Peter, see Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, vii. note B.

<sup>1</sup> See generally Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 331-337; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, esp. c. 3; Pressensé, *Early Years of Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 264 ff. (E. T.).

date from 52 to 59 A.D.) teaching as to our Lord's person is mainly implicit. A position is assigned to Christ which seems inevitably to imply His divinity.

Thus, in respect to His *nature* and rank in the scale of being, Christ is invested with Divine attributes. He is co-ordinated with God in greetings and farewells (*e.g.*, 2 Thess. i. 2; 2 Cor. xiii. 14). He is the source of S. Paul's own apostolate (Gal. i. 1). He is represented as a pre-existent Being (Rom. i. 4, *πνεῦμα*;<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 47; 2 Cor. viii. 9); as the agent in creation (1 Cor. viii. 6), as exercising a mediatorial function (1 Cor. x. 4). Finally, He is called Lord (*κύριος*), and in a great climactic passage, *God over all, blessed for evermore*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, S. Paul has a clear grasp of our Lord's real humanity, His humiliation, His sinlessness, His sufferings (Rom. i. 3, viii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 21, viii. 9, xiii. 4; Gal. iv. 4). Pfeleiderer infers from the comparative absence of reference to the details of our Lord's earthly life that S. Paul had little or no knowledge of the traditional facts, but in reply it has been urged that S. Paul's experience was of a kind peculiar to himself. By a sudden and violent transition he was called on "to believe in a glorified Lord, and not to follow a suffering teacher." The Church instinctively felt that his conversion "was to him what death was to the other saints, the entrance into a higher life."<sup>3</sup> Henceforth

<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of the Son's pre-existence seems to be implied in this expression of S. Paul. as certainly it is in later theology. Cp. Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 230, note.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. ix. 5. See Sanday and Headlam, *ad loc.* The arguments as to the application of this passage are well stated in Gifford's Commentary, add. note on ix. 5. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 316 ff.; cp. Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 308, note.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, *Introd. to the Gospels*, p. 220; cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* § 58; and Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 305: "The history is the very groundwork of the apostle's thought, everywhere assumed in it, inseparable from it, the element in which it lives, moves, and has its being."

he knew Christ after the flesh no more.<sup>1</sup> The Christ present to his thought was the risen and ascended Redeemer in the splendour of His Divine glory.

But S. Paul's conception of Christ's person may be gathered no less clearly from the statements which he makes respecting our Lord's *office* in relation to humanity. Not only is He the future Judge whose return is the Divine event towards which our universe tends (1 Thess. ii. 19, iii. 13, and iv. 6, 17; 2 Thess. i. 8-10, etc.; Rom. xiv. 9; 2 Cor. v. 10). He is the Justifier of humanity, the one Mediator between man and His Creator (Rom. x. 4, v. 15; Gal. iii. 24). He is the Giver of grace, a *quickenig Spirit*, the Head of a new humanity, the second Adam, exercising lordship in the realm of grace as in that of nature (Rom. v. 18 ff.; 1 Cor. xv. 45; 2 Cor. iii. 17).<sup>2</sup>

Further, the expression *Image* applied to Christ in both an earlier and later Epistle (2 Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15) implies that Christ is not only the representative of God, but the essential revealer of the invisible Father. On the other hand, references to Christ as *sent* (Rom. viii. 3; Gal. iv. 4) imply the subordination of the Son to the Father,—a doctrine which is implied in other passages, such as 1 Cor. iii. 23, xi. 3, xv. 28, and is indeed inseparable from the conception of Sonship.

It will be clear from this brief sketch what position S. Paul assigns to our Lord. His view of Christ is essentially (to borrow a somewhat vague modern term) *pneumatic*. Christ is the heavenly or spiritual man; in His original subsistence Divine, and therefore in His incarnate life a new creation of God, "a Being above nature, who has life and is capable of giving it";<sup>3</sup> a Being who assumes human nature, that He may present

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. v. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 308-310.

<sup>3</sup> Fairbairn, *op. cit.* p. 311 (1 Cor. xv. 45 ff.); cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 79 (vol. i. p. 408, E.T.); Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 81.

it, perfected by obedience, as a living sacrifice to God; that He may indwell humanity as the source of its righteousness and the pledge of its future glory. It is thus on the whole true that the earlier Pauline Epistles "construe the Christian fact rather in the anthropological than in the Christological form."<sup>1</sup> S. Paul's own experience taught him to regard Christianity mainly as a new way of human salvation, vouchsafed to man in the person of the Divine Redeemer; as a revelation of grace bestowed on mankind through the mediation of the second Adam.

The leading ideas which give distinctive character to S. Paul's implicit teaching on the person of Christ seem to be the following:—

1. The conception of Christ's Lordship; to Him belongs a Divine sovereignty which He has merited by the life of creaturely service and obedience, and on the possession of which He entered at the resurrection. *We preach*, says the apostle, *Christ Jesus as Lord*.<sup>2</sup> This is the distinguishing mark of the Christian profession and of apostolic preaching. The title sums up Christ's relation to the visible universe and to the Church; Christians belong to Him;<sup>3</sup> they are bound to accept His commands as decisive;<sup>4</sup> they are *under law to Christ*;<sup>5</sup> He is the fountain-head of all grace, authority, and disciplinary power;<sup>6</sup> He is to be finally looked for as judge.<sup>7</sup> Like S. Peter, S. Paul does not hesitate even to apply Old Testament Jehovah-passages to Christ;<sup>8</sup> and he ascribes to Him that absolute sovereignty over the

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 5; cp. 1 Cor. xii. 3; Rom. x. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. xiv. 8; 1 Cor. iii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 10, etc.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 21; Gal. vi. 2.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Cor. x. 8, xiii. 10.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Cor. v. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Rom. x. 13; 1 Cor. ii. 16; cp. 1 Cor. x. 22. The absolute expression *ὁ κύριος* is often applied to Christ. *ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς* in 1 Cor. xvi. 23; 2 Cor. i. 14, xi. 31; cp. Rom. xiv. 14.

universe which belongs to Deity alone. He is *Lord of all*;<sup>1</sup> *Lord of glory*;<sup>2</sup> the splendour of the Divine state belongs to Him as the exalted Messiah; the essence of the Divine nature is His; He is Spirit.<sup>3</sup>

2. The thought of Lordship is qualified by that of *Sonship*. Christ is in a unique sense the Son of God (*ὁ ἴδιος υἱός*, Rom. viii. 32; cp. 3), in the sacrifice of whom is displayed the transcendent greatness of Divine love. The title *Son* imports something beyond mere Messianic dignity,—the dignity with which in the resurrection Christ was invested, and which was then recognised as essentially His own.<sup>4</sup> The term denotes a personal relationship to God, in virtue of which the sufferings and death of Jesus acquire special significance. Further, all allusions to the *sending* of the Son<sup>5</sup> imply that in His original state or nature Jesus Christ was an inhabitant of heaven;<sup>6</sup> the Incarnation was a change of state in the life of a pre-existent being, a change which involved subjection to creaturely limitations and the law of educational discipline (*γίγνεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμον*, Gal. iv. 4). It was an act of abnegation, in which an unknown measure of condescending grace was exhibited.<sup>7</sup> At the same time the term *Son*, while it implies a position of unique pre-existent glory and bliss, naturally conveys the further thought of subordination to the Father; the Son, notwithstanding His Divine dignity, being sealed as the executor and Mediator of the Divine purpose of salvation. Thus the Divine sovereignty of the Son is ultimately to be surrendered to the Father;<sup>8</sup> for the essential relation

<sup>1</sup> See Rom. x. 12, iv. 13 (as Lord of the Messianic kingdom Christ is heir of the world); cp. Gal. iii. 16 f.; Acts x. 36.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 17; cp. 1 Cor. xv. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Acts xiii. 33 (Ps. ii. 7); Rom. i. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 3 (*πέμψας*); Gal. iv. 4 (*ἐξαπέστειλεν*).

<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 47: *ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 9: *ἐπτώχευσε πλοῦσιος ὄν*.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 24–28.

of the Son to the Father is that of dependence. The cessation of Christ's kingship can only be understood as the close of a mediatorial function which will have attained its purpose. *He must reign*, says the apostle, *till He hath put all His enemies under His feet*. Here the "kingdom" is spoken of in relation to the opposition of a rival *rule, authority, and power*. It plainly means the sovereignty exercised by the exalted Christ for the accomplishment of a Divine purpose, the achievement of a Divine victory, the establishment in humanity of the kingdom of God, the overthrow of sin. "*That kingdom must close when its purpose is accomplished. In that sense, but in that only, in which a king puts down his enemies, and has then no more opposition to contend with, there is the prospect of a time when our Lord can be no longer King.*"<sup>1</sup> The position of filial dependence involves the ultimate cession of sovereignty to Him who is the source of all rule, authority, and power.

3. As to the historical human life of Christ, S. Paul only mentions what is to him of immediate doctrinal importance.<sup>2</sup> He speaks of His human descent and birth under the law; His life of self-denial; His institution of the Eucharist; His sufferings, death, and resurrection.<sup>3</sup> He also touches upon the constraining force of Christ's example;<sup>4</sup> but there are two points on which he lays special stress: the consubstantiality of Christ's humanity with ours; and the sinlessness of His nature.

Christ's human nature was of a piece with ours. He took to Himself flesh, with all its weakness and suscepti-

<sup>1</sup> Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, Lect. iv. See Chrys. *ad loc.* As in the Apocalypse βασιλεια seems to refer less to the splendour of royalty than to the Old Testament conception of sovereignty as a means of deliverance and victory over foes.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 78.

<sup>3</sup> Gal. iii. 16; Rom. ix. 5; Gal. iv. 4; Rom. xv. 3; 1 Cor. xi. 23, etc.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. x. 1; 1 Cor. xi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 9.

bility to suffering and death.<sup>1</sup> S. Paul contrasts the *flesh* of Christ with a higher element in His being (Rom. i. 3, ix. 5): the term *σάρξ* being clearly employed to denote the totality of human nature: that which is characteristic of man as such (elsewhere comprehended in the expression *μορφή δούλου*, Phil. ii. 7). In virtue of this bodily nature, from which the life of the soul (*ψυχή*) is inseparable, Christ was subject to suffering, temptation, and death; in a word, to all the ordinary affections and experiences of sinless humanity.<sup>2</sup> For the "flesh" is not in itself necessarily sinful; it has become the sphere and instrument of sin only through the misuse of human free will. Christ is "flesh," is "man," morally such as he originally was, but physically such as sin has left him, *i.e.* subject to creaturely weakness, pain, temptation, and death, but sinless. The flesh in Christ is not the *flesh of sin*; He *knew no sin* (2 Cor. v. 21); He came into the world only *in the likeness of the flesh of sin*, *i.e.* subject to all the outward conditions and experiences of sin-stricken humanity, subject to the pressure of temptation, and of all the vicissitudes which are the normal consequences of human sin.<sup>3</sup> S. Paul does not anywhere touch directly upon the subject of the supernatural birth; he speaks of Christ as *made of a woman* (Gal. iv. 4) in a context where the main thought is similarity of the general conditions common to Christ and the race He came to redeem. Consequently we cannot appeal to him as bearing testimony to the evangelic tradition; but as he nowhere contradicts

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. xiii. 4; Rom. vi. 9.

<sup>2</sup> On S. Paul's usage of *σάρξ*, see Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 68; Liddon, *Ep. to the Romans*, p. 4; Gifford, *Ep. to the Romans*, Introd. p. 48; Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, vol. i. See H. Scott Holland's serm., "Made under the Law" (*On Behalf of Belief*, p. 187).

<sup>3</sup> On Rom. viii. 3, see Gifford's additional note; Weiss, § 78, etc. The doctrine of Christ's sinlessness is dealt with in a later part of this book. See Orig. *in loc.* and esp. Tert. *de Carne Chr.* xvi.

it, we may take it for granted that he would admit the virginal birth as the natural and credible account of a supernatural fact, which he evidently accepts, namely, the sinlessness of our Lord's manhood.

4. The significance assigned by S. Paul to Christ's death and resurrection may be urged as a proof of the exalted conception he had formed of His person.<sup>1</sup> It is only necessary to point out the leading aspects of the Divine sacrifice which meet us in the earlier Epistles. It is, first, a supreme display of Divine righteousness and love: righteousness vindicating the law that sin deserves and necessarily involves penalty; love finding a way by free self-sacrifice to reconcile holiness with mercy.<sup>2</sup> Again, it is a vicarious self-oblation: a representative offering, a submission to the law of Divine justice made on behalf of men by One who suffered in their stead;<sup>3</sup> One who submitted, though sinless, to be the sacrifice for sin.<sup>4</sup> Again, it is a redemption, the blood of Christ being a propitiatory sacrifice by which mankind was delivered from the curse and tyranny of sin. The phrase *ἀπολύτρωσις* (Rom. iii. 24) implies, according to Old Testament usage, the idea of deliverance, but at a mighty cost. The self-surrender of Christ to death is described as a redemption-price (*τιμὴ*, 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23) with which mankind has been purchased, but the thought is combined with that of propitiation. Lastly, the work of Christ is regarded ultimately as a reconciliation, or atonement, by which God again admits man, on his submission to the Divine will, into favour and friendship. In this connection it is the *obedience* of Christ,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Weiss, § 80.

<sup>2</sup> See Rom. iii. 25, 26, iv. 25, viii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 3; Gal. ii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. v. 14, 15; *περὶ ἡμῶν*, 1 Thess. v. 10; *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*, 1 Cor. xv. 3; *διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν*, Rom. iv. 25.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. v. 21.

exemplified both in His life and in His submission to death, that is the means of reconciliation, while the ground of it is to be found in the Divine mercy.<sup>1</sup> The result of this act of grace is the acceptance, or justification, of man, and the imparting to him of the righteousness of Christ.<sup>2</sup> The new life of Christians, however, is the self-communication of the risen Redeemer's life and grace. If they are reconciled to God by the death of His Son, they are saved by His *life*.<sup>3</sup> Thus the work of Christ as man's atoning sacrifice is merged in His function as the mediator of salvation. The resurrection sets as it were the seal upon the Redeemer's work, and is the proof of its efficacy and acceptance with God. This mode of conceiving Christ's work entirely corresponds to the "pneumatic" view of His Person. "Theology was to Paul," says Harnack, "looking forwards, the doctrine of the liberating power of the Spirit (of Christ) in all the concrete relations of human life and need. The Christ who has already overcome law, sin, and death, lives as Spirit, and through His Spirit lives in believers, who for that very reason know Him not after the flesh. He is a creative power of life to those who receive Him in faith, that is to say to those who are justified."<sup>4</sup> The pre-existent, crucified, risen, and exalted Christ is in fact the ruling principle and decisive element in the theology of S. Paul.

From this brief summary of the apostle's earlier teaching we turn to his more explicit theological statements.

II. The explicit Christological teaching of S. Paul may be best exhibited by a brief consideration of three conspicuous passages which treat the Incarnation from different points of view.

1. The method of redemption is described in the

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 10, 11; 2 Cor. v. 18-20.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. v. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. v. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 82.

earliest Epistle of the first captivity, Phil. ii. 5-11. It should be observed that the whole passage is introduced with a practical moral purpose,—to illustrate the spirit of self-sacrifice, which does not insist on its rights. Our Lord is presented as the pattern of one who foregoes prerogatives that might be claimed, and renounces the state of pre-mundane sovereignty which by right was His. This is generally allowed to be the motive of the passage.<sup>1</sup>

The chief points to be observed in this great passage are the following:—

(a) The unity of the person whose action is described. The passage starts from the historical person Jesus Christ, and traces the continuous action of a single personal will. The Incarnation is the transition, or descent,<sup>2</sup> from a heavenly to an earthly and human existence; from a state of glory to one of servitude and trial.

(b) The pre-existence of Jesus: *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ἰπάρχων*. This phrase implies possession of all the characteristic and essential attributes of Deity. *μορφή* is not to be confounded with *οὐσία*, but only one who was God could subsist *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*. The word *μορφή* in fact comprises all those qualities which convince us of the real presence of a being or object.<sup>3</sup> In this state

<sup>1</sup> See E. H. Gifford, *The Incarnation: a Study of Phil. ii. 5 ff.*

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Eph. iv. 10, *ὁ καταβάς*.

<sup>3</sup> See Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; Chrys. *ad loc.*; Trench, *Synonyms of the N. T.* § 70. *μορφή* presupposes *οὐσία* and *φύσις*, and cannot exist without them. "*μορφή* addit essentialiæ et proprietatibus essentialibus et naturalibus alia etiam accidentia quæ veram rei naturam sequuntur et quibus, quasi lineamentis et coloribus, *οὐσία* et *φύσις* conformantur atque depinguntur."—Zanchius (ap. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 19). Chrys., however, says *ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, θεοῦ φύσις*. It would be more strict to say, perhaps, that the Son of God could part with *μορφὴ θεοῦ* but not with *οὐσία* or *φύσις θεοῦ*. But, says Chrys., *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλης οὐσίας ὄντα, τὴν ἄλλης μορφὴν ἔχειν*. "In our case," he adds, "who have a composite nature (*σύνθετοι*), form pertains to the body. But in the case of the simple, uncompounded nature, it pertains to the essence (*οὐσίας*)" (*ad Phil.* 238 D.).

our Lord *originally subsisted*, i.e. before his Incarnation. *Equality in state with God* (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ), with all that it implied of glory and bliss, was His own. But He did not regard this state as a *prize* or dignity to be retained. He therefore ceased for a season to be equal in state to God.<sup>1</sup> He surrendered the enjoyment of privileges which He might have claimed.

(c) The *κένωσις* is the process or method by which our Lord *emptied Himself* of the state of Deity. The *voluntariness* of the action is emphasised (*ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν*). In what this self-emptying consisted it is impossible to speculate. S. Paul, however, implies that though in the abstract difficult to conceive, it was a real act of the Divine will;<sup>2</sup> he does not exclude the idea that the Son of God continued *in some sense* to be what He was before. So Chrysostom insists, *μένουν, φησὶν, ὃ ἦν, ἔλαβεν δ' οὐκ ἦν*.<sup>3</sup> The real point is the exhortation to imitate the *mind* of Christ; there is no special insistence on the mystery of the *act* by which He became incarnate.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With *ὑπάρχων*, κ.τ.λ., cp. S. John's *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν* (i. 1), and the statement of S. Jo. xvii. 5. Chrysostom insists *φύσις γὰρ ἐλάττων οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ἀρπάσαι τὸ εἶναι ἐν μεγάλῃ ὁσὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ἀρπάσαι τὸ γενέσθαι ἴσος ἀγγέλῳ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν*. Harnack (*Dogmengesch.* vol. i. Appendix 1) deals very fully with the Pauline (Hellenic) conception of pre-existence. S. Paul, he thinks, is the primary author of that form of Christology which was afterwards expressed as follows:—*Χριστὸς, ὁ κύριος ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὃν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σὰρξ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν* (2 *Clem.* ix.). The idea that Christ is *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ* (*Apoc.* iii. 4) is to be referred to the specifically Jewish idea of pre-existence. Thus, according to Harnack, S. Paul (and also S. John) holds a theory midway between the Jewish and Greek ideas of pre-existence. Harnack's view, however, seems to be based on a partial and biassed survey of the earliest Christian thought.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the parallel passage, 2 Cor. viii. 9: *δι' ἡμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε πλούσιος ὢν*.

<sup>3</sup> *ad Phil.* 247 E., 248 D. Aug. *in Joh.* xvii. 16: "Non se exinanivit amittens quod erat, sed accipiens quod non erat." See also Cyril Alex.'s exposition, *Ep. ad Johann. Antioch*, 107 c. ff. [Pusey, *Three Epp. of S. Cyr.* p. 48].

<sup>4</sup> Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 16.

(d) The assumption of another nature is implied in the words λαβεῖν, γίνεσθαι. The Son of God assumes the form of a servant (μορφὴν δούλου), i.e. the essential attributes of a servant of God: the life of creaturely dependence and service as contrasted with the glory and sovereignty of the Son in His natural state.<sup>1</sup> The phrase *being made in the likeness of men* brings out the complete and representative character of Christ's assumed nature. In relation to men He was like them (ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων); He was one of themselves.<sup>2</sup> The Greek phrase does not imply a docetic view. "He does not mean," says Chrysostom, "that Christ did not possess a body of flesh, but that His flesh sinned not, and was only *like* to the flesh that had sinned. It was like in nature, but not in defect (κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν κακίαν).<sup>3</sup> 'Likeness' implies that it was not *in all respects* the same, e.g. as regards conception of a virgin, and sinlessness." Finally, Christ *was found (appeared) in outward fashion as a man*; He passed through the external phases of ordinary human experience. The incidents of His life were such as could fall under the observation of His fellow-men.<sup>4</sup> Yet the word *fashion* (σχῆμα) implies that this was a transitory phase, a temporary stage, in Christ's human development.

(e) The essential characteristic of the nature assumed by the Divine Son was submission to the will of God.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Damasc. *de Orth. Fide*, iii. 21 : καὶ δούλην ἀπέλαβεν φύσιν, καὶ γὰρ δούλη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνθρώπου φύσις τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὴν θεῷ. Corn. a Lap. (*ad Phil. l.c.*): "Hæc servitus . . . creaturæ, qua talis est propria, in duobus consistit : primo, quod creatura tota sit subiecta dominio Dei, utpote quæ totum suum esse a Deo . . . accepit et continuo accipit ; secundo, quando rationalis creatura est, obligatur in omnibus Deo quasi Domino parere, eum revereri et colere ; quæ duo Christo, ut homo est competunt."

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Damasc. *l.c.* : δούλος μεθ' ἡμῶν κεκλημένος.

<sup>3</sup> *ad Phil.* 248 A. ; cp. Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus* [E.T.], i. p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> σχῆμα, habitus, cultus, vestitus, victus, gestus, sermones et actiones. —Bengel.

These ideas appear in their developed form in later Gnosticism; but in germ, at any rate, they underlie the mode of thought which S. Paul combats by a direct and positive statement of the significance of Christ's person, and the effect of His work in practically abrogating the ceremonial ordinances of Judaism.

In this passage the Son of God is exhibited as the *Image of the invisible God*. The term *εἰκών*, which S. Paul uses in an earlier Epistle (2 Cor. iv. 4), implies a twofold function of the Son. (1) In Him is presented the adequate and essential *expression* of the Divine nature; He is the *visible representation* of Deity, because in Him dwells the plenitude of Divine attributes. (2) He is the *revealer* of Deity, manifesting that which in itself is invisible. His character is a true manifestation of the Divine glory; in Him is conveyed to man a real and perfect knowledge of God. The function here ascribed to the *Image* is equivalent to that of S. John's *Logos* (cp. S. Jo. i. 18, xiv. 9, 10).

From this conception of the Son's person follows the truth of His essential relation to the natural creation and to the new creation—the Church of redeemed humanity.

i. The Son is *firstborn of all creation*, or *in relation to all creation*. To Him belongs the dignity of primogeniture (*πρωτοτόκια*); in relation to creation He is *prior to it* (*αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων*), and *exercises sovereignty* over it. In fact, the expression *πρωτότοκος*, when considered in its context, implies the Son's pre-existence; while its Messianic associations suggest the idea of lordship and heirship.<sup>1</sup>

The mediatorial function is thus involved in the fact of Divine Sonship, and this is first exercised in the act of creation. All things were created *in Him*, as their

<sup>1</sup> See Lightfoot and T. K. Abbott, *ad loc.*; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures* pp. 321 ff.; and Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 103.

archetype; *by Him* as the co-operating agent; *unto Him* as their final cause. All things in Him *cohere, hold together* (συνέστηκεν). The laws which by their interaction bind the universe into a rational and ordered whole (κόσμος) are expressions of His mind. In Him created life eternally *was* (Rev. iv. 11); the universe was ever present to the thought of God. The pre-existent Word was, in the phrase of Philo, the κόσμος νοητός: the ground and source of all existence.<sup>1</sup> There is, in fact, but one link between God and the universe, between the absolute and the world of matter, namely, the person of the Son.

ii. The Son also stands in an essential relation to the Church, or new creation. "The Creator," says a living writer, "is so bound to His creation that He cannot allow it to be divided from Him by evil, for this would be its ruin. And so at the touch of evil the cosmology becomes a soteriology; for when sin enters the world, the Creator, who is good, has no choice but to become the Saviour."<sup>2</sup> The mediatorial function which the Son exercises as Creator, He fulfils also as Redeemer. He is the one link between God and mankind. "He absorbs in Himself the whole function of mediation. Through Him alone, without any interposing link of communication, the human soul has access to the Father. He is the Head with whom all the living members of the body are in direct and immediate communication, who suggests their manifold activities to each, who directs their several functions in subordination to the healthy working of the whole, from whom they individually receive their inspiration and their strength."<sup>3</sup>

It is unnecessary to dwell on the details of this

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, § 125.

<sup>2</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 183 (ed. 1).

He was *obedient unto death*; His human nature was made the organ of a perfect obedience. In the word *obedient* Christ's entire human experience is summarily comprised;<sup>1</sup> and the conditions under which obedience was rendered were voluntarily assumed (*ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν*). There was on Christ's part a voluntary continuance in the state which He assumed.

(f) The reward of human obedience was exaltation, according to a necessary law of Divine action (*διὸ καὶ*, v. 9). The manhood of Jesus Christ is raised from death to be the organ of supreme sovereignty and the object of universal adoration. The exaltation is here regarded, not as a necessary consequence of the union of the human with the Divine in the person of Jesus, but as an illustration of a fundamental law of the moral universe.

Thus in outline S. Paul describes the conditions under which redemption was achieved. He says nothing as to the problems which the doctrine of the *κένωσις* presents to faith. Only one thing is strictly necessary for the purposes of the apostle's argument, namely, the truth that He who thus vouchsafed to undergo a true human experience was Himself more than man. The great purpose of the entire passage is to represent the Incarnation of the Divine Son as an act of immeasurable condescension. Christ's obedience "would lose its highest significance as a pattern and prototype if it were not the obedience of Him who was originally and essentially the Lord of glory. . . . They who make Christ a mere man, in order, as they say, to do honour to the ethical, the human, weaken and injure the ethical, because they deny to Christ the means and the possibility of the highest manifestation of love. The truly ethical, truly human example which Christ has left us rests on the mysterious basis of the Divine in His being, and loses its power,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Rom. v. 19; Heb. v. 8.

becomes empty and flat, when it is detached from this."<sup>1</sup>

2. The most impressive description of the Redeemer's person is found in the Epistle to the Colossians (chap. i. 15-20). In the third group of his Epistles, to which this letter belongs, S. Paul is no longer confronting Judaistic error as to salvation, but a Judæo-Oriental conception of Christ's person.<sup>2</sup> In the heresy which the Colossian Church seems to have exhibited in a nascent form, it has been customary to trace the fundamental idea of the Gnostic cosmology, namely, that of the essential inherent evil of matter. It is not necessary to pursue this conception to its source. It is sufficient to point out its practical consequences, which were mainly two.

(1) If matter is evil, the question arises how God can create or otherwise come in contact with matter? This problem was solved by the supposition that there existed a hierarchy of intermediate beings, each containing less of the Divine element than the one higher in the scale. The lowest of these beings, it was taught, would be sufficiently akin to gross matter to come into contact and relation with it.

(2) But again, if matter be evil, how can the soul be liberated from its control? In answer to this question use was made of the Christian idea of redemption, which was represented as consisting in the liberation of spirit from the trammels of matter. This result was to be achieved by a rigid asceticism, and by contempt and depreciation of the body.

<sup>1</sup> Martensen, *Christian Ethics (General)*, § 79.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 116 ff.) questions the current opinion that the Colossian heresy was of a speculative type, connected with Essene influences. His weighty arguments make the connection at least very doubtful. The distinctive features of the heresy seem rather to be derived from Palestinian (Pharisaic) Judaism than from Essene influence.

passage; it will suffice to point out its leading thought, the cosmical significance of Christ's person and work. In the earlier Epistles the thought of the exaltation of Christ pointed back to that of His heavenly origin. But it is characteristic of the group of Epistles to which the Colossians belongs that the significance of the Redeemer's person is deduced *a priori* from the mystery of God's creative thought, according to which the purpose of salvation was intimately connected with the plan of the universe realised in creation. The eternal purpose of love is fittingly and naturally carried into effect through the agency of God's *Beloved*, the *Son of His love*,<sup>1</sup> who alone can endue humanity with the grace of adoptive sonship. As all things were created by the Son, so all were created *for Him* (εἰς αὐτόν). The ultimate goal of the universe is the restoration of all things to their natural dependence on Christ as the centre and source of their life and movement.<sup>2</sup> This conception of Christ marks an advance in the later theology of S. Paul, as compared with that of his earlier Epistles.

3. In Ephesians i. 3-14 is described the extension of the incarnate life in the kingdom of redeemed humanity.

The conception of Christ's person as the source of a new life, the archetype of a new nature, leads on to the idea of a catholic society, of which the risen and ascended Lord is the Head and life-giving principle. The Church is contemplated as perpetuating the life of the Son of God, and as uniting individual souls to Him by a process of incorporation. The quickening power of Christ's spiritualised humanity is the principle of the Church's unity, and the gift which it perpetuates.

The first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians speaks

<sup>1</sup> Eph. i. 6; Col. i. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. i. 10: ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν Χριστῷ.

of this gift of a new life—the characteristic gift of the new society—under a threefold aspect.

i. The gift is predestined by the Father. Individually, men are destined for the privilege and status of sonship, which is to be realised through union with Christ (*διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, v. 5). This “sonship” is one not only of mystical connection through a new birth, but of moral affinity: *He chose us out before the foundation of the world that we should be holy and without blemish before Him in love.* The historical work of Jesus Christ is the foundation of the Church’s existence, but though the Incarnation is an event in time, it is the fulfilment of an eternal and world-embracing purpose, to be realised in the elect community of which Christ is the Head.<sup>1</sup>

ii. The gift is communicated to mankind in Christ, the Author of our redemption by means of His blood. According to the Divine purpose for the universe, all things are to be summed up (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, v. 10) in Christ. He was foreordained to be the principle of their unity, the source of their life, the mainspring of their renewal, the controller of their movement. His work is one of reconciliation or restitution of all things to a state which they were predestined to attain; a restoration of harmony between God and the universe.<sup>2</sup>

But the Church of redeemed humanity stands in a peculiarly close relation to the Redeemer’s person. If He is the Head of the body, she is the complement, or fulness, of His being (*πληρώμα*).<sup>3</sup> To her Christ communicates the totality of His Divine attributes, so that she herself becomes filled up to the measure of Divine fulness;<sup>4</sup> she attains, by perpetual increase, to the full stature which in Christ she is predestined to reach. By the gradual extension of the incarnate life, the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Eph. i. 22, iv. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. i. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. ii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Eph. iii. 19.

universal lordship of Christ is vindicated and manifested ; the sum of things in heaven and in earth is again gathered into harmonious unity under the headship of the Divine Son ; the whole creation, spiritual and material,—every order of being, angelic or human,—is included in the scope of Christ's redemptive work.

iii. Finally, the gift of the new spiritual life is sealed by the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, the characteristic endowment or blessing of the new creation. Through His operation the soul undergoes a new birth which conveys the remission of sins, and translates into a new sphere of being. The subjective condition of this process is faith.<sup>1</sup>

A careful comparison of the leading ideas of the different groups of Epistles, shows that S. Paul is guided by the same fundamental principles in each ; but in later letters he develops these principles in greater detail and in a more contemplative tone. The idea of salvation as a mystery, as *hidden wisdom*, is expanded in the Ephesians, and the work of Christ is described with the use of much the same imagery as in Romans and Corinthians. The ideas of *redemption*, *reconciliation*, *peace* ; the associations connected with *sacrificial blood*, meet us in the later as in the earlier group of Epistles. The *sealing* of Christians with the Spirit, which is the *earnest* of their inheritance ; the grace of *adoption* and *heirship* ; the antithesis between faith and works, between the righteousness of the law and the righteousness obtained from God ; the high significance attached to Christ's *resurrection*, and to baptism as an act of incorporation into Christ—all these thoughts reappear in an expanded and richer form in the Epistles of the captivity. From a doctrinal point of view, therefore, it is a mistake to over-emphasise the differences of literary form which distinguish the later from the earlier writings of the apostle.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eph. i. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* § 100.

Without going into further detail, we may give an idea of the place which our Lord occupies in S. Paul's thought by a very brief survey of the leading Christological thoughts of each group of Epistles.

In the Epistles to the Thessalonians Christ is referred to more than once as the Judge of men. We have already noticed what that claim on His behalf necessarily implies. To S. Paul the coming (*παρουσία*) of Jesus Christ is the supreme event to which creation moves.<sup>1</sup> It will be a moment of revelation: *the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels.*<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to conceive that He for whom Christians are exhorted to patiently wait;<sup>3</sup> He who is the author of their salvation, the deliverer from Divine wrath,<sup>4</sup> the dispenser of grace,<sup>5</sup> the present comforter of His people,<sup>6</sup> —can be less than Divine.

In the Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans the work of Christ is contemplated in its relation to anthropology. Christ is the source of justification and of spiritual life to mankind; while to the apostle himself, He is Master, Lord, and Judge; the source of his ministerial power, the sustainer of his weakness, the subject of his preaching.

S. Paul's doctrine of justification is based on the dignity of the person of Christ. The Judaisers whom he confronts in the Epistle to the Galatians were men who either had never understood, or were wilfully rejecting, the completed work of Jesus Christ. The whole antithesis between grace and law, faith and works, which underlies the Epistle, rests on the assumption that the religion of Christ is absolute and final. All that preceded it was rudimentary, preparative, imperfect, dis-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Thess. i. 10, ii. 19, v. 23.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Thess. iii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Thess. v. 28; 2 Thess. i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Thess. i. 7, ii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Thess. i. 10, v. 9.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 17.

ciplinary. In Christ the promise of God was fulfilled, the promise of blessing, the promise of righteousness. What is it that gives this finality to the justifying work of Jesus Christ? How is it that in Him man is finally liberated from the bondage of the law? Why is His cross an object of glory and exultation? The answer is that the author of redemption is in a unique sense *the Son of God*.<sup>1</sup> The grace of His passion and resurrection is independent of historical limits of time; it is perpetuated in the life of the redeemed; it is imparted in the sacrament of regeneration,<sup>2</sup> which incorporates the believer into Christ,—identifies him with Christ, “whose perfect obedience and expiatory sufferings are thus transferred to him.”<sup>3</sup> Finally, the great blessing which prophecy had foretold—the gift of the Spirit—is communicated in and through Christ. *God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts*.<sup>4</sup> And the faith which on man’s part appropriates the blessings of redemption; the faith which justifies; the faith which saves, has Jesus Christ for its object. Christ is, in fact, to the soul that which its Creator and God alone can be. He is the object of the soul’s supreme act of self-surrender,<sup>5</sup> of its most absolute confidence and trust.

In the Epistles to Corinth and to the Romans Christ’s manhood is presented as the source of spiritual life to mankind. He is the *quickenings spirit* who makes alive the dead inert mass of humanity. He accomplishes this in virtue of His relation to the race as a whole, which is analogous to the position of the first Adam. The work of each man, the first and the second, is, in accordance with the law of solidarity, universal in its effects. Each is in a sense a “universal” person, transmitting the con-

<sup>1</sup> Gal. ii. 20, iv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iii. 27; cp. Rom. vi. 1-11; Col. ii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> Gal. iv. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Gal. ii. 16, 20, etc.; cp. Liddon, *l.c.*

sequences of his action to his posterity. The first Adam transmits to his descendants the natural weakness and liability to corruption and death that resulted from his sin. The second Adam transmits the effects and benefits of His sinless righteousness; but it is by a new birth, and according to the law of a supernatural life. For by the resurrection the humanity of Christ is spiritualised and endued with an all-pervasive, penetrating, and vitalising power. *In Christ shall all be made alive.* The weak, petty, but destructive cause of man's ruin—Adam's act of lawless disobedience—is more than counterbalanced by the full, rich, and exuberant power of Christ's work. For grace is mightier than sin; life than death; Divine Spirit than the life of nature. And here again we are compelled to acknowledge that the source of life, the renewer of humanity, must be more than human; for His work of re-creation is such as belongs only to the original Creator of man's nature.<sup>1</sup>

Passing to the next great group of Epistles, those belonging to the first captivity, we find an expansion of fundamental ideas already suggested. In these Christ occupies "not simply an historical, but a cosmical place."<sup>2</sup> The mystical aspect of Christology is brought into prominence: the relation of Christ as Mediator to the whole system of created things; the method, the efficacy, and the universal significance of His redemptive work. This has been already illustrated at greater length. It is sufficient now to gather up the main thoughts which the apostle develops: (1) that of the *κένωσις*—the mystery of Divine self-limitation;<sup>3</sup> (2) that of the *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*—the "recapitulation" of all things in Christ: the consummation of their destiny, the restoration of their original unity, the fulfilment of the primal

<sup>1</sup> See Rom. v. 12-21; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22, 45-48.

<sup>2</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> Phil. ii. 5 ff.

purpose of creation ;<sup>1</sup> (3) that of reconciliation between God and man on the one hand, between Jew and Gentile on the other, in the one body of the Crucified.<sup>2</sup> In each of these great themes, the real point insisted upon is the dignity of Him whose life and death and resurrection have been so rich a revelation of Divine grace, so unspeakably powerful in effect, so universal in scope. The glory of a Divine Person is implied in the various titles of our Lord in these Epistles : *Lord*,<sup>3</sup> *First-begotten*,<sup>4</sup> *Head of the Church*,<sup>5</sup> *Son of God's love*,<sup>6</sup> *Image of the invisible God*,<sup>7</sup> *He that filleth all in all*.<sup>8</sup> It is implied in His work as Mediator, His grace as indweller of hearts,<sup>9</sup> as the sanctifier of the Church,<sup>10</sup> as Saviour,<sup>11</sup> as the Lord of a kingdom,<sup>12</sup> as the possessor of the plenitude of Divine attributes.<sup>13</sup> It is in keeping with this that to the apostle himself Christ is the central object of thought and contemplation, faith and hope, love and service, devotion and adoration.

Of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus it needs only to be said that they reproduce, without materially adding to, the conceptions of Christ's person already developed in the earlier Epistles. They insist, perhaps, more fully on the universality of Christ's redemptive work.<sup>14</sup> The writer evidently regards our Lord's person with a profound sense of veneration and awe. He dwells on the mercy which Christ had displayed towards himself ;<sup>15</sup> he contemplates Christ as the awarder of the final crown. For the rest he speaks of Him as *Mediator*, and uses a phrase more familiar in the writings of S. John, which implies Christ's dignity as a pre-existent Being.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eph. i. 10.<sup>2</sup> Eph. ii. 13 ff.<sup>3</sup> Phil. ii. 11.<sup>4</sup> Col. i. 15.<sup>5</sup> Col. i. 18.<sup>6</sup> Col. i. 13.<sup>7</sup> Col. i. 15.<sup>8</sup> Eph. i. 23.<sup>9</sup> Eph. iii. 17.<sup>10</sup> Eph. v. 26.<sup>11</sup> Phil. iii. 20.<sup>12</sup> Col. i. 18.<sup>13</sup> Col. i. 19.<sup>14</sup> See 1 Tim. ii. 3 ff.; cp. generally Weiss, §§ 107, 108.<sup>15</sup> 1 Tim. i. 16, etc.<sup>16</sup> ἐφανερώθη, 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Enough has been said to illustrate the wealth of S. Paul's thought, and the profound depth of his insight into the mystery of Christ. The impetuosity and energy of his style in earlier Epistles gives place in his later writings to the calm, chastened, and contemplative manner of one who had done and suffered much for the cause of Jesus Christ.

## PART II

*(Continued)*

§ IV. The Epistle to the Hebrews.

§ V. The Theology of S. John.

The Apocalypse.

The Epistles.

The Gospel.

§ VI. General review of the Apostolic teaching.

#### § IV. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

THE Epistle to the Hebrews was apparently written to Christians of Jewish descent, who were familiar with the ceremonial worship of the temple; probably to some definite society, *e.g.*, the Christian Church of Jerusalem, or some neighbouring community. The writer is dealing with believers, whose insight into the true significance of their religion is narrow and defective; who bitterly feel their isolation and exclusion from the fellowship of their fellow-Israelites, and who under the pressure of manifold troubles are tempted to apostasy, and are actually betraying symptoms of spiritual degeneracy. This temper the writer confronts by exhibiting Christianity as the final, the absolute religion: both because it perfectly accomplishes the true and only end of religion<sup>1</sup>—the union of God with man; and because it fulfils the great spiritual ideas suggested by the sacrificial ordinances of the Mosaic law. The general thought differs from that which is most characteristic of S. Paul. The main idea of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not the abolition, but the fulfilment of the ceremonial law in the person and work of the historical Christ.

The Epistle deals with the subject of the Incarnation under three heads:

I. The person of the Son (chaps. i.–vi.), in whom is revealed and realised the true destiny of man. Christ is set forth as the perfect Mediator.

(a) As being *υἱὸς θεοῦ*, Jesus Christ is the natural Mediator in creation, and true revealer of God. He conveys to man a final authoritative message from God. He is the "Apostle" of God (iii. 1). This thought is developed in terms which point to the writer's connection

<sup>1</sup> Note especially the recurrence of the words *τελειοῦν*, *προσέρχασθαι*, *ἐγγίξαι*.

with Alexandria. The Son is described as *the radiance or effulgence of the Divine glory*, i.e. perfectly manifesting the Divine character and attributes; and also as *express image of the Divine essence*, i.e. embodying in a distinct personality the totality of Godhead. The natural Mediator in nature—upholding the universe as creator, sustainer, and heir of all things, He is in virtue of His Sonship the effective Mediator in the sphere of grace. In His own person He makes atonement for sin; in His own person He assumes our nature, and lifts it to the Divine throne.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the transcendent dignity of the Son of God, and it is exhibited by the method of comparison. Christ is contrasted successively with the highest ministers of the old dispensation. He is above prophets, above angels, above Moses the mediator of the law, above Joshua the giver of rest to Israel. The partial and fragmentary message of the prophets is contrasted with the final and authoritative word of the Son; the dependence and service of created angels with the immutability, the eternal years, the universal sovereignty of the Son; the minister in God's household with the maker of the house; the captain who brought Israel into the troubled rest of Canaan with the ascended King who provides for the people of God the repose of an eternal sabbath.<sup>2</sup> The main effect of this series of contrasts is to heighten the thought of the unbroken continuity of Christ's work. The same sovereign will has ever been calmly at work, *bearing all things on their course* to a predestined end.<sup>3</sup>

(b) Christ is also truly man; His humanity is perfect, real, representative. He stands in relation to mankind as one of a community of brethren; one with them in

<sup>1</sup> Chap. i. 1-3. On the Christology of the Epistle, see Westcott, *Hebrews*, 424 f.; Bruce, *The Ep. to the Hebrews*, chap. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. i. 1, 4 ff., iii. 1-6, iv. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. i. 3.

the conditions of a moral probation on earth; the fore-runner, in whose exaltation through suffering is seen the Divine purpose for man. Accordingly the writer insists (1) on Christ's experience of our lot as complete. He is *captain* of a host; one of many brethren; we are *partakers of Him* who laid hold of the seed of Abraham. He shares the general conditions of a human lot in the tasting of trial, temptation, and death. He displays human virtues: trust, faith, dependence, sympathy, submission, faithfulness unto death.<sup>1</sup> (2) In Christ, the mystery of man's humiliation and suffering is explained. It is seen to be the fitting way of exaltation; the appropriate discipline of human character; the condition of perfect fellowship with God.<sup>2</sup>

Christ therefore is not only God's *Apostle* to mankind; He fulfils the other side of the mediatorial function. He is *high priest*, the perfect representative of man before God.<sup>3</sup>

## II. The high-priestly office of Christ (vii.—x. 15).

The central theme of the Epistle is next developed and this passage may be regarded as an expansion of the thought that in Christ man fulfils the Divine purpose; he has priestly access to God, and is finally united to Him. For the representative office of high priest Christ was prepared by His experience of suffering and probation. The dignity of this function is exhibited by a new comparison, namely, between the two types of priesthood embodied severally in Melchizedek and Aaron.

<sup>1</sup> See chap. ii. 10-18, iii. 14, iv. 15, v. 7-9.

<sup>2</sup> ἔπρεπεν, ii. 10, v. 5, 9.

<sup>3</sup> ἀρχιερεὺς, ii. 17, iii. 1, iv. 14. Cp. Iren. iii. 18. 7: ἔδει τὸν μεσσίτην θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πρὸς ἑκατέρους οικειότητος εἰς φιλίας καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοῦς ἀμφοτέρους συναγαγεῖν καὶ θεῷ μὲν παραστήσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ γνωρίσαι τὸν θεόν.

The priesthood after the order of Melchizedek is exalted over that of Aaron in two main respects.

i. It is a universal, supra-national priesthood. In virtue of His complete human experience, Christ is the representative not of a single race, but of humanity. He exercises His priestly function in a sphere spiritual, universal, eternal, which transcends the accidents of space and time. The peculiar glory of Melchizedek lay in the fact that he was free from the limitations of humanity; he was *without beginning of days or end of life*.<sup>1</sup> So the glorification<sup>2</sup> of Christ as high-priest begins with His uplifting from the earth. He enters the sphere which is spiritual and therefore real—the sphere of true sacrifice, *the true tabernacle*,<sup>3</sup> of which the earthly tent was but a shadow or figure. He has an *invulnerable priesthood*—the tenure of which is uninterrupted by the accident of death,<sup>4</sup> and which rests on the sure basis, not of a human ordinance, but of a Divine oath.<sup>5</sup> Hence the writer draws the conclusion that in the priesthood of Christ we see the introduction of a better hope (vii. 19). This, it has been said, is the “dogmatic centre” of the Epistle, setting forth Christianity as the religion of hope—hope *better* in relation to Judaism; hope absolutely *good* in regard to the true end of religion—union with God.<sup>6</sup>

ii. The priesthood of Christ fulfils the legal types. As priest He has *somewhat to offer*.<sup>7</sup> What is His offering? The oblation He brings is *Himself*;<sup>8</sup> and the efficacy and finality of His offering lies in the fact that it is *spiritual* and is *one*, whereas the Levitic sacrifices were *material* and *many*.

His oblation is *spiritual*: an inward oblation of *will*,

<sup>1</sup> Chap. vii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. v. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. viii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. vii. 15-24.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. vii. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. A. B. Bruce.

<sup>7</sup> Chap. viii. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Chap. ix. 14, 26.

which finds expression in the outward act of self-surrender to death (x. 5 ff.). Christ's body is the instrument of a sinless will; His death finds acceptance as an act of perfect obedience, and in virtue of His inseparable and unchangeable Divine personality (*πνεῦμα αἰώνιον*, ix. 14), He is enabled to be at once priest and victim. This point is brought out by an exposition of Ps. xl. (x. 5-10).<sup>1</sup>

Further, Christ's offering is *one*, whereas the sacrifices of the law were many and oft-repeated. His is the sacrifice of a life that passes through death and is brought into holy fellowship with the living God. Thus the human nature which He had made the organ of His suffering obedience attains its true destiny in abiding union with God. The blood sprinkled on the Mercy-seat was as it were a type of human life surrendered and dedicated to the life of Divine fellowship and service.

Christ's ministry is, in short, *διαφορωτέρα λειτουργία*; it belongs to Him as the Mediator of a *better covenant*.<sup>2</sup> His sacrifice in fact inaugurates this *new covenant*, and consecrates the whole sphere of covenant obligation and access to God, just as the ancient tabernacle on the Day of Atonement was purged, and its sanctity renewed by sprinkling of blood.<sup>3</sup> The thought of the deficiency of the old covenant paves the way for the third main section of the Epistle. On the one hand, it was in pro-

<sup>1</sup> An important point to notice is the writer's conception of Christ's offering as *spiritual*. Being so it belongs to *heaven*, the sphere of realities, though it took place on earth. It is a *true* sacrifice because it was the outward manifestation of a spiritual fact—the entire devotion of a sinless will. The phrase *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου* lifts the offering of Christ into that only true order, and the oblation is regarded in all its stages as a transaction within the *true* sanctuary (viii. 2). Pfeiderer sees in this opposition between the heavenly and earthly—the order of true ideas and that of sensible copies—a clear indication of the writer's connection with Philo. *Phil. and Devel. of Religion*, vol. ii. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. viii. 6, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. ix. 18-23; cp. Levit. xvi. 14-19.

phetic vision superseded;<sup>1</sup> on the other, its symbolic sanctuary bore on its very structure the marks of imperfection.<sup>2</sup>

III. The new spiritual covenant based on the completed work of the ascended Christ (x. 15 to end). The affinity between this Epistle and S. Luke's Gospel appears in the thought that the bloodshedding of Christ is the foundation of a new covenant relation between God and man.<sup>3</sup> It is as it were an axiom of the Epistle that a covenant implies a sacrificial death as its condition.<sup>4</sup> The sacrifice of Christ having been treated in § II., the writer passes to consider the peculiar features of the new covenant. He proceeds to describe (1) its *requirement*: faith (connected with baptism, the covenant sign);<sup>5</sup> hope;<sup>6</sup> and love.<sup>7</sup>

(2) Its *glory*, in comparison of the first covenant, which had been ratified amid circumstances so awe-inspiring. The new covenant introduces man into a heavenly order; a sphere in which he finds himself in contact with a host of spiritual forces, a world of heavenly beings; an immovable kingdom of priests, enjoying free access to God, and consecrated to a life of acceptable service (xii. 18-29).

(3) Its *perpetuity*. It rests on the person and work of One who lives for evermore, enthroned at God's right hand, ever interceding for His people, ever presenting Himself in the power of the act once for all accomplished (xiii. 8-19; cp. vii. 25-28).

The closing benediction (xiii. 20 f.) gathers up the main features of Christ's high-priestly service. He is the *great Shepherd*, a phrase recalling Isai. lxiii. 11, and

<sup>1</sup> Chap. viii. 7 ff.; cp. Jer. xxxi. 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. ix. 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. S. Lk. xxii. 20, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. ix. 16, 17. <sup>5</sup> Chap. x. 22, 23. Faith illustrated in chap. xi.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. xii. 1-13. <sup>7</sup> Chap. xiii. 1-6.

implying that Christ leads men to their true rest. He is risen and ascended (the two thoughts are never separated, though the latter is chiefly characteristic of the Epistle). He lives within the veil, ever presenting Himself together with His members as an acceptable oblation to the Father. He is able to *make men complete for doing God's will* (xiii. 21), by bestowing the Spirit, in whose strength the obligations of the new covenant can be fulfilled.

The above brief survey of this great Epistle will have illustrated the breadth and comprehensiveness of the Christology which is peculiar to the writer. It may be fairly said that the distinctive conception of Christ, which determines His rank in relation to God, His place and work in the universe and humanity, is that of Sonship.<sup>1</sup> From this conception follows the idea of Christ's relation to the Father, as One in whom the essence of the Divine character and being is manifested and the idea of a necessary relation to the universe, as creator, preserver, heir of all things, and redeemer. The Sonship of the Redeemer underlies and conditions the sonship of man, which is realised through the fellowship of Christ with man in a common nature.<sup>2</sup> The special circumstances of the Hebrews give to the Epistle its peculiarly "hieratic" and sacerdotal character. In this feature the Christology of the Epistle supplements that of S. Paul;<sup>3</sup> and the writer is guided in the form and presentation of his argument by his perception of

<sup>1</sup> Bp. Westcott notices "the use of the anarthrous title 'Son,' which emphasises the essential nature of the relation which it expresses," as characteristic of the Epistle. *Ep. to the Hebrews*, p. 425; cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N.T.* § 118.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. ii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See generally a study of this Epistle in Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* pp. 320-328; and the important work of Dr. A. B. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. Also Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 156-159.

the influences actually at work among the Hebrew Christians, for whom the ancient priesthood and sacrificial system still retained such incomparable attractions. The very choice of the term *Son*, and the reasoning back from the exaltation of Jesus to His original nature (i. 2-4), implies that the writer shares with his readers the Messianic hopes, and the belief that in Christ they have been fulfilled. But the name which in Old Testament usage had denoted the ethical relationship to God of the Messiah, is in this Epistle employed to express a natural or essential relationship. The Sonship of Christ lies behind His Messianic function, and is the foundation and justification of it. His exaltation is based upon the dignity of His original nature. He who became Lord over all "had *a priori* a relation to that all." From the Son's Messianic lordship over the world is inferred the creation of the world by Him, and its continuous subsistence in Him.<sup>1</sup>

The same thought of Sonship determines the writer's conception of Christ's high-priestly work—Christianity is essentially a new covenant, the characteristic of which is *perfection* (τελειωσις), *i.e.* the establishment of unimpeded fellowship between God and man. For the attainment of this end a new Mediator is required—one who, wearing the nature that needs redemption, can perfect it through obedience, bring it near to God and dedicate it to His service. Consequently the high priest is one of many *sons* who are being brought to glory;<sup>2</sup> He who sanctifies and they that are sanctified are *all of one*; all have a common origin. Accordingly the Son shares with those whom He deigns to call brethren, the flesh and blood which are subject to temptation, suffering, and death.<sup>3</sup> He is *in all points* made like them, and through actual experience acquires the power

<sup>1</sup> Weiss, *l.c.*<sup>2</sup> Chap. ii. 10, 11.<sup>3</sup> Chap. ii. 14.

of sympathy with their weaknesses; thus even in His exalted state He can be touched with the feeling of their infirmities, and can give succour to the tempted in time of need.<sup>1</sup>

It is consistent with the same point of view that the Messianic salvation itself is conceived as an *eternal inheritance*,<sup>2</sup> on the possession of which Christians enter as sons of God. The Christian community is thus described as the *Church of the firstborn*;<sup>3</sup> the sufferings of the faithful are indications of the fatherly love and favour of God,<sup>4</sup> and are the fitting discipline of preparation for the life of glory. So the writer frequently addresses his readers as "brethren," and specially inculcates the duty of *brotherly love*.<sup>5</sup> The Church in fact, like Israel of old, constitutes a family or *household of God*,<sup>6</sup> the ruler set over it being a Son, who is *the first-begotten* (*πρωτότοκος*) even before He enters on His mediatorial work as High-Priest of humanity.

### § V. THE THEOLOGY OF S. JOHN<sup>7</sup>

S. John's work was to a large extent practical. He is traditionally the organiser of the Church and the

<sup>1</sup> Chap. iv. 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. ix. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. xii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xii. 6-8; ep. ii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. xiii. i. So in vi. 10 Christian love is said to be shown to God's *name*—because all Christians are sons of God.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. iii. 6.

<sup>7</sup> A few words are necessary in explanation of the general treatment of this subject in view of current literary and historical criticism. The different books traditionally ascribed to S. John are not here used as historical testimony of Christ's life and work, but only as evidence of certain Christological *beliefs*,—of the *interpretation* of Christ's life which prevailed in the Church during the period between S. Paul's death and the middle of the second century, and which very deeply coloured the theology of the subsequent period. It is not therefore of present importance to discuss (*e.g.*) the different theories as to the date of the Apocalypse,

episcopate in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> As a writer his importance is that he seems to complete, combine, and harmonise the different types of apostolic teaching. His main characteristic is intensity of thought, combined with a corresponding absoluteness of expression. To him, as to the writer of Hebrews, Christianity is the absolute religion—the final disclosure of God, revealing the perfect way of fellowship between God and man. It is final, because it rests on the fact of a real incarnation of Deity. S. John is often contrasted with S. Paul. The difference between the two apostles is one of training, of mental habit, and intellectual method, but practically the great point of contrast lies in the fact that “S. Paul begins with anthropology, S. John with theology.”<sup>2</sup> S. John does not commence, like S. Paul, “with man and his misery, but with God and His perfection.”<sup>3</sup> Hence the mystical tone of his writings, their calm depth, their sustained elevation. To him “what proceeds in time belongs to eternity; the outward event is the visible symbol of what is innermost in the Divine nature and ultimate in the Divine purpose.”<sup>4</sup> In the historic Incarnation and its issues he contemplates the eternal laws of Divine self-manifestation. In the history of Christ’s conflict and victory he sees ideal principles at work, and each

or as to the nature, sources, and “tendency” of the Fourth Gospel. The Tübingen views in their developed form may be easily ascertained from such works as Pfeiderer’s *Gifford Lectures*, vol. ii. Lect. vii.; or Martineau’s *Seat of Authority in Religion*. It would seem that the last word of criticism is very far from having been said as to the date of the Apocalypse, or its exact character as a composition. It may suffice to refer to Dr. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, and to Dr. Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 369 ff. For a comprehensive discussion of other points connected with the Johannine literature, see Moffatt, *The Historical N. T.*, pp. 459 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 243. See the whole passage.

<sup>3</sup> Pressensé, *Early Years of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 442 (E.T.).

<sup>4</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 344.

incident becomes a parable, speaking of God, His purpose for the world, and His judgment of men. "His idealism," says Weiss, "lets this Son of Thunder see *à priori* throughout the deepest essence in the outward form, the immutable law in the changeful actuality, the final consummation in the germinal beginning."<sup>1</sup> He traces all phenomena back to their ultimate principle; tendencies present themselves to his mind in their final development. It is this habit of thought that is common to the writer of the Apocalypse and the author of the Gospel, and so far the tradition which ascribes both books to S. John finds internal justification.

### 1. *The Apocalypse.*

The general characteristic of the book is its fidelity to Jewish conceptions, together with an absence of elements that can be fairly called Judaistic.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Church is the continuation of the Jewish Church of the Old Testament, but the continuity of the true Israel is not identical with the continuance of the actual nation. The unbelieving "Jews" who persecute the followers of Christ have no real claim to the title; they are a *synagogue of Satan*.<sup>3</sup> The true Israel is gathered from all the nations of the world; and its identity with the Old Testament Church is ideal. In accordance with this ideal conception the imagery and symbolism of the Apocalypse are derived from Old Testament books, and from scenes familiar to the Jews: the Holy land, the city of Jerusalem, the temple courts, the brazen altar of burnt-sacrifice, the inner shrine with its altar of incense. Further, the book claims the

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* § 141.

<sup>2</sup> *e.g.*, the idea of special prerogatives belonging to Jewish Christians as such, which some critics have discovered in the imagery of the book. See Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Chaps. ii. 9, iii. 9; cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* § 130

character of prophecy.<sup>1</sup> The seer speaks of himself as being *in the spirit*.<sup>2</sup> The general subject treated is the conflict of the Church and the world, the history of Jesus Himself indicating the law of development, and the ideal course which the conflict is destined to follow. The book depicts this conflict under concrete forms, and imagery derived for the most part from the prophetic writings.

i. The central figure is the person of Christ, who is described in terms suggestive of His human descent from the chosen people: He is *the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root and the offspring of David, the Christ of God*.<sup>3</sup> The writer thus starts from the recognised Messianic conception of our Lord, but the Messianic dignity and glory are the reward of sacrificial suffering; His kingly dominion is combined with high-priesthood (i. 13); the Divine throne is the reward of death voluntarily accepted.<sup>4</sup> Christ's Messianic lordship and victorious sway over a hostile world are the fruit of humiliation.

But the exalted Messiah is recognised as originally of Divine essence. His glory is the glory of God. Thus He is described as pre-existent in relation to creation;<sup>5</sup> the *first and the last*; the *Alpha and Omega*.<sup>6</sup> He is associated with the Father as the source of grace; He is the Divine Judge; the bestower of the Holy Spirit; the Lord of lords; the *holy and true*. He is with the Father the supreme object of adoration in heaven; He shares the throne of God.<sup>7</sup> The title *Word of God* is

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. i. 8, x. 7, 11, xxii. 6, 7, 9, etc.; cp. Sanday, *Inspiration* p. 375; Swete, *The Apocalypse of S. John*, pp. clix-clxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. i. 10, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Chaps. v. 5, xi. 15, xii. 10, xxii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Christ is described as a lamb (*ἀρνίον*) twenty-nine times.

<sup>5</sup> Chaps. i. 17, ii. 8, iii. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. i. 11, 17, etc.; cp. Isai. xli. 4, xliv. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Chaps. v. 13, xii. 5, iii. 1, v. 6, xvii. 14, iii. 7, xix. 11, v. 8-13, vii. 9, iii. 21, etc.

given to Christ (xix. 13), and implies His pre-existent activity in relation to creation. It is as the Word that He is called *the beginning of the creation of God* (iii. 14). This seems to be the earliest form in which the Logos-doctrine appears, and Dr. Westcott observes that "it is still kept within the lines of the Old Testament ideas."<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered in estimating the significance of this exalted language that S. John writes with all the "monotheistic passion of the Jew."<sup>2</sup> And nothing in the book is more striking in this connection than the stern denunciation of idolatry (see chaps. ix. 20, xxi. 8, xxii. 15). The writer, however, seems to have no consciousness that the worship of the supreme God is imperilled, or His honour impaired, by the exalted position assigned to Christ. God and the Lamb are co-ordinate objects of worship. The wondrous visions of the fourth and fifth chapters seem, in fact, to be a pictorial expansion of the command, *Ye believe in God; believe also in Me.*<sup>3</sup>

ii. The work of Christ is contemplated as a victory in process of achievement. He rides forth on His course *conquering and to conquer.*<sup>4</sup> But the victory is accomplished through a redemptive death, followed by a heavenly exaltation. And further, His victory, historically realised, is the pledge of the victory of the Church. She is to be led to victory along the way of sorrows trodden by her Lord. Thus great stress is laid on the Passion; Christ is the Lamb slain and then exalted and adored; His blood brings release and cleansing to His redeemed. The thought of the Hebrews that the discipline of suffering was Christ's fitting preparation for His

<sup>1</sup> *Gosp. of S. John*, Introd. p. lxxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Fairbairn, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> S. John xiv. 1. See Milligan, *The Book of Revelation* (Expositor's Bible), pp. 66, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Chaps. vi. 2, xix. 11 ff.

priestly work reappears in the conception of Christ as the eternal High-Priest standing and ministering in the midst of the Church.<sup>1</sup> But with this is combined the idea of the Son of Man victorious over His foes, which is characteristic of the later Jewish apocalyptic books. Indeed, it is implied that the lordship and kingly reign of Christ is the underlying truth of history and the goal of its movement. To live and reign with Him is the hope of the saints.<sup>2</sup>

2. *The Epistles* may be regarded as a kind of commentary on the Gospel, and seem to presuppose it at any rate as oral instruction. They also point to the diffusion of heresy of a docetic type, which in its developed form appears as Cerinthianism. The error of Cerinthus will meet us in another connection. Its central feature was the severance of the Divine element in Christ from the human; the Divine Christ being united to the man Jesus at His baptism and leaving Him before the passion.<sup>3</sup> Against this error, and other forms of speculation which denied the reality of the Incarnation, S. John asserts the unity of the person of Christ, and the reality and perfection of His humanity. The one Lord Jesus Christ is said to have come "in" not "into" the flesh.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the purpose which S. John has in view is to exhibit Christianity as the true way of union with God through participation in the real manhood of Christ, in whom the Divine life was once for all manifested, and in whom an actual Divine fellowship between man and God is guaranteed.

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. v. 9, 12, xiii. 8, i. 5, i. 12-17.

<sup>2</sup> See Chaps. xi. 15, xii. 10, xix. 15, 16, xx. 4, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, *Epistles of S. John*, pp. xxxiv. f.

<sup>4</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 242, note g. Cerinthus taught that Jesus was a man born of Joseph and Mary, and asserted "*in eum descendisse Christum*," etc. Iren. i. 26. 1. Contrast 1 S. Jo. iv. 2.

The Incarnation is dealt with under three aspects—

(1) As a *mission* of God the Son<sup>1</sup> by the Father. This indicates the doctrine of subordination (*ὑποταγή τάξεως*) which is explicitly recognised in later theology. At the same time, the idea is suggested (as in *ἀπόστολος*, Heb. iii. 1) of the finality and authoritativeness of Christianity.

(2) As a *coming* of the Son of God *in flesh*. The true human life and sufferings of Christ are presupposed, and the sufficiency of the atoning sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> The different terms employed (*ἦλθεν, ἦκει, ἐληλύθως, ἐρχόμενον*) imply that the fact of the Incarnation not only occurred historically once for all, but is permanent and abiding in its results; and is perpetuated as a continuous Divine gift,—a gift which is appropriated through union with Christ.<sup>3</sup> It may be noticed in this connection that the general tone of the Second and Third Epistles is ecclesiastical, and presupposes such teaching as that of S. Paul on baptism (Rom. vi. 2 f.), fellowship with Christ being attained by the process of incorporation into His body.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, the permanence of Christ's manhood is represented as the ground of His intercession.<sup>5</sup>

(3) As a *manifestation* of the one true God under the conditions and limitations of a human life. The word *ἐφανερώθη* (1 Ep. i. 2, iii. 5–8) implies the pre-existence of Christ. In Him *the life* of God was manifested;<sup>6</sup> we learn finally and absolutely the character of

<sup>1</sup> *ἀπέστειλεν*, 1 Ep. iv. 10; *ἀπέσταλκεν*, 9 and 14; cp. Westcott, *Epistles of S. John*, pp. 121–125.

<sup>2</sup> See 1 Ep. iv. 2, v. 6, 20, ii. 2 (*ἰλασμός*, cp. iv. 10). See also 2 Ep. 7.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Ep. v. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Bede on 1 Ep. i. 3 (quoted by Westcott), “Manifeste ostendit B. Johannes quia quicumque societatem cum Deo habere desiderant primo ecclesie societati debent adunari.”

<sup>5</sup> 1 Ep. ii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Ep. i. 2.

God. *God is Light, i.e.* self-imparting holiness and truth; *God is Love, i.e.* self-communicating and self-sacrificing goodness which seeks from man an appropriate response.<sup>1</sup> The absolute character of the Divine revelation in the Incarnate Christ is enforced by the protest against false progress (2 Ep. 9). The Incarnation is the test of all truth; to advance beyond it is to forsake the authoritative standard of faith, and so far to be parted from God. Only "faithful continuance in 'the doctrine' brings a living possession of God as He is revealed in His fulness."<sup>2</sup> To reject the Incarnation is to forfeit the true theism.

### 3. *The Gospel.*

It is a mistake to regard the Gospel as specially written with a polemical or didactic or conciliatory aim. It is, however, instinct with a purpose, namely, that of exhibiting the historic progress of belief—the stages or steps by which the person, whom S. John's readers already recognised as Divine, successively revealed Himself under the conditions of a human life. With this aim in view S. John selects typical incidents and discourses as illustrative of his central theme. He traces in the facts of Christ's earthly life the eternal principles of Divine self-manifestation, and the moral causes of the issue in unbelief or acceptance. While therefore the Apocalypse employs concrete imagery, the Gospel uses abstract phraseology. Such expressions as "the *Word*, the *life*, the *light*, the *darkness*, the *truth*, the *world*, *glory*, *grace*, are terms which at once place the reader beyond the scene of a limited earthly conflict, and raise his thoughts to the unseen and the eternal."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Ep. i. 5, iv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Westcott, *ad loc.*; cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 243, note t.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 264. See a fine passage in Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* pp. 343, 344; cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* § 141.

Important questions arise as to the authenticity and character of the Fourth Gospel. Two points seem to be of special importance—(1) the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptists, in regard to which it is enough to note that S. John deals with the life of Christ as of one already admitted to be Divine. He writes for believers, and aims at depicting the Divine person, already acknowledged and worshipped, in typical stages of His self-manifestation. “The only real difference,” says Bishop Martensen, “is that John gives distinct expression and prominence to that which is already present in the other Gospels, though in undeveloped fulness. The first three Gospels present the Divine glory of Christ essentially from the prophetic and eschatological point of view; or, if we may so express ourselves, the point of view of His *post-existence*. They regard His glory principally as the glory of the One who, having already come, will henceforth continue to come; on whom depends the future, not merely of the human race, but also of the universe. . . . Now such a view of Christ involves in it the thought—a thought to which John gives clear expression—that He who is the *last*, who in His future will be exalted to power over all things in creation, over all things in heaven and on earth, must also have been the *first*, must have existed before all creatures;—the thought that He to whom we must ascribe post-existence in such a sense must also have been pre-existent.”<sup>1</sup>

(2) The nature of the discourses. In these the words of Christ seem to be coloured partly by the strong Hebraistic cast of the writer’s thought—which is direct,

<sup>1</sup> Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, § 127. This, it may be remarked, is only one point of view from which this question may be approached. The question is amply discussed by Westcott, *Gosp. of S. John*, *Intro.* pp. lxxvii. ff.; Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 247 ff., etc. See also A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, bk. iii. chap. ix.

simple, and instinct with poetical parallelism; partly by the necessities involved in proclaiming the gospel to the new world of Greek thought in the midst of which the writer lived. The use of current phraseology would be necessary to translate Christ's teaching into suitable literary form. Again, as a historian with a very distinct conception of the person whom he describes, the writer may naturally be supposed to have interpreted to some extent what he records. There seems on this ground to be no reason whatever for disallowing a certain subjective element in the discourses as recorded by the evangelist. Finally, something is accounted for by the necessities of condensation. S. John appears to select, arrange, emphasise different sayings of the Lord in accordance with a premeditated plan, the exact limits of which it would be presumptuous to define. On the whole, the purpose and principle, according to which the discourses are grouped, becomes apparent on close study of the Gospel. S. John seems to give a compressed summary—"and that also," it has been said, "a summary in translation"—of what was uttered on certain critical occasions, each discourse being intended to present some particular aspect of Christ's person and work.<sup>1</sup> All utterances which the evangelist ascribes to our Lord, in the actual form which enshrines them, must be regarded as an integral portion of his theology. Historical criticism may properly deal with the question of the authenticity of the words ascribed to Christ; doctrinal theology is concerned with S. John's own conception of Christ's person and work.

*Theology of the Gospel.*

1. The central thought of S. John is contained in the sentence: *no man hath seen God at any time; the only-*

<sup>1</sup> On the "free reporting" of Christ's thoughts, see Bruce, *l.c.*, and Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N T.* vol. ii. pp. 313, 314 (E.T.).

*begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him* (chap. i 18, R.V.).<sup>1</sup> The Divine nature interpreted through the Sonship of Christ, revealed through the mediation of the word,—this is the starting-point of his theology.

We are first met by the doctrine of the *Λόγος*, a phrase which S. John seems to borrow, not from a Hellenic, but from a Palestinian source. In the Targums the *Memra* or “Word” is used paraphrastically to express the personality or character of a being.<sup>2</sup> Thus *the Word of God* is a paraphrase for God Himself. Both Philo and S. John would be familiar with the phrase; but each would read into it, so to speak, his inherited conceptions of the Divine nature and activity. Philo would connect the word *Λόγος* in the LXX. with the conceptions of current philosophy, Stoic or Platonist. S. John, inheriting a Jewish, *i.e.* a moral, not metaphysical, idea of God, seems to transfer the term *Word* to Christian theology, as expressing in Old Testament fashion the fact of Divine activity and self-revelation. Philo’s dominant thought is that of the Divine *Reason*; S. John’s that of a Divine *Word*, the manifestation of the Divine will in action. The one thought, as Dr. Westcott points out, is complementary to the other, and is characteristic of a different school of thought.<sup>3</sup> S. John’s *Λόγος* is Hebraic; Philo’s is Alexandrine.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the reading of marg. *μονογενῆς θεός*, see Westcott, add. note, *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of N. T.* §145.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, *Gosp. of S. John*, Introd. p. xvi.; cp. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, lect. vi.

<sup>4</sup> The tendency of writers like Harnack and Pfeiderer is to return to the idea of the Philonian genesis of the Logos-doctrine. Thus Pfeiderer (*Gifford Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 239), says: “The whole religious view of the world of the Gospel of John is based upon Philo; as in his system, the Johannine has also its cardinal point in the opposition of God and world, and of the mediation of both by the Logos,” etc. Cp. Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, §7, 3; Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, No. ix.

The term *Λόγος* as employed by S. John implies—

(a) Essential inherence in God. The *Thought* of God subsists *in* God as an eternal element in His Being. As the Fathers express it, God never was without His thought (*ἀλογος*). Thus all idea of what is material or created is excluded.

(b) Mediatorship between God and the universe. The Logos is the agent in creation, and the adequate and essential revealer of God's Being and purpose.<sup>1</sup>

The Logos of S. John is in fact a distinct and pre-existent Being, but the full significance of the title is only seen in its combination with the complementary conception of Sonship.

The expression *Υἱὸς μονογενῆς* brings out more fully the relation of the *Λόγος* to God. Gregory of Nyssa indeed insists that Logos is a relative term and connotes the essential Fatherhood of Him whose the Logos is. But the term *only-begotten Son* definitely expresses the truth afterwards embodied in the *ὁμοούσιον*: the Son's unity of essence with the Father. It implies, however, specially—

(i.) The truth of the Son's derivation from God, His subordination to the Father. Whatever the Father is, such is the Son; but His essence is communicated, derived from the fountainhead of Deity.

(ii.) Distinct, but unique personality.

(iii.) A relationship of perfect moral communion with the Father, and of co-operation in healing and saving activity.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the two terms taken together guard the true

<sup>1</sup> The Old Testament origin of S. John's conception of the Logos plainly appears in the reference to creation (chap. i. 3; cp. Ps. xxxiii. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Clear statements of the relation between *Λόγος* and *Υἱός* are to be found in Newman, *Arians*, chap. ii. § 3, and Liddon, *Bampton Lectures* pp. 235 ff. Cp. Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* pp. 340, 341.

conception of Christ's Person. The Son derives His being from the Father's substance, yet is coeternal with Him. The Logos is "identical with the eternal intellectual life of the Most High," yet has a personal subsistence distinct from that of the Father.

2. There are other titles applied to Christ in the Fourth Gospel which point to current Messianic expectations. Such are the *Lamb of God*, the *Son of God*, the *King of Israel*, the *Son of Man*, and such minor descriptive phrases as *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* (vi. 14), *ἀπεσταλμένος* (ix. 7), and others.<sup>1</sup> These are chiefly important, not as throwing light on the conceptions peculiar to S. John, but as connecting him with the whole stream of Messianic thought which prevailed among the Jews. They rather bear upon the authenticity of the Gospel than illustrate its theology. The frequency, however, of Messianic allusions is interesting as connecting S. John's representation of the historical Christ with that of the Synoptists. It assures us that the person described by all the four evangelists is one and the same, and that He fulfilled the anticipations of Hebrew prophecy.

There are two features connected with the Messiahship of Jesus to which special prominence is given in the record of S. John—(a) His Divine mission, (b) His heavenly origin.

(a) Christ continually speaks of Himself as *sent by God*,<sup>2</sup> and the acceptance of this fact is spoken of as the crowning point of faith and Divine knowledge. To recognise and welcome His message as an authoritative revelation of God is His great requirement of man. As the Son and consecrated messenger of God, He transcends the prophets of the Old Testament; as the object of Divine love He is entrusted with the Messianic authority

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, pp. 145-158.

<sup>2</sup> See chaps. v. 38, vi. 29, xvii. 3; cp. xvii. 8, 21, 23, 25.

and prerogatives. He has power (*ἐξουσία*) given Him to quicken the dead, to impart the Spirit, to judge the world.<sup>1</sup> On Him as Messiah it devolves to accomplish the works of God, especially *the work* (xvii. 4) which had been predicted for the Messianic times. His miracles bear testimony that He is sent by the Father, not merely as one messenger among others, but as a Son.<sup>2</sup> Hence S. John speaks of Christ's miraculous works as "signs," *i.e.* emblems of the spiritual operation of Divine power, which Jesus exercises in His Messianic calling.<sup>3</sup> They do more, however, than exhibit the nature of redemptive activity; they illustrate the relationship in which the Son stands to the Father. For the Son performs these works in absolute dependence on the Father's controlling will; in subservience to His purposes and the advancement of His glory. They are wrought in the power of an indwelling Divine life.<sup>4</sup> Here, then, the Messianic promise of Jehovah's presence in the midst of His people finds fulfilment. In Christ the Father finds a perfect organ of self-manifestation,—one who perfectly fulfils His counsel and ministers to His will; one to whom Divine prerogatives can be absolutely entrusted: *all that the Father hath, our Lord declares, are mine.*<sup>5</sup> Thus not merely is all severance of will or operation excluded; the unity of the two Divine persons is only adequately described in a phrase which implies no less than identity of essence: *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμὲν.*<sup>6</sup>

(b) Again, the fulfilment of the Messianic office is found to involve a closer relationship of Christ to God than that dependent on electing love merely. For the

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. v. 21, 22, 27, xv. 26, xvi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. v. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Weiss, vol. ii. p. 328, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. x. 38, xiv. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. xvi. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. x. 30. See an exposition of this passage in Ath. *Orat. c. Arian* iii. 3-5; cp. Liddon *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 185, 186.

fulfilment is larger than the promise: in the Messiah Jehovah not only makes Himself known; He becomes visible;<sup>1</sup> He manifests Himself as present and operative in the world. The special manifestation of God by Christ depends upon His unique knowledge, and the intimacy of His communion with the Father. This special knowledge is claimed by Christ in the synoptic record;<sup>2</sup> but in the Fourth Gospel His self-witness is even more explicit. He knows the Father in virtue of a pre-existent life of communion with Him; He knows Him with the direct intuition of one who alone has seen the Father's face.<sup>3</sup> He was the object of the Father's love *before the foundation of the world*;<sup>4</sup> He shared His glory, and only came forth from Him<sup>5</sup> to manifest Him under the conditions of an earthly life. He is of heavenly origin, but appears as the *Son of Man*;<sup>6</sup> the Divine glory belonged to Him from eternity, and He resumes it when the state of humiliation has reached its close.<sup>7</sup> That glory is veiled in the days of His flesh, but is in some degree manifested to the eye of faith.<sup>8</sup> The Incarnation is in fact the forthcoming of a heavenly being, and such a passage as viii. 42, *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξήλθον*, seems to point beyond the idea of Divine mission to that of Divine origin; to a connection with God "internal and essential, and not that of presence or external fellowship."<sup>9</sup> It implies the true Deity of the Son, as derived from the Father. The thought of Divine mission with which the verse concludes is merged in that of actual Divine nature and origin.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xiv. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> S. Mt. xi. 27; S. Lk. x. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Chaps. iii. 11, vi. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xvii. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Chaps. xvi. 27 (*παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*), xvii. 8, xiii. 3 (*ἀπὸ θεοῦ*), xvi. 28 (*ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς*); cp. viii. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. iii. 13; cp. Dan. vii. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Chap. xvii. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Chap. ii. 11.

<sup>9</sup> See Westcott, *ad loc.*

3. S. John's Gospel is not only concerned with transcendental theology; it delineates with special care the human figure of our Lord. It is the gospel of a human Christ, and records traits specially indicative of suffering and humiliation; the weariness, the thirst, the tears of Jesus are recorded by S. John alone. Yet it is to be noticed that the word *ἐσκήνωσεν* (i. 14) implies that the life in the flesh was a transitory stage in the course of a complete development; the human nature was the veil of a higher pre-existent personality,<sup>1</sup> the organ of a Divine self-manifestation. S. John in fact regards the human life of Christ under two aspects: as a partial concealment yet partial manifestation of a glory laid aside for a time, but finally resumed (xvii. 1-5). Consequently he speaks of the miracles as *signs* (*σημεία*) and *works* (*ἔργα*) appropriate to a supernatural Being, manifesting His nature and character. They are in fact manifestations of a pre-existent glory (ii. 11, xi. 40).

In the same way the sufferings of the passion are never dwelt upon as instances of humiliation, but rather as the initial stage in a final revelation of Divine grace. The humiliation is on its moral side glorification. The sufferings of Christ display the glory of the Divine character, infinite willingness to redeem, infinite capacity for self-sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> S. John seems to display no sense of a contradiction between the dignity of the Person who suffers and His actual experiences.<sup>3</sup> As it has been truly said, "He has seen the cross through the resurrection."<sup>4</sup> From the supreme moment when S. John *saw* the empty sepulchre *and believed*, the incidents of the

<sup>1</sup> See Westcott, *ad loc.* Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 153, seems to think that the reference in *ἐσκήνωσεν* is to Jewish anticipations of a return of the Shekinah.

<sup>2</sup> See Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 345.

incarnate life were transfigured. Once exalted from the earth, once glorified, the Son of Man was seen as He is ; and the work of the Spirit is to *glorify* Him more widely and fully, *i.e.* to manifest His true nature to the world (xvi. 14).

4. The characteristic work of the Redeemer is the communication of life ; the thought of the Messianic kingdom falls into abeyance. The idea of eternal life corresponds indeed to the fact that individuals accept Him whom the Jewish nation as a whole rejects.<sup>1</sup> Eternal life is the gift of the Divine Saviour to those who receive Him ; it is their present possession,<sup>2</sup> and brings with it the present blessedness of Divine fellowship.<sup>3</sup> As the bestower of this highest good Christ is Himself *the Life, and the bread that gives life to the world.*<sup>4</sup> The life consists partly in the perfect knowledge of the Father which is communicated in Christ ; partly in the vital and re-creative energy which actually flows from His person. As the impartor of true Divine knowledge, He is the *Light of the world* ;<sup>5</sup> as the source of quickening power, He is *the Saviour*, who delivers from the power of sin and death.<sup>6</sup> The deliverance is achieved by the sacrificial suffering of Him who is *the Lamb of God* (i. 29)—a term which seems to refer to the mute and patient sufferer of Isai. liii. 7. S. John clearly conceives the death of Christ as a sin-offering, and therefore attaches special significance to His blood, which has a propitiatory value, neutralising the sin which separates man from God, and a purifying power, by which the guilty soul is cleansed.<sup>7</sup> The idea of vicarious death is implied in the

<sup>1</sup> Chap. i. 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Chaps. iii. 36, v. 24, vi. 47, xx. 31 ; cp. 1 S. Jo. v. 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> 1 S. Jo. i. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Chaps. xi. 25, xiv. 6 ; cp. vi. 33, 35, 50, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Chaps. viii. 12, xiv. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Chaps. v. 34, x. 9, xii. 47 ; *σωτήρ*, iv. 42.

<sup>7</sup> The functions ascribed to Christ's blood are *ἰλασμός* 1 S. Jo. ii. 2

image of the good Shepherd (x. 11, 15; cp. xi. 51, 52), and in the express statement that Jesus gives His flesh for the life (*ὕπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς*) of the world (vi. 51). From this point of view Christ's work as life-giver is contrasted with that of Satan, the slayer of men from the beginning.<sup>1</sup> *The Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil.*<sup>2</sup> The historic conflict between light and darkness indicated in the prologue results in the victory of light.<sup>3</sup> So in the Apocalypse the consummation of salvation is described as the triumph of life (xxi. 4).

#### § VI. GENERAL REVIEW OF APOSTOLIC TEACHING ON THE INCARNATION

The Epistles, surveyed as a whole, contain the gradual development, as the practical necessities of conflict and of evangelistic work required, of the doctrine of Christ's person. All the writers are at one in their general conception of the Incarnation, as a supreme self-manifestation of God.<sup>4</sup> But the common faith finds varying expression; a broad illustration of the gradual advance in clearness of view is to be found in the simple fact that in the Acts Jesus Christ is called *servant of the Lord* (*παῖς κυρίου*), while in S. John's writings He is called *ὁ Λόγος*. Of the different types of first century Christology three can be distinguished with more or less accuracy in the New Testament—(1) There is the type represented by S. James and S. Peter, whose Christology is objective,

(see Westcott, add. note, *l.c.*), and *καθαρισμός*, 1 S. Jo. i. 9; cp. Heb. i. 8, ix. 14, 22.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. viii. 38, 41, 44.

<sup>2</sup> 1 S. Jo. iii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *νικᾶν*, *νικῆ* are characteristic words of S. John. Elsewhere only thrice in N.T. (S. Lk. xi. 22; Rom. xii. 21; cp. viii. 37).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Harnack, *Grundr. der Dogmengeschichte*, § 5. 2.

simple, and closely related to Old Testament conceptions of the Messiah. (2) There is the theology of S. Paul, the opponent of Jewish particularism: dialectical, anthropological, and practical. (3) There is the contemplative and mystical type, represented by S. John and some of S. Paul's later Epistles, which seem to be of a transitional character. It is the tendency represented by the Johannine Christology that is found to prevail during the period immediately subsequent,—the age of Logos-theology. Only at a later period, especially in the theology of Augustine, do the conceptions most characteristic of S. Paul come specially into the foreground.<sup>1</sup> But each aspect of the apostolic teaching becomes a permanent element in the theological thought of the Church. Thus, underlying the common belief of all the writers, we find very different conceptions of the actual nature of Christ's work. According to S. James, Christianity is the engrafting of the Divine word of truth, which becomes the perfect law of liberty written on the heart of man. S. Peter regards it chiefly as a new birth to a life of hope, of which the source is Christ's resurrection. S. Paul dwells on the possibility of justification which has been opened to faith by the finished work of Christ, and the new creation which has been achieved by the operation of Divine grace. To the author of the Hebrews the characteristic effect of the Incarnation and Passion is "perfection" (τελειώσις), i.e. the perfect accomplishment of the true end of religion, the union of man with God. The Apocalypse develops the thought of the progressive

<sup>1</sup> Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 18. This account differs widely from the view of Tübingen critics that the theology of the next age ought rightly to be considered a "Hellenised Paulinism, or Paulinised Hellenism" (Pfleiderer). According to this view, S. John's Gospel does not represent a different apostolic type, but is in its main conceptions based on the teaching of Paul and Philo. See more in Sanday, *Criticism*, etc., 212 ff.

Divine victory inaugurated by Christ's triumph over death. S. John embraces these various aspects of Christian salvation in the one comprehensive conception of eternal life. The diversity thus recognised cannot fairly be resolved into antagonism; it is adequately explained by the method of revelation, which comes to man, not in the form of a code or system, but as the progressive self-manifestation of the Divine Spirit, who *breatheth where He listeth*, and whose presence is a law of liberty.

It is important to remember what lies at the root of the apostolic teaching—the spiritual consciousness of the whole Christian society, and the witness of worship and tradition. In this connection we should notice that three elements constitute the basis and safeguard of Christian belief.

1. The tradition (*κήρυγμα ἀποστολικόν—παράδοσις ἀποστολική*)—whether of doctrine or of the Christian facts. To this S. Paul and S. Jude allude; and the early Fathers refer to it as orally delivered in the different churches. This tradition served to guard the essential elements of Christian belief before a scientific theology had developed itself.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Eucharist. The witness of worship supplemented that of oral tradition. It was a standing evidence of the truth of the apostolic message; a continuous memorial of Christ's command given on the eve of His Passion. The Eucharist was, in fact, based upon a certain belief as to Christ's person: it *showed forth* His mediatorial death; it linked the first coming to the

<sup>1</sup> Cyr. Hieros. *C.I.* v. 12: οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἔδοξεν ἀνθρώποις συνετέθη τὰ τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ πάσης γραφῆς τὰ καιριώτατα συλλέχθεντα μίαν ἀναπληροῦ τῆς πίστεως διδασκαλίαν. "The word *παράδοσις* (*traditio*) originally comprehended the whole tradition of the doctrine of salvation, without distinguishing between the oral and the written" (Hagenbach, § 81, note 2).

second; it was the memorial and pledge of a vital union of God and man. Further, the rite of baptism, including as it did the remission of sins, "stood connected with the higher estimate of Christ's person, inasmuch as the basis of remission was laid in Christ's propitiatory work."<sup>1</sup> And it should be observed in general how great is the importance to be attached to early Christian liturgical hymns and doxologies as evidence of Christian belief.<sup>2</sup> There are traces of hymns even in the Apocalypse, and two important liturgical pieces are preserved in the *Didache* and the *First Epistle of Clement*. Christ is there described as *παῖς θεοῦ*, by whom true life and the knowledge of God have been revealed, and praise is ascribed to Him.<sup>3</sup> He is *high-priest* and *guardian of souls* (*προστάτης*, 1 Clem. lxi.; cp. *δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων*, of God, lxiv.), and is regarded generally as the medium through whom all Divine grace and blessing is bestowed. But there is nothing of specific doctrinal importance in these prayers, and no reference to the facts of Christ's life, death, or resurrection. On the other hand, an early writer, quoted by Eusebius, insists on the testimony of early hymnology as to the Church's Christological belief. "How many psalms and hymns of the brethren are there, written by faithful men from the beginning, which sing the praise of Christ as the Word of God, thus ascribing to Him Deity."<sup>4</sup> And Pliny's letter to the Emperor Trajan testifies that the central feature of early Christian worship was the praise of Christ as God.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *Doc. of the Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 172, 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Didache*, ix., x., ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβιδ.

<sup>4</sup> Caius ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28. [Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* ii. 129 ff.] ψαλμοὶ θεοῦ καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογούντες.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *ep.* ad Traj. xcvi. On the witness of worship generally, see Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 393 ff.; Bingham, *Antiquities*, xiii. 2.

3. There is also the witness of holy seasons to be considered, notably the institution of Sunday, *the Lord's Day*, marking the close of the old creation and the foundation of the new. The observance of Sunday commemorated the fact of the resurrection, with which a Divine life, a higher order, had originated. Ignatius even speaks of Christians as "no longer observing Sabbaths, but fashioning their lives after the Lord's Day, on which our life also arose through Him and through His death."<sup>1</sup> There is some doubt as to the exact origin of Sunday observance, but the traces of it are very early.<sup>2</sup> Akin to it in dogmatic importance is the great festival of Easter, the first founded of the great Church feasts, testifying to the reality and completeness of the redemption wrought by Christ.

In the Gospels and Apostolic Epistles the records of revelation lie before us in their diversity and their unity. The various types of doctrine succeed and supplement each other; the truth they contain is a deposit once for all committed to the Church.<sup>3</sup> Thus early teachers insist that the apostles committed the whole body of revealed truth to the Church. "This," says Tertullian, "we believe at the outset that there is nothing further which we are bound to believe." "The apostles," says Irenæus, "poured most amply into the Church, as if into a rich depository, all that pertains to the truth." "What they then preached," he elsewhere says, "they afterwards by God's will transmitted to us in Scriptures—as the foundation and pillar of our faith."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ign. *ad Magn.* ix.; cp. *Barn. ep.* xv., which speaks of Sunday as *ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν* [Dorner, *div. i.* vol. i. p. 423].

<sup>2</sup> Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Plin. *L.c.* "soliti stato die ante lucem convenire," etc. Cp. Bingham, xx. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 20; Jude 3, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Tert. *de præscr.* 8; Iren. iii. 4. 1; 8. 1.

It follows that the Scriptures are the criterion of catholic truth. On this point the teaching of East and West is unanimous. It is enough to give two typical utterances. Cyril of Jerusalem says to his converts, "Do not believe even me when I teach you these things, unless you receive the demonstration of what I announce to you from the Divine Scriptures." And Augustine writes, "In those things which are openly set down in Scripture are found all the things which make up our faith and rule of life."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cyr. *C.I.* iv. 17; Ang. *de Doc.* ii. 9; ep. Hipp. *c. Noet.* ix.; Ath. *c. Gent.* i.; Vinc. *Common.* ii.; T. Aquin. *Summa*, pars 1, q. i. a. viii. ad 2.

## PART III

## THE AGE OF APOLOGETICS

- § I. The Apostolic Fathers.
- § II. Heresies as to Christ's person in the first and second centuries.
  - 1. Ebionism.
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- § III. The Defence of the Faith.
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- § IV. The Greek theology.
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  - Justin Martyr.
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## § I. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

THE Apostolic Fathers derive their name from the fact which gives to their writings such peculiar value, namely, that they hand on to the generation that succeeds them the traditional teaching of the apostles. Substantially their conception of Christ agrees with that of the apostles; but the faith of these early Fathers is, in expression at least, rudimentary and inchoate; they speak as men who use the unstudied language of devotion, and their writings lack the fulness, richness, and comprehensiveness of inspired Scripture. They repeat such biblical phraseology as had reached them, whether in oral or written form, but without attempting to construct a system of theology. They insist upon the central fact of the tradition, the appearance of a Saviour who was Divine, but they do not examine its bearings, nor face the problems it inevitably presents. They cling with childlike tenacity to the received faith, without attempting any theoretical explanation, or any apologetic defence of their belief. They are content with simply pointing out its relation to Old Testament prophecy, and its correspondence with common human needs. The fact is that in the age immediately following the apostles, the Church was mainly absorbed in dealing with practical tasks, and cultivating the Christian life. A new joy had dawned upon the world: the possibility of forgiveness and of goodness. The intense realisation of this blessing, and the passionate desire to extend it to others, sufficiently accounts for some of the features which strike us in a survey of the sub-apostolic writings. We are impressed, for instance, by the way in which the *Didache* formulates the life of holiness in its doctrine of the "two ways"—an idea which seems to have been common in the first age, and possibly had a pre-Christian

basis.<sup>1</sup> Church-fellowship is primarily membership in a community pledged to holiness, to the fulfilment of God's will. The gospel is regarded as a new law, and even Christ Himself is presented as the supreme Lawgiver, who has revealed the way of life, and in so doing has become the Saviour of mankind.<sup>2</sup> We notice, too, the practical dualism which insists on separation from the world as the main condition of salvation; that acute sense of the rooted evil of the world which betrays itself in the common belief of early Christians in regard to the pervading presence and busy activity of evil spirits. It would seem that these writers had inherited S. John's idea of a world wholly subject to the power of the evil one, and utterly alienated from God. To such thinkers Church discipline, unity, and organisation would seem to have absolutely vital importance, as a protection against sin and error. Hence we find in the foremost Father of this age an untiring insistence on submission to episcopal rule and governance, which he evidently believes to be an indispensable safeguard rather of unity and order, than of true doctrine. The period of the Apostolic Fathers is, in fact, one in which the Incarnation is regarded primarily as a supreme gift of God, the meaning, power, and depth of which is intensely and deeply felt, but inadequately expressed. And it should be noticed how strong is the *church-consciousness* of the apostolic writers—*i.e.* their sense of belonging to one holy Church of God which has existed in all the ages. "If we fulfil," says the writer of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, "the will of God our Father, we shall belong to the first Church, the spiritual Church which existed before the creation of the sun and

<sup>1</sup> Harnack speaks of the *Διδαχὴ* as a "catechism of Christian life," and traces it to the "gnomic" teaching of Alexandria and to the Sermon on the Mount.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Herm. *Sim.* viii. 3 and 7.

moon; but if we fulfil not the Lord's will, we shall be of the scripture that saith, *My house has become a den of robbers.*"<sup>1</sup> There is indeed apparent in these writers the sad sense of isolation; of belonging to a community scattered to the four winds;<sup>2</sup> but the faithful were sustained by the dignity of their function as light-bearers and witnesses for truth in a world of darkness. They felt themselves to be the soul of the world,<sup>3</sup> and were supported by hopes of the approaching return of Him whom they had learned from the Old Testament to know as the promised Messiah, and from their own spiritual experience as Divine Saviour.<sup>4</sup>

*The Christology of the Apostolic Fathers.*

After making all allowance for the inadequacy and imperfection of the statements of the Apostolic Fathers on the subject of the Incarnation, it seems difficult to resist the impression that on the whole their Christology is of the "pneumatic" type, *i.e.* they believe in the Incarnation as the manifestation of a pre-existent Being in human form, and this Being they recognise as Divine.<sup>5</sup> They speak of Him as *Son of God*, without indeed fully comprehending the consequences of the confession, and being very possibly influenced by Messianic traditions; but in any case the phrase seems to imply a pre-existent Sonship. In the Incarnation it is God who has been *mani-*

<sup>1</sup> [2 Clem.] xiv. The same idea of the pre-existence of the Church is found in Herm. *Vis.* ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Didache*, ix, x.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. ad Diog.* vii.

<sup>4</sup> See 1 Clem. 23, Polyc. 2, Barn. 4. Cp. the prayer of *Didache*, ix.; *Jud. Petri*, i. s. *fin.*

<sup>5</sup> The distinction between the *pneumatic* and *adoptianist* Christology is Harnack's. It raises the question whether, in the view of the early Church, Christ was a pre-existent Spirit (Divine), or a human person adopted by God and made the object of an apotheosis. See Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, § 11, p. 36. His theory is examined, and shown to be based on very inadequate evidence in Prof. Swets's book, *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 27 ff.

*fested in flesh.* The thought of a true Divine Sonship exists in the consciousness of the Church before there is any conception of an eternal generation.<sup>1</sup>

This doctrine of a pre-existent Sonship is implied in several passages of the Epistle of *Barnabas*,<sup>2</sup> notably in the fifth chapter, which speaks of Christ as the unendurable sun veiling His glory in order to dwell with men. "Then He manifested Himself to be the Son of God. For if He had not come in the flesh how could men have been saved by beholding Him, seeing that even when they look upon the sun, which must one day cease to exist, and is the work of His hands, their eyes are unable to bear His rays." The writer speaks of the Son as "manifested in flesh";<sup>3</sup> as Lord, who will judge the living and the dead;<sup>4</sup> as Son "not of man, but of God," of whom David speaks as *My Lord* in Psalm cx.<sup>5</sup>

*Hermas* is a writer of less importance, and is thought to favour a lower form of Christology (Adoptianist).<sup>6</sup> In tone and spirit he is more akin to S. James; and it is clearly not his main object to state the doctrine of Christ's person. Meagre, however, as are the references to our Lord in *Hermas*, there are two things which seem to range him on the side of the *pneumatic* Christology. On the one hand, he makes the explicit statement (*Sim.*

<sup>1</sup> Swete, *l.c.*

<sup>2</sup> *Barn. ep.* v. § 10. The date of this work is fixed by Lightfoot in the reign of Vespasian, 70-79 A.D. (see *Epist. of S. Clem.* vol. ii. p. 509); but Hort inclines to place it in Hadrian's reign (after 117), *Jud. Christ.* p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. chaps. vi., xii.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. vii.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. xii. § 10.

<sup>6</sup> Harnack (*Dogmengeschichte*, i. 160, note 4) seems to assign a disproportionate importance to *Hermas*. He admits that he is the only writer who gives "clear expression" to the adoptianist Christology; and that this type of belief can only be discovered by a "closer investigation" of the extant literature. He also acknowledges that the "pneumatic" Christology is that of S. Paul, S. John, the writer of the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and other Apostolic Fathers. Cp. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 28, 29.

ix. 12) that the "Son of God is prior in origin to all His creation, so that He was the fellow-counsellor of the Father in His [work] of creation." On the other hand, we should notice that the Son of God is described as *Spirit*, a term which raises important questions as to the writer's conception of the relation between the different persons of the Divine Trinity, but appears certainly to imply the doctrine that the Son is a pre-existent Being.<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that Hermas held a confused view of Christ's person, and even identified Him with the Holy Spirit, but he does not hesitate to speak of His pre-existence with the Father;<sup>2</sup> and it should be added that while he uses the title *Son of God*, he avoids the name *Christ*, which on Harnack's theory would have seemed the more natural appellation. Finally, the function assigned to the Son of "sustaining the universe" corresponds to the description of Him as the "counsellor" of God.<sup>3</sup> It would seem unreasonable to doubt that Hermas, in spite of his Judaic tendency, adhered to the apostolic view that in Christ the Divine and pre-existent Son had been manifested on earth.<sup>4</sup>

There is less question in regard to the theology of *Clement*, who is specially mentioned by Irenæus as one

<sup>1</sup> See the whole of *Sim.* ix. 12, where the phrase *πρωτέρως ἐγένετο* occurs.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sim.* v. chaps. 5 and 6. There is great controversy as to the views of Hermas on Christology. A good summary of the main opinions is given by Funk, *Opera Patr. Apostol.* pp. 457-459 (ad *Sim.* v. 5). Lightfoot appears to accept the view that Hermas applies the term *Spirit* to the pre-incarnate Son (cp. [2 Clem.] § 9). See Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. pp. 123-135; Bull, *Def. Nic. Creed*, bk. ii. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Sim.* ix. 14, *εἰ οὖν πάντα ἡ κτίσις διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάζεται, κ. τ. λ. Sim.* ix. 12, *σύμβουλος*.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient homily known as "Second Epistle of Clement" is valuable as the product of an age from which few literary fragments survive (circ. 140). It opens with a protest against low (Ebionitic) views of Christ, *οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ θεοῦ . . . καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μικρὰ φρονεῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν*. On its resemblance to the *Shepherd* of Hermas, see Lightfoot, *S. Clem. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 200.

who faithfully handed on the tradition of the apostles, especially all that they had taught about the unity of God and the continuity of His action in the Old and New Testament. The Almighty God who created the world, called Abraham, gave the law, and sent the prophets, is also "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup> Clement is remarkable for his comprehensiveness; without being philosophic or systematic, he combines different elements of the apostolic teaching. His view of our Lord's person may be gathered from the Trinitarian formulæ which occur in his Epistle,—passages in which Christ is co-ordinated with the Father and the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> Language is also used by Clement which implies that to him Christ is a living, active person, the object of the devotion of the Church, and the source of its present life. Christians are exhorted to pay Him reverence.<sup>3</sup> He is called the "beloved Son" (*παῖς*) of God, sent from God, Mediator of the Divine revelation, and author of man's salvation. He is further described as High Priest—a term borrowed directly by the writer from the Epistle which seems to form the groundwork of his thought, that to the Hebrews. Accordingly, Clement lays much stress on the salutary sufferings of the Saviour, as having infinite merit and efficacy. Through the shedding of His blood we have redemption; the pains which He endured were "the sufferings of God,"<sup>4</sup> the Church is His flock, and He its Lord.<sup>5</sup>

It cannot, on the whole, be said that language of this type is inadequate, though it is unsystematic and devo-

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iii. 3. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Clem. §§ 46, 58. The formula in 58 is quoted by S. Basil, *de Spir. sancto* 29, as "archaic."

<sup>3</sup> See §§ 21, 59, 42; cp. 16, *ἡλθεν*, 36, 61, 64, 7, 21, 49, etc.

<sup>4</sup> § 2, τὰ παθήματα τοῦ θεοῦ, according to the oldest reading. See Lightfoot, *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> §§ 32, 54.

tional. Doxologies are generally addressed to the Father through the Son, but in one case Clement seems to ascribe Divine glory and majesty directly to Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The Christology of IGNATIUS will repay a closer study. His letters are marked by a force, freshness, and individuality that brings them nearer than the other writings of this age to the Apostolic Epistles themselves. The general tone and tendency of his thought is akin to that of S. Paul's later writings, especially the Epistle to the Ephesians.<sup>2</sup> His main work, however, was that of a Church ruler. He felt himself called to the task of defending and consolidating the organisation of the Church in view of dangers arising from an incipient form of heresy, which seems to have combined a Judaistic insistence on ceremonialism with docetic views of our Lord's person. To minds imbued with Oriental mysticism it appeared inconceivable that a Divine Being should have come into contact with gross matter. The human life and sufferings of one who was truly God could only be apparitional or putative (*ἐν δοκῆσει*).<sup>3</sup>

Ignatius accordingly insists positively on two fundamental truths—

1. The true union in Christ of a Divine and a human element: as Ignatius expresses it, the union (*ἔνωσις*) of spirit and flesh. In this antithesis lies the gist of his theology. It is sufficient by way of illustration to quote one crucial passage (*ad Eph.* vii.): *εἰς ἰατρός ἐστι σαρκικός καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς*

<sup>1</sup> § 20; cp. §§ 50, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *Grundr. der Dogm.* § xi. p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. iii. 16. 1: "Alii vero [dicunt] putative eum passum, naturaliter impassibilem existentem." See generally Lightfoot, *S. Ignatius*, vol. i. pp. 359-368. As to the exact character of the heresies attacked by S. Ignatius, see Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Lect. x.

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.<sup>1</sup> Of this antithesis each side is developed in different passages. The *deity* of Christ is asserted in almost "theopaschite" language in *Ephesians* xviii., "Our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary according to a dispensation." So Ignatius speaks of "the passion of my God," "the blood of God," "Jesus Christ our God," "Son of Man and Son of God."<sup>2</sup>

In one passage Christ is called *Λόγος*, and is described as the essential revealer of God. "There is one God who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ, His Son, who is His Word that proceeded from silence, who in all things was well-pleasing to Him that sent Him."<sup>3</sup> He existed at the Father's side from all eternity.<sup>4</sup> Ignatius simply states this aspect of the truth without offering any solution of the problem as to the Divine unity. Here we see in germ the Logos-doctrine of the apologists, and the antinomy which they endeavour to solve. On the other hand, Ignatius insists vehemently on the reality of Christ's *human experience and sufferings*. In his striking phrase, the gospel is the "flesh of Jesus."<sup>5</sup> Thus in one passage he speaks of Jesus Christ "who was of the race of David, who was the Son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius

<sup>1</sup> The expression ἀγέννητος does not deny the Divine generation of the Son, that conception not having in Ignatius' day been systematically thought out. It is no proof, therefore, that Ignatius denied the pre-existent Sonship. His aim is simply to enforce the antithesis ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός. Cp. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 27, 28. In a later age γεννητός καὶ ἀγέννητος would have been more cautiously expressed. See Lightfoot, *S. Ignat.* vol. ii. pp. 90 f. (Excursus), who remarks that to Ignatius "the eternal γεννησις of the Son was not a distinct theological idea"; see also Bull, *Nicene Creed*, vol. i. p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> See *Eph.* Inscr. and §§ 1, 20; cp. *Rom.* §§ 3, 6, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Magn.* viii.; cp. *Eph.* xix.; *Rom.* viii.

<sup>4</sup> *Magn.* vi.; cp. *Polyg.* iii. τὸν ὑπὲρ καιρὸν προσδόντα, τὸν ἀχρονον, τὸς ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμῶν ὄρατον, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, E.T. vol. i. p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> *Philad.* v.; cp. ix.

Pilate, was truly crucified and died . . . who, moreover, was truly raised from the dead.”<sup>1</sup> Again, “He suffered truly, as also He raised Himself truly, not, as certain unbelievers say, that He suffered in semblance, being themselves mere semblance.”<sup>2</sup> It would seem as if the word ἀληθῶς were a kind of “watchword against docetism.”<sup>3</sup> The real humanity of the historic figure in the Gospels was the ground of all that Ignatius hoped and suffered.<sup>4</sup> His faith centres in Jesus Christ incarnate.

2. The nature of the Church corresponds, in Ignatius' view, to the dual nature of Christ. She exhibits and perpetuates under visible, earthly conditions the Divine life of her Head. She is indwelt by Jesus Christ; His life is her life, and the mirror and guarantee of the oneness of the Divine life is the episcopate; the bishop embodies and represents the double-sided life of the Son of God. “Thou art fleshly,” says Ignatius to Polycarp, “and spiritual.”<sup>5</sup> The bishop visibly embodies in an earthly sphere the grace and power of a spiritual and celestial order. So, again, sacraments have a double nature: under a visible material form is veiled the gift of a spiritual presence, of a Divine life. In them, too, the union of flesh and spirit is perpetuated.<sup>6</sup> The life of the Church has, in fact, its visible secular side, and its invisible spiritual side, but the life is ever one and the same, namely, the life of the glorified Christ Himself. He is the personal source of life and therefore of unity; through sacraments the one life is communicated to the faithful; in the episcopate the perpetuation of the one life is symbolised and secured;<sup>7</sup> outward union with the

<sup>1</sup> *Trall.* ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Smyrn.* i., ii.; cp. *Magn.* xi.

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot on *Trall.* ix.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *Trall.* x.

<sup>5</sup> *Polyc.* ii.

<sup>6</sup> See *Smyrn.* vi., viii.; *Philad.* iv.

<sup>7</sup> See *Magn.* i.: ἐν αἷς [ἐκκλησιαίαις] ἐνωσιν εἶχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ διὰ πάντος ἡμῶν ἔχον. *Ibid.* xiii.: ἵνα ἐνωσῶς ᾖ σαρκικὴ τε

Church is, in fact, the condition of spiritual union with Christ. Hence Ignatius' repeated insistence on subjection to the bishops and presbyters.

The fundamental thought of these passages seems to be common to the sub-apostolic age. Thus the writer of the *second epistle of Clement* describes the Incarnation in an unusual phrase. Christ, he says, "being originally spirit became flesh";<sup>1</sup> but as regards the Church he goes further than Ignatius, and traces an analogy between the incarnate Lord and the visible Church. The Church also, he insists, "existeth not now for the first time but hath been from the beginning: for she was spiritual, as our Jesus also was spiritual, but was manifested in the last days that He might save us. Now the Church being spiritual, was manifested in the flesh of Christ, thereby showing us that, if any of us guard her in the flesh and defile her not, he shall receive her again in the Holy Spirit: for this flesh is the counterpart and copy of the spirit."<sup>2</sup>

There is a strong vein of mysticism in Ignatius, which is exemplified in his treatment of the facts of the Redeemer's birth and death;<sup>3</sup> but this does not interfere with his general tendency to insist on the objective reality of the Incarnation. Ignatius is the great teacher of the sacramental significance of the incidents of the incarnate life. In this respect he would seem to be powerfully influenced by the thought of S. John, and may be regarded as the forerunner of Melito, Irenæus,

*καὶ πνευματικῆς*. Cp. *Rom.* Inscr.; *Smyrn.* i. A catena of passages on the ministry is collected by Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, c. 6.

<sup>1</sup> [2 Clem.] ix.

<sup>2</sup> [2 Clem.] xiv. The general idea is probably Platonistic, and is further developed in the Valentinian system with its æon "Ecclesia." See Lightfoot *ad loc.* Hermas also dwells on the pre-existence of the Church. *Vis.* ii. 4; cp. *Vis.* i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *Eph.* xix.

Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> The short epistle of POLYCARP exhibits a close dependence on earlier writings, especially S. John's first Epistles, and is peculiarly valuable on account of its fidelity to the tradition, "the word delivered unto us from the beginning."<sup>2</sup> Polycarp also speaks of the fundamental Christian fact as "the coming of our Lord in flesh."<sup>3</sup>

In the above brief survey of the Apostolic Fathers it has been our aim simply to illustrate their conception of Christ's person. There were many contemporary currents of thought and speculation which have left their impress on these early writings, but it is no part of our plan to investigate them, or to show their bearing on the thought of the early Church. We started with the statement that Christianity in its essence is not so much a creed as a fact. It has been the aim of this section to show how that fact was apprehended in the apostolic age; what was its influence on thought and action. Accordingly it is important to notice how the central fact is made the basis of corporate life and organisation. The Church consists of small and scattered communities of believers bound together by common ordinances and united by a common hope, looking for a speedy return of the Lord to judge the world, and meanwhile cultivating a life of brotherly kindness and austere sanctity, as the most effective means of witnessing to a hostile world their belief that in the incarnate Christ, God had indeed *visited and redeemed His people*.

## § II. HERESIES AS TO THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES

The first great struggle of the Church was with Jews and heathens without her pale. In the second century

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Grundr. der Dogm.* § xi. p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Polyc. *Ep. ad Phil.* c. vii.; cp. 1 S. Jo. ii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vi., vii

she had to contend with elements of Judaism and heathenism within. Incipient traces of this struggle are already discernible in the Pauline Epistles: we find S. Paul dealing with Judaistic reaction in the churches of Galatia; with tendencies to ethnicism in Corinth; and with a form of Essene-Gnosticism at Colossæ. But during the course of the second century heresy assumes definite and systematic shape, and, generally speaking, appears in one of two forms—(1) Ebionism, (2) Gnosticism.

1. Under the name Ebionism may be included all modes of thought which tend to regard Christ merely as a human teacher; all Judaising “pseudo-Petrine” tendencies. Practically Ebionism is Christianised Judaism, appearing at first, perhaps, as an imperfect form of Christian belief, but having a retrograde tendency in a Jewish direction.

2. Gnosticism, on the other hand, is of the nature of a reaction towards heathenism, and may with some correctness be described as a “pseudo-Pauline” tendency. It is in fact essentially a kind of heathen theosophy which incorporates a Christian element in its theory of redemption.

Thus while Ebionism contracts the area of Christianity, Gnosticism is rather a vague expansion of it. Ebionism is akin to the “adoptianist” view of Christ;<sup>1</sup> “the meagre, common-sense moral view.” Gnosticism represents the speculative, “pneumatic” view of Christ, only exaggerating it in a docetic direction. Perhaps we might go further and maintain that in these two forms of misbelief we have the fundamental prototypes of all the errors that meet us in Christological thought; the exaggeration which in countless forms is the product on the one hand of a deistic, on the other of a pantheistic conception of God.<sup>2</sup> Both types of thought are opposed

<sup>1</sup> Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, § 128.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Wordsworth, *The One Religion*, Lect. ii.

to the reality of the doctrine of a Divine Incarnation. Ebionism anticipates the Arian view that Christ is no more than a creature of God; Gnostic docetism, the Euty-chian denial of the permanence of our Lord's humanity.

### I. *The Ebionites.*

The original Jewish Christians who adhered to their national customs<sup>1</sup> while they accepted the Christian faith probably called themselves Nazarenes. Theirs was a timid, narrow, stunted, imperfect Christianity. They used the so-called Gospel of the Hebrews, and observed Mosaic ordinances, but did not positively refuse to hold communion with Gentile Christians. Their conception of our Lord's person, though by no means adequate, was at least higher than that of other Judaistic sects, and Jerome perhaps describes them fairly as being neither Christians nor Jews. This type of belief is represented by the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the bulk of which probably belongs to a period before the fall of Jerusalem. In this work Christ is connected with the tribe of Levi, and is regarded as the giver of a new law.<sup>2</sup>

The Ebionites, if we are to regard them as distinct from the Nazarenes,<sup>3</sup> are the rigid descendants of those fanatical Judaisers whom we meet with in the earlier Epistles of S. Paul, with the difference that their belief is more formal, consistent, and reactionary. Of these there seem to be two well-marked types: Pharisaic and Essene.

1. The Pharisaic Ebionites were a larger and more

<sup>1</sup> Just. M. *Dial.* xlv. : τὸ σαββαρίζειν λέγω καὶ τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐμίμηρα φυλάσσειν καὶ τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι ἀψάμενον τινοσ ὧν ἀπηγόρευται ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως (qu. by Hort, *Jud. Chr.* p. 194).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Lightfoot, *Galatians* (ed. 6), p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> The distinction is questionable, though maintained by Zahn and Bishop Lightfoot. Harnack thinks that apart from the Gnostic Jewish Christianity (see below) "there is but one group of Jewish Christians holding various shades of opinion, and these from the beginning called themselves Nazarenes as well as Ebionites" (*Dogmengeschichte*, i. 257).

influential body than the Nazarenes. The name *Ebionite* is Hebrew, and its history is obscure; possibly the name *Ebionim*,<sup>1</sup> "poor men," was originally applied by Church writers to the Hebrew Christians generally, whether in its literal sense or as suggesting that they claimed to fulfil the first beatitude. At anyrate after the fall of Jerusalem the name became in fact restricted to the bigoted and sectarian party who did not, like the Nazarenes, approximate to the Church, but developed the heretical tendency which was latent in their conception of Christ; "as they had never really perceived what was involved in the faith that Jesus is the Christ, their faith respecting Him would inevitably shrink."<sup>2</sup> They may accordingly be regarded as Jewish Christians (Nazarenes) whose faith had degenerated into a belief that Christ was a mere man. This at anyrate is the main point of their creed.<sup>3</sup> Characteristic of this sect were also (1) their view as to the permanent obligation of the law; (2) their extreme millenarian ideas, according to which the earthly Jerusalem was destined to be the centre of a Messianic kingdom of Christ and His saints; (3) their abhorrence of S. Paul as an intruder, apostate, and heretic. There were other minor points still in dispute among these sectaries, *e.g.*, the question of Christ's supernatural birth, which need not detain us.

2. More prominent, however, than the Pharisaic Ebionites were those of a Gnostic type, whose ascetic and mystical tendencies may have been due, as Bishop Lightfoot thinks, to the influence of the Essenes. The

<sup>1</sup> עֲבִיּוֹן is thought by some early writers (*e.g.*, Tert. *de Præscr.* 33) to be the name of a personal founder. Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 1, suggests that it implies "the poverty of their law." In v. 61, he distinguishes between the two types of Christology; cp. Iren. i. 26. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> See Just. M. *Dial.* 267D; cp. Hort, *Jud. Christ.* p. 200.

forerunners of these may already be discerned in the heretics denounced by S. Paul in the Epistle to the Colossians. This younger type of Judaic Christianity soon tends to eclipse the elder, and in fact seems to have had a wide expansion: partly because of its speculative and theosophic tendency, which harmonised with permanent elements in the Syrian character; partly because it became embodied in a literature. From this sect emanate the pseudo-Clementine writings which apparently belong to the second half of the second century, and the Book of Elchasai (or Elxai), which occasionally gives a name to the sect.<sup>1</sup> The general history and character of this literature does not concern us, but the Book of Elxai is important as indicating the principal tenets of the sect from which it emanates, and the general standpoint of their Christology. The gospel is depicted as a restoration of the primeval, universal religion, which has ever been perpetuated in the world, and is identical with the Mosaic system regarded not as a ceremonial law, but as a type of religious belief. The organs of this religion are the great prophets, in whom Christ, the one true prophet, has successively revealed Himself. Thus He seems to be identified with Adam, the primal man, who has reappeared at various epochs in human history; in fact, Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses are seven different incarnations (so to speak) of the same being who has reappeared in Christ. There seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld collects the fragments of the Book of Elxai, *Nov. Test. extra Can. rec.* Cp. Harnack, i. 260 ff. See Epiph. *Hær.* lii.; Hippol. *Philos.* x. 29. Harnack briefly deals with the question of the date and composition of the *Clementina*, and assigns to them a late date (200-250 at the earliest); he inclines to trace them to a catholic source, and thinks that their purpose is didactic and moral, not theological. They presuppose the diffusion of Elchasaitism, and display the influence of Stoic and Pantheistic ideas (i. 264 ff.). Bigg, *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii., suggests a different view of their origin, which Harnack pronounces "not improbable."

no trace in the system of any conception of Christ as the Saviour. He is only a teacher and prophet, who has been frequently manifested on earth in various forms.<sup>1</sup> This idea of Christ's repeated births was intended apparently to secure the continuity of Christianity with the pure religion of the Old Testament; and to commend Judaism to the world by representing it as the primeval and universal religion. The same object was aimed at in the doctrine of forgiveness, which might be bestowed on everyone who observed certain ceremonial conditions and made a profession of faith.<sup>2</sup> In return for these concessions, the ordinary restrictions of the Jewish mode of life were to be observed.

Apart from these theosophic ideas, the Gnostic or Essene Ebionites approximate to the Pharisaic sect in their insistence on the legal system, but with a certain tendency to expansion; for baptism takes the place of circumcision, and ceremonial ablution that of sacrifice. Again, they display a similar hostility to S. Paul, whose lineaments can be distinctly traced under the figure of S. Peter's great enemy, Simon Magus. Practically this form of Ebionism was rigidly ascetic—a feature which betrays the latent dualism of the system. Over against the Divine Wisdom is set Satan, the prince of the material world; the good principle, however, and the evil are alike essential elements in the Divine Being, and thus the entire system seems to be based on a pantheistic neutralisation of moral distinctions in God.

It is not difficult to see how Ebionism of the type above described leads on to the system of Cerinthus. While Oriental influence would tend to strengthen the prevalent idea of the essential evil of matter, the Jewish

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. *l.c.*: Χριστὸν δὲ ὀνόματι ὁμολογοῦσι, κτίσμα αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ ἅει ποτε φαινόμενον· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πεπλάσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Hippol. *Philos.* ix. 13.

mind would ever find a stumbling-block in the doctrine of a crucified Messiah. On the one hand, it would appear inconceivable that a Divine being should create, or be in any sense subjected to material limitations; on the other, an easy escape from the scandal of the Passion would be opened by a docetic view of Christ's sufferings. The earlier stages of this idea were combated by Ignatius; the developed form of it is found in the system of *Cerinthus*, whose main characteristic as a teacher is the double distinction or severance (*μερισμός*) which he maintains (1) between the supreme Deity and the Creator, (2) between the man Jesus and the heavenly Christ. According to Cerinthus the Christ, a celestial being, whom possibly he identified with the Holy Spirit, descended upon Jesus at His baptism, anointed Him to the Messianic office of revealing the unknown Father, and forsook Him again before His Passion. Accordingly Cerinthus may be correctly regarded as the representative of Essene Judaism in its final stage.<sup>1</sup> His chiliastic views seem to exclude him from the ranks of the Gnostics. He found, indeed, a place for some characteristic Gnostic ideas in his system, but his view of our Lord as a mere man, endowed with an exceptional gift of the Divine Spirit, is essentially Ebionitic. It is, however, a matter of some difficulty to determine precisely his true relation to the different types of error which have been under consideration.<sup>2</sup> A close study of the nature of the Judaizing movement in the first and second century makes it

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Iren. i. 26. 1; Euseb. iii. 28. Schaff, *Ante-Nic. Christianity*, vol. ii. § 123. Cerinthus is akin to Judaistic heretics—(1) in his gross chiliastic views and insistence on circumcision; (2) in his rejection of the Gospels, except a mutilated S. Matthew. Cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 197; Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 364–368; Westcott, *Epp. of S. Jo.*, Introd. pp. xxxiv. f.

<sup>2</sup> See the divergent views in Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 23, note 4. The question is discussed by Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Lect. xi.

evident that manifold phases of misbelief and shades of speculation were only too likely to be current. It need only be observed finally that the main tendency of Judaistic error, in its Essene development, is to a false spiritualism. While the earlier type of error is rationalistic, the later is speculative. As Dorner remarks, "The tendency which conducts to Sabellianism and that which conducts to Arianism are as yet turbidly confused";<sup>1</sup> they begin to separate in the third century, and assume a distinct and more or less philosophic form.

## II. *Gnosticism.*

The systems of thought which are classed together under the general name of "Gnosticism" are not without importance as real attempts to present Christianity in its true character as the absolute religion. That which the mass of believing Christians accepted as a perfect way of life must be capable from another point of view of being presented as a universal system of Divine knowledge. Herein, however, lies the main error of Gnosticism. It is based on a narrow and exclusive conception of Christianity as a new philosophy of the universe, of history, and of the Divine nature itself. It has a characteristic tendency to ignore or disparage the historical origins of Christianity,—to disconnect the facts and ideas of the New Testament from their root in the Old Testament history. Nevertheless it is important to recollect that Gnosticism, as a factor in the history of the Church, is only one form in which the reigning spirit of Greek philosophy finds its embodiment. In the second century Hellenic paganism tended to assume a syncretistic character. "The cultured," says Harnack, "no longer had a religion in the sense of a national religion, but a philosophy of religion." The baffled instinct of worship, and the yearning for moral self-

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *op. cit.* div. I. vol. I. p. 217.

discipline, found their satisfaction no longer in the outworn creed of Greece, but in the cults and mysteries of the East. Gnosticism has in fact a practical, as well as a speculative side, and this no doubt accounts for its dangerous attractiveness in an age when Christianity was still struggling for its existence, and the spiritual needs of mankind were peculiarly urgent.

1. And yet in one of its aspects Gnosticism has the character of a pagan reaction.<sup>1</sup> It marks the reappearance within the Christian pale of the exclusive aristocratic spirit of ancient philosophy and religion. Its leading feature is an over-estimation of knowledge and a depreciation of faith. Faith was regarded as a virtue fitted only for the rude mass of mankind; the animal men (*ψυχικοί*) who were incapable of higher things. Far superior to them were the spiritual (*πνευματικοί*), whose privilege was not to believe, but to *know*. This exclusive temper had already displayed itself in apostolic times,<sup>2</sup> and is closely connected with a fundamental misconception as to the meaning of redemption, as if men were to be saved not by faith but by speculation,—not by love but by knowledge. The spirit of the Gnostic systems was thus diametrically opposed to that of Christianity. "For our prophets," says Origen, "and Jesus Christ Himself and His apostles, were careful to adopt a style of address which should not merely convey the truth, but which should be fitted to gain over the multitude, until each one, attracted and led onwards, should ascend as far as he could towards the comprehension of those mysteries which are contained in these apparently simple words."<sup>3</sup> The gospel had indeed pro-

<sup>1</sup> There is thus an element of truth in the idea of Irenæus (ii. 14.1 ff.) that Gnosticism actually borrowed some of its ideas from heathen mythology.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 1 Cor. viii.

<sup>3</sup> c. *Col.* vi. 2 (Clark's translation). See *ibid.* vii. 60, and cp. *Col.* i. 28.

mised the true knowledge of God; but knowledge was destined to be the outcome of a moral discipline in which faith must be a constant and essential element.

2. Again, Gnosticism was in principle eclectic, borrowing from many systems, and incorporating widely different elements. Its tendency was, to use a convenient term, highly syncretistic. It drew material from Oriental, Hellenic, and Jewish sources; it employed in dealing with the Old Testament the allegorical method already in vogue among Greek philosophers and in the Christian schools.<sup>1</sup> And all the scattered elements were combined chemically, as it were, in a fantastic or even poetic system which can only be appropriately called Christian in virtue of the prominent idea of a redemption of which Christ is the agent—an idea which, in one form or another, is common to all forms of Gnosticism. It is probable, as Harnack remarks, that no such considerable stress was laid by the Gnostic teachers on the theoretic details of their systems as on the practical discipline of life by which they attracted their followers, and the place they assigned to Christ; the philosophic life was held to be of higher importance than philosophic theory. It seems difficult otherwise to explain the practical success and wide extension of the Gnostic movement. In some way it must have satisfied the yearning for a higher life and the spirit of devotion to Christ. But it seems inaccurate to describe the Gnostics as "the first theologians,"<sup>2</sup> except in so far as they attempt to deal constructively with the new material supplied to thought by the Christian faith. The revelation of the gospel had profoundly modified current ideas of God, and of His action in nature and history. The Gnostics are so far theologians that they endeavour to restate the doctrine of God in accordance with those vast conceptions of the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 75, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack.

Divine nature and providence which had been opened to man by the Incarnation of Christ; that they attempt to grasp and articulate the master thought of S. Paul that in Christianity was revealed *the dispensation of the fulness of times*,<sup>1</sup> the catholic religion, which must ultimately supersede all other systems of faith, even the most venerable. What the Gnostics lacked was the idea of a historical development or education of faith, and to this deficiency is due their rejection of the Old Testament. They exaggerated one side of the Pauline theology, while they overlooked S. Paul's insistence on the permanent value and importance of the Old Testament history and theology.

The various attempts that have been made to classify the Gnostic systems need not here detain us; we are rather concerned with the general features common to a widely-diffused intellectual tendency. For "the epoch-making significance of Gnosticism for the history of dogma," says Harnack, "must not be sought chiefly in the particular doctrines, but rather in the whole way in which Christianity is conceived and transformed." Some sects betray affinities with Judaism; others display an expansive tendency, admitting more of the pagan mythopœic element; in others, Christian ideas are preponderant. The most practicable division, but one which must be adopted with caution, is that which is based on the geographical distribution of the Gnostic sects. The Syrian Gnosticism may be distinguished from Alexandrian Gnosticism on the one hand and from the practical and critical system of Marcion on the other. But the greater groups were surrounded by a number of motley communities which defy classification, and exhibit various phases of intellectual extravagance. Broadly speaking, the Oriental dualistic and ascetic element is characteristic of the Syrian school, of which Saturninus and

<sup>1</sup> Eph. i. 10.

Bardesanes are representatives. The Platonistic idea of God, and an elaborate system of *æons* or emanations from the supreme Deity is characteristic of the Alexandrine Gnosticism of Valentinus, which spread widely in Gaul and the West. The system of Marcion is connected with Asia Minor, and is perhaps not to be regarded as Gnosticism proper, but rather as an exaggerated form of Paulinism. Nor is it clear to what extent, or for how long a period, the different Gnostic sects stood in any definite relation to the Church. The prominent teachers would naturally excite suspicion by their aggressive attitude towards the Old Testament; but it was not so easy as we are apt to suppose, to formally exclude false teaching from the pale of the Church in days when an authoritative standard of doctrine was as yet lacking.<sup>1</sup> Nor does it appear to have been a simple matter to form and organise associations or schools apart from the Church. But at anyrate the problem presented to the Church by Gnosticism was that of excluding a false view of Christianity, and this was found to be most easily achieved by insisting on the real doctrinal significance of the tradition. Gnosticism thus paved the way for the more complete formulation of the Christian creed.

The problems with which Gnosticism busied itself were mainly two—(1) the problem of creation; of the mode in which an infinite, absolute, transcendent Being can come in contact with, or be the creator of matter; (2) the existence of evil, and the means of deliverance from its power. These problems were approached in the light of a prejudice common to all the Gnostic systems, and ultimately derived, in all probability, from Oriental sources, namely, the idea of the essential evil of matter. Redemption was thought to consist in the liberation of the spiritual element from the bondage of matter, a result

<sup>1</sup> Harnack. *Dogmengeschichte*, pt. i. bk. i. c. 4, § 4 (vol. i. 214 f.).

to be attained through rigid asceticism and intellectual enlightenment. It is the need of such redemption that gives occasion for Gnostic soteriology and Christology.

It only concerns us for present purposes to collect the leading characteristics of Gnosticism as a system opposed to the doctrine of the Church.

1. The repudiation of an Incarnation, a manifestation of Deity in visible form. To evade the idea of a true Incarnation,—a real contact with matter,—a docetic view of Christ's humanity was adopted (*e.g.*, by the Syrian Gnostics and Tatian); or, on the other hand, a distinction was made between the heavenly æon Christ and the man Jesus. This implied a double nature and a double personality in Christ. The Redeemer as Redeemer was not strictly human, for human nature was inherently sinful. Coherent with this general point of view in Christology is the conception of redemption as enlightenment; Christ is the revealer of the unknown God, and delivers man from the bondage of material existence. His historical appearance is itself the manifestation of the truth by which mankind is redeemed.

2. Insistence on the contrariety between the Old and New Testament, and a consequent distinction between the supreme Deity and the inferior, or even hostile, creator (Demiurge). The supreme God was the God of the New Testament revealed by Jesus Christ; the inferior Deity was the God of the Jews. This view implies an opposition between creation and redemption, and is also based on the belief that the New Testament alone is the record of revelation, and that whatever be the historical value of the Old Testament, its religious significance is comparatively little. According to one interesting Gnostic document, which may be quoted in illustration, the God of the Old Testament is most properly described as just; inferior to the perfect God.

and falling short of His righteousness, being in fact "generated, and not ingenerate."<sup>1</sup> The Demiurge was the lowest of a hierarchy of æons, or heavenly beings emanating from the supreme Godhead, gross enough in nature to come in contact with matter, and therefore a possible medium through whom the higher might pass over into the lower, the Divine, spiritual, and uncreated element into the created and material sphere.

3. Characteristic of the Gnostics is also the appeal to a secret tradition supposed to be derived from the apostles themselves. This secret tradition was to be elicited by a critical examination of the apostolic writings, and a free use of the allegorical method. The consequence of this position was a tendency to reject the historic tradition of the Church as to the facts of Christ's earthly life. Events and actions were treated as mere symbols; texts were distorted or explained away by allegorising. The narrative of the Gospels was represented as being not a history of Christ, but an allegorical description of cosmological facts and laws. History was only the fluctuating outward expression of intellectual and moral ideas; Christ had no history in any intelligible sense. A word should be added as to the practical system of the Gnostics. Compared with the uniform ethical teaching and discipline of the Church, the practice of the Gnostics varied in one of two directions. Some sects were ascetic, professing to follow the example of Christ in forbidding marriage, the acquisition of property, and the use of flesh or wine. The Syrian Gnostics were, as a rule, of this type. Other communities were antinomian and immoral; thus the Nicolaitines, Carpocratians, and some of the Egyptian Gnostics cultivated "indifference";<sup>2</sup> matter

<sup>1</sup> γεννητός ὦν καὶ οὐκ ἀγέννητος. *Ptolemæus ad Floram*, ap. *Epiph. Hær.* i. 83.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἀδιαφόρως ἕσθν.

being alien from man, and hostile to spirit, was to be used or left unused at pleasure; contact with it could neither hinder nor help the upward strivings of the spirit.

Enough has been said to illustrate the general character of Gnostic ideas and speculations. There can be no doubt that they gave a powerful impetus to the "world-appropriating" tendency in Christianity. In spite of much that is fantastic, arbitrary, and even revolting in different systems, the Gnostic movement as a whole exercised deep and lasting influence on the Christological thought of the Church. It undoubtedly owed its wide popularity to its hold upon the central thought of Christianity,—the redemption of the world by a Divine Being condescending to man's need; and many of the problems which confronted later theologians, were already anticipated by Gnostic thinkers. But the rock on which Gnosticism split was its implied denial of the universality of the Christian salvation. "Had Gnosticism remained unsubdued," says Dorner, "it would have appeared as if thought or science and Christian faith were mutually contradictory. Thus there would have been introduced into Christianity the intolerable distinction of an esoteric and exoteric truth, which would be as foreign to its nature as Gnosticism itself."<sup>1</sup>

*Marcion* is, perhaps, hardly to be classed as a Gnostic, inasmuch as his interest is more practical than speculative, and his aim was that of being a reformer of the Church on the basis of what he believed to be the Pauline gospel; indeed, he was the founder of a church of his own, and so far differed from the Gnostics as to exalt faith above knowledge. His system is akin to that of the Gnostics, however, in drawing a sharp distinction between the good God, whose free grace is revealed in the New Testament, and the limited, defec-

<sup>1</sup> *Person of Christ*, div. I. vol. I. p. 254 (E.T.).

tive being revealed in the Old Testament. The basis of his system is, in fact, an exaggeration of S. Paul's familiar antithesis between law and gospel, flesh and spirit, works and grace. Three points may be specially noticed.

1. Marcion's criticism of the Old Testament, which was of the hard, crude, literalistic type. Carrying with him to the study of the Old Testament a pessimistic idea of the imperfections of the created universe and the severity of natural laws, he seemed to himself to discover in the God of the Old Testament a being whose attributes corresponded to the actual phenomena of the world: a being limited in power and knowledge, hard and just, but destitute of any moral quality that held out hopes of redemption to man.

2. Opposed to this being was the God of love revealed in Jesus Christ, who proclaims the gospel of grace to mankind, and founds the Divine kingdom on earth. But this idea was traversed by a very limited conception of the meaning of salvation, and by the same prejudice against matter that distinguished the Syrian Gnostics. It was only the spirit of man that would be redeemed; the flesh was necessarily subject to the power of the inferior God. Hence Marcion taught a rigid asceticism; and his teaching was soon distorted in a dualistic direction.

3. His significance for Christology is that his system bears witness to the general faith of Christendom that in Christ the love and grace of God were finally manifested. It is true that Marcion conceived Christ's bodily appearance as docetic; Christ assumed an apparent body, and was therefore exempt from any necessity of human birth or human development.<sup>1</sup> He seems, however, very inconsistently,<sup>2</sup> to have attributed special

<sup>1</sup> Tert. *de Carne Christi*, 1: "Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem, aut ut nativitatem negaret, negavit et carnem," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 8.

value and importance to our Lord's death upon the cross, perhaps in deference to prevailing Christian ideas. Indeed, in Marcion's view, the very essence of Christianity was the revelation of grace in Jesus Christ; this central fact S. Paul alone, as he supposed, among the apostles had grasped; and Marcion believed it to be his own special mission to restore the fundamental truth of Christianity to its rightful place in the consciousness of the Church. This was the aim of his one-sided and rationalistic biblical criticism,<sup>1</sup> and of his attempt to found a church of believers, which should bring the life of practical Christianity within the reach of ordinary men. Further, Marcion's opponents were compelled to acknowledge that in the standard of their moral life his followers did not fall short of the highest Christian ideal. But what is chiefly noticeable in his Christology is a feature which often meets us in the history of doctrine, namely, the way in which his view of Christ's nature and office is distorted by a false conception of God. He betrays throughout his system a dualistic tendency; he was so carried away by the idea of redemption as a work of beneficent love that he could not imagine the coexistence of other Divine attributes with love—exact punitive justice and necessary hostility to human sin. He is, in fact, overmastered by the supposed antithesis between the Old and New Testament revelation. He cannot conceive the method by which Divine love acts: its slow and gradual approaches, its progressive self-manifestation, its disciplinary delays. The Old Testament theophanies he dismissed as "unworthy of God." Thus Tertullian rightly remarked that with Marcion "all things happened on a sudden."<sup>2</sup> He had no idea of a gradual and

<sup>1</sup> See Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 11: "Subito Christus, subito et Joannes. Sic sunt omnia apud Marcionem." Cp. *de Carne Christi*, 2.

progressive Divine movement towards man; but it was this very idea that formed the basis of the catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, according to which the Divine Logos, who had ever been the light of men, manifested Himself finally in a human form. As Harnack remarks, "Marcion's attempt is a proof of the unique value of the Old Testament to early Christendom, as the only means at that time of defending Christian monotheism."<sup>1</sup> In abandoning the historical basis of Christianity, Marcion misconceived the very truth which he had at heart, in spite of his desire to exhibit it in its primitive purity.<sup>2</sup>

### § III. THE DEFENCE OF THE FAITH

Gnosticism had served one great purpose. It had aroused interest in Christianity as *the Truth*, and had so given a decided impetus to the formulation of Christian doctrine. The latter half of the second century is marked by the rise and development of a rule of faith in opposition to the shifting creeds of Gnosticism, and by the beginnings of a systematic apologetic, *i.e.* an endeavour to conceive and state scientifically the creed of the Church. Probably every church already possessed a brief baptismal confession, rehearsing the main facts of the Christian tradition.<sup>3</sup> But the hostile pressure of the Gnostic movement soon convinced the Church of the absolute necessity of possessing a fixed standard, by which strange doctrines

<sup>1</sup> *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. i. p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> The system of Marcion marks the first of those "Pauline reactions" which are "the critical epochs of theology and the Church." "One might," says Harnack, "write a history of dogma as a history of the Pauline reactions in the Church, and in doing so would touch on all the turning points of theology. . . . Paulinism has proved to be a ferment in the history of dogma" (i. p. 116); cp. Bigg, *Christian Platonists* pp. 53, 283 ff., and Gardner, *Historic View of the N.T.*, lect. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Ep. of S. Jude, 3; Clem. *ad Cor.* i. 7; Polyc. *ad Phil.* 7.

might be tested. It would seem that it was the Roman Church which mainly encouraged the tendency to formulate the common faith; and the Apostles' Creed in its present form seems to bear the marks of conflict with Gnostic speculation. It has been said, not perhaps altogether inaccurately, to be "the simple but emphatic protest of the Church against Gnostic heresies; the summary of that which was believed or felt to be true."<sup>1</sup> Thus the first clause affirms that God is one, and is Himself the Creator of the world, unlimited by any evil or inferior power. The phrase, "His only Son our Lord," sets aside the hierarchy of æons. The recital of Christ's incarnation, passion, death, and resurrection excludes docetic ideas of His humanity. The creed, in fact, as a whole, asserts the truth which forms the essence of the Church's faith. But the teachers of the period 150-300 A.D. do not merely hold tenaciously to the substance of the tradition of belief which they had received; they endeavour to give it philosophic expression, and to exhibit it in its relation to scientific thought. The period is, in short, an age of apologetics, and the writers whom we are to consider may be fairly described as apologists, inasmuch as they are mainly concerned to vindicate (1) the historical continuity of Christianity—its connection with the history and theology of the Old Testament; (2) the absolute character of Christianity as a final revelation of a God who had never left Himself without witness. In the Old Testament the apologists found a link of connection with Judaism; in current philosophy a point of contact with the Hellenic mind; to both Jews and Greeks they acknowledged a debt.

A prominent and characteristic feature of Gnosticism had been its exaltation of knowledge over faith. This point of view might be met in one of two ways,

<sup>1</sup> Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 111.

either by recognising the element of truth it contained, and endeavouring to estimate the true function and sphere of intellect in religion; or by an uncompromising resistance, which might take the form of a disparagement of human reason, and an insistence on its necessary limitations. It may be remarked that both tendencies have an essential function to fulfil in Christian thought. The first has been described as "the world-appropriating," the second as the "world-resisting" tendency.<sup>1</sup> "There will ever exist," says Neander, "two tendencies of the theological mind, of which, while the one will seek to understand and represent the supernatural element of Christianity in its opposition to the natural, the other will endeavour to point out its connection with it. The one will seek to apprehend the supernatural and supra-rational element *as such*; the other will strive to apprehend it in its harmony with reason and nature—to portray to the mind the supernatural and supra-rational as being nevertheless conformable to nature and to reason. Thus there is formed a predominance of the supra-naturalistic or of the rationalistic element, both of which, however, in a sound and healthy development of Christian doctrine, ought to exist in due measure and proportion."<sup>2</sup> The two tendencies may be said, with justice, to characterise respectively the Latin and Greek theologians of the apologetic age.

The Western theology may be traced to the school of S. John in Asia Minor, which viewed the faith in the light of a deposit to be secured and guarded from corruption by faithful transmission. Irenæus, whose education in Asia Minor constitutes him a connecting link between the disciples of S. John and the churches of Gaul, transplants this tendency to the West. The

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii. pp. 196-198.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 197; cp. the same writer's *Antignosticus*, Introd.

Western mode of regarding Christianity was ethical and practical. The Roman mind especially was marked by wonderful tenacity of an idea or system once grasped, and a strong instinctive sense of its moral bearings. In Tertullian, again, the prevalent spirit of the West found an instrument who could give it scientific expression. He was a theologian "in whom the elements of the Roman and of the Carthaginian character mutually pervaded each other."<sup>1</sup> The Greek theology, on the other hand, especially in its Alexandrine representative Clement, was speculative, quick to assimilate, and marked by a wonderful aptitude for harmonising revelation with reason. It may be contrasted with the Latin theology as being more optimistic in tone, and perhaps comparatively deficient in *moral* as opposed to intellectual interests. Thus while the Westerns regarded the faith mainly as a rule of truth or body of doctrine authoritatively delivered, and secured by the fixed organisation of the Church, the Alexandrines insisted on the continuity of revelation. To them Christ was not merely the final revealer of a transcendent Deity, but the Logos who in all ages of the world's history has been enlightening and educating humanity; Christianity was not merely a creed, but a perfect philosophy. The contrast or divergence between the two types of mind has been sometimes exaggerated;<sup>2</sup> it might be carried into almost endless detail, and is a tempting subject for antithetic treatment;<sup>3</sup> but for our present purpose it is enough to notice that these two types of thought are not related as higher and lower, for each has its due place in the Christian mind. The Church is at once the *salt* and

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> As by Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* bk. i. chap. 17 §§ 1, 2.

the *light* of the world, *i.e.* distinct and separate from the world, even while necessarily attracting all that is akin to itself. It may also be remarked that the predominant tone of thought in the Church was, as we should antecedently expect in an age when persecution was still common, of the Western type. The apologists of the Greek school are in fact the first who stem the prevailing current of Christian opinion when they teach that Christianity is not only a life, but a philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

Before entering further into detail, we may notice one great thought which gives its theological character to this age. Before the appearance of Gnosticism, the term Logos was "a little used treasure";<sup>2</sup> as applied to Christ's person it had been left undeveloped. The practical result of Gnosticism is that the significance of the term Logos is more completely realised and expanded by the leading teachers, both Eastern and Western. What then we have to study in the theological writers of this epoch is the rise and development of the doctrine of the Logos. It was an expression already current in religious philosophy; the work of the apologists is to claim it for Christian faith.

#### § IV. THE GREEK THEOLOGY

The *Epistle to Diognetus* may be regarded as a kind of introduction to the theology of the second century. It is a beautiful treatise, anticipating the thoughts of later theologians of the type of Athanasius, but expressing them with a freshness and simplicity that points to an early date of composition.<sup>3</sup> Apart from its apologetic

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogm.* § 21. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> See Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature* [E.T.], p. 136. Krüger is inclined to place it before 135 A.D. In any case the idea of Justin Martyr's authorship is inadmissible.

purpose, and its explanation of the nature of Christianity as a manifestation of the power of God on behalf of helpless humanity (c. ix.), the epistle is interesting for its high estimate of knowledge—a point in which it anticipates the teaching of Clement. Thus (c. xii.) the writer says, “Not the tree of knowledge destroys [man], but disobedience; . . . life without knowledge is not safe, nor knowledge without true life. . . . Let your heart be knowledge, and your life the true word received.” Here is displayed that anxiety to present Christianity as the highest philosophy which marks all the apologists, combined with the thought that, though rational in its content, the Christian faith is the result of a Divine revelation, and can only be apprehended by a mind supernaturally enlightened.

The Christology of the letter may be shortly summarised. Christ is significantly described as *the Word*, and is represented as fulfilling two functions—(1) that of Revealer, (2) that of Redeemer.

1. As revealer, the Word manifests the true nature of God as Love. It is noteworthy that this hint is left undeveloped by the writers who are most influenced by Platonism, but it is expanded by Athanasius in his treatise *on the Incarnation*. God is revealed by “His only begotten Son,”<sup>1</sup> who is sent primarily that men may know God as Father. Originally the Creator of the universe (τεχνητής), He is sent into the world as the Father’s representative (ὡς θεὸν ἐπεμψεν) and as being the natural Mediator between God and man. Accordingly it is His work to manifest the true character of God, who had ever showed Himself “not only kind to man, but also long-suffering. And truly He always was, and is, and will be such,—kind, good, slow to anger (ἀόργητος), and true, and indeed the sole being who is

<sup>1</sup> Chap. x.

good.”<sup>1</sup> Further, the Divine method in redemption was worthy of the Divine character. The Son was not sent, as man might have supposed, to exercise tyranny, or to smite with fear. “Rather the Father sent Him in gentleness and meekness, like a king sending his son who is also a king; He sent Him as God, as man to men; He sent Him as purposing to save, as persuading, not doing violence to men, for violence is no part of God’s nature. He sent Him as calling men, not pursuing; He sent Him as loving them, not judging.”<sup>2</sup> Thus with great beauty the ethical aspect of redemption is insisted on, as an act worthy of a God of love, and fitting in relation to a moral being such as man; for it is hinted (*c. x. init.*) that there is an essential affinity between the Logos indwelling the soul of man and the Logos who reveals the Father—a thought more fully developed by the Alexandrines.

2. As Redeemer, Christ comes to reveal the Divine compassion for sinners; to suffer as their ransom and the price of their redemption, after long forbearance on God’s part, and the filling up of the cup of human iniquity. Salvation, which is life, could in no other way be attained by man than by a gift of Divine pity. The death of the Son is not stated to be an atoning sacrifice for sin, but rather a supreme manifestation of Divine love, and the source to mankind of Divine healing, light, strength, and life.<sup>3</sup>

Here, then, we have the characteristic notes of the Greek theology, which perhaps reaches its most complete expression in the *de Incarnatione* of Athanasius. It only remains to note that the writer calls himself “a disciple of apostles,” and professes to “minister what has been handed down” to himself.<sup>4</sup> The epistle, in

<sup>1</sup> Chap. viii.      <sup>2</sup> Chap. vii.      <sup>3</sup> See the beautiful passage, chap. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xi. (the genuineness of which, however, is doubtful).

fact, embodies in a finished literary form that view of the Incarnation which is characteristic of S. John.

From the writer of the *Epistle to Diognetus* we pass to the group of second and third century writers generally known as apologists, the principal names being those of Aristides, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, Theophilus, Athenagoras, and the Latin writers Tertullian and Minucius Felix. All these may be said to have in common the conception of Christianity as a philosophy or system of truth, based on Divine revelation and attested by the continuous witness of prophecy. All agree in teaching the natural correspondence of the Christian "philosophy" to the reason of man. In a sense the Christian view of God, and the world, and the human soul is as old as the creation, and the apologists occasionally insist that what other philosophers have well said belongs to Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Even Tertullian, in spite of his vehement repugnance to human philosophy, accepts the same point of view when he calls the soul of man "naturally Christian."<sup>2</sup> Christianity is, in a word, the true and absolute religion, revealed to man from heaven, and resting on the authority of a line of inspired prophets. "For from the beginning God sent into the world men worthy, in virtue of their uprightness and innocence of life, to know God and manifest Him—men fulfilled with the Divine Spirit."<sup>3</sup> And the self-manifestation of God has been impartial, not, as the Gnostics taught, confined to a small minority of mankind. "Not only," says Tatian, "do the rich among us pursue our philosophy, but the poor enjoy instruction gratuitously; for the things which come from God surpass the requital of earthly gifts. Thus we admit all who desire

<sup>1</sup> Justin, *Apol.* ii. 13; cp. Tatian, *c. Græc.* xxxi.; Theoph. *ad. Autol.* iii. 29; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* vi.

<sup>2</sup> Tert. *Apol.* xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Tert. *Apol.* xviii.

to hear."<sup>1</sup> In the same spirit Clement explains the words of S. Paul to Titus: *the grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men.*<sup>2</sup> The very fact that the apologists make their appeal to Gentiles makes them apparently the more careful to insist on the universality of the faith they defend.

It is important when we first come in contact with the conception of Christianity as a philosophy (*ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία*) to distinguish the two main currents of thought which were inherited by the apostolic writers: Stoicism and Platonism. From Platonism were derived those speculative ideas which already to some extent appear in Philo, respecting God and His relation to the universe: the abstract conception of Deity, as a Being transcending the capacity of human faculties; the dualistic opposition of God and the material universe; the idea of redemption as consisting in knowledge, and attainable by ascetic discipline; the unfettered tendency to religious and cosmological speculation, combined with a certain deference to religious authority. On the other hand, the influence of Stoicism appears in the conception of Christianity as natural religion (Tertullian), in the tenacious grasp of ethical ideas, in the concrete conception of the faith as a deposit, a body of truth once for all delivered, beyond the range of which speculation was to be discouraged. Probably a common feature of both systems was the use of allegorism,<sup>3</sup> which played so large a part in the theology of the Gnostics, the Greek apologists, and the systematic theologians of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> Coloured, then, to some extent by previous thought, the philosophical conception of Christianity found expression in the doctrine of a Divine Logos.

The term Logos was, as we have seen, a formula

<sup>1</sup> *c. Græc.* xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Protrept.* i. § 7.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack, i. 109 f.

already current in religious philosophy. It was an aid to thought in its efforts to conceive the mode in which a Divine Being could undergo such movement, change, and limitation as is implied in the work of creation and providence. For the Greek apologists, and to some extent even the Latin, were dominated by Platonistic conceptions of God. They described Him for the most part in negative predicates, "ineffable," "ingenerate," "invisible," "incomprehensible," and the like.<sup>1</sup> God was conceived primarily as the supreme cause, manifesting Himself in the order and rationality of the created universe, before He manifests Himself in revelation. The Logos, the personified Divine Reason, thus appears to be the necessary and essential mediator between the transcendent nature of God and the created universe. For the supreme Deity was never *ἄλογος*.<sup>2</sup> The Logos, who is the Divine Reason, the idea and potency of the world, ever existed in God. He issued forth to create the universe, "generated" (so it is expressed by more than one writer) "by an act of will"; and thus the Logos had a beginning of subsistence *in time*. But He is not separated from His source; though His personality is distinct, He yet remains in some sense identical in essence with God. In so far as He manifests the invisible God, and exercises the creative power of Deity, He is a distinct and subordinate Being, and in comparison with the Father, a creature, "the first-born work of the Father."<sup>3</sup> It is clear that the

<sup>1</sup> Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 3: τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρητον καὶ ἀνέκφραστον, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ὀφθαλμοῖς σαρκίνοις ὁραθῆναι. δόξη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀχώρητος, μεγέθει ἀκατάληπτος, ὄψει ἀπερινόητος, κ.τ.λ. See other passages in Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 37, and cp. Athenagoras, *Leg. pro. Chr.* x.

<sup>2</sup> Athenagoras, *Leg. x. αἰδίως λογικὸς ὢν*.

<sup>3</sup> The most important passages are Athenagoras, *Leg. pro. Chr.* x.; Tatian, *c. Græc.* v., where the phrases, *θελήματι προπηδῶ, ἔργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρὸς, γέγονε κατὰ μερισμὸν οὐ κατ' ἀποκοπήν*, are specially noteworthy;

difficulties of this doctrine are not adequately realised by the apologists, and we find undoubted instances of confusion in the statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, especially an uncertain grasp of the distinction between the Word and the Spirit of God,<sup>1</sup> but the Logos doctrine developed by these writers very significantly testifies to the universal belief in the Redeemer's pre-existence. In this respect they powerfully influence the theology of the next century, in which the Church endeavours to grapple, not with Christological problems, but with those which are involved in the revelation of a Divine Trinity.

It corresponds with this general conception of the function of the Divine Logos and of His activity within the soul of man, that the apologists display a tendency to make redemption consist in Divine enlightenment; in the revelation of a heavenly wisdom, by which man is delivered from the power of darkness, and his freedom strengthened. Even where this thought is not explicitly developed, it seems to underlie the high estimate of prophecy which is common to all these writers.<sup>2</sup> The prophets proclaim authoritatively those truths of natural religion which philosophy had in a fragmentary manner anticipated; they are the preachers of a doctrine, by the acceptance of which men may attain to salvation and triumph over the powers of evil. This idea, which may be traced to a Platonic source, seems to pervade the writings of the apologists, but is especially prominent in Clement. "Since the Word Himself has come to us from heaven, we

Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 10 and 22, where we find the expressions, borrowed from the Stoics, *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*, *λόγος προφορικός*; Just. M. *Apol.* ii. 6; *Dial.* 56, 61, 128; Tert. *adv. Prax.* 2-9. Clement's idea of the Logos is more ethical, as also is that of Irenæus.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 44, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Clem. *Protrept.* viii.; Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 9; Just. M. *Dial. c. Tryph. passim.*; *Apol.* i. 36 ff.

need not, I take it, go any more in search of human learning to Athens, to the rest of Greece, and to Ionia. For if we have as our instructor Him that filled the universe with His holy energies in creation, salvation, beneficence, legislation, prophecy, teaching, we have the teacher from whom all instruction comes. . . . Receive Christ, receive sight, receive thy light,

‘In order that you may know both God and man.’<sup>1</sup>

Christ is the teacher, who by the manifestation of truth rescues men from darkness and saves them. “Let them raise their eyes, and look above; let them abandon Helicon and Cithæron and take up their abode in Sion, *For out of Sion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.*”<sup>2</sup> Thus Clement sees in the Logos the merciful instructor of man, by whom the tenderness of the Divine Father is revealed. Two traits, indeed, are very conspicuous in Clement—(1) his optimistic idea of man’s rational faculties and native affinity to the Logos, (2) his keen and even ecstatic sense of the Divine love displayed in the Incarnation. “The image of God is His Word, the genuine Son of mind, the Divine Word, the archetypal light of light; and the image of the Word is the true man, the mind which is in man, who is therefore said to have been made *in the image and likeness of God*, assimilated to the Divine Word in the affections of the soul and therefore rational.”<sup>3</sup>

But the redemptive action of the Logos flows from a fountainhead of Divine love and pity. “Not as a teacher speaking to his pupils, not as a master to his servants, nor as God to men, but as a father does the Lord gently admonish His children.”<sup>4</sup> “For God of His great

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* xi. §§ 112, 113 (quoting Hom. *Il.* v. 128).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. §§ 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* x. § 98; cp. ix. *sub fin.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ix. *init.*

love to man comes to the help of man as the mother-bird flies to one of her young that has fallen out of the nest; and if a serpent open its mouth to swallow the little bird, the mother flutters round, uttering cries of grief over her dear progeny; so God the Father seeks His creature and heals his transgression, and pursues the serpent, and recovers the young one, and incites it to fly up to the nest.”<sup>1</sup> “It has been God’s fixed and constant purpose to save the flock of men; to this end the good God sent the good Shepherd.”<sup>2</sup> From these passages it is clear that while the Logos-doctrine is the very pivot of Clement’s system, it is coloured not so much by a Platonistic idea of God, as by deep and fervid religious sentiment. In tone he is more akin to the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* than to Justin; and he seems to be less perplexed than the latter writer by the grave problems which his doctrine involved.

There are two of the apologetic writers whose Christology should be studied in somewhat closer detail.

JUSTIN MARTYR is an interesting figure, both from a literary and from a theological point of view. His spiritual history, as recorded by himself,<sup>3</sup> reveals a mind of singular sincerity and wide intellectual sympathies. The mental discipline through which he passed had a certain continuity: its main result was a restless thirst for the knowledge of God, and since this knowledge seemed to him to be the only worthy end of human life, he naturally came to regard Christianity as essentially a philosophy,<sup>4</sup> and Christ as the supreme revealer of God. In Platonism he had found that which brought him to the threshold of the Church: and a Platonist he remained in philosophic

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* x. § 91 (quoting Hom. *Il.* ii. 315).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xi. § 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. viii.: ταύτην μόνην εἰρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφωρον· οὕτως δὲ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φιλόσοφος ἐγώ.

method, in mental attitude and temper, throughout his life. He is a typical specimen of the Greek apologists, concerned to represent Christian faith to the cultured and thoughtful as a system of Divine knowledge, and exhibiting in a striking degree that "world-appropriating" temper which laid claim to all monotheistic and ethical truth that could be discovered in the works of the poets or sages of Greece. It was his favourite thesis that each of the ancient heathen thinkers "spoke well in proportion to the share he possessed of the sporadic Word, discerning what was akin thereto." . . . "Whatever things," he says, "have been rightly uttered among all men, are the property of us Christians."<sup>1</sup>

The bearing of Justin's thought on Christology may be best understood by a consideration of the doctrine of God which he inherited from Platonism. Justin's conception of God is practically one with that of all the Greek apologists. He teaches an abstract monotheism. God is the cause of all existence; the only God; ineffable, incapable of change or local movement, recognised by man through the works of creation, and named in accordance with the attributes which creation reveals: "Father, God, Creator, Lord, Master."<sup>2</sup> It is this abstract idea of God which, as we have seen, necessitated the thought of a creative Logos, by whom the invisible Father might be manifested. At the same time the Platonic conception of God is linked to the actual history of revelation by Justin's identification of the only God with the God of the Old Testament. "There will be no other God, Trypho, nor was there ever from eternity any other existing than He who made and disposed in order this universe. . . . We reckon none other to be God than Him who led your fathers out from Egypt with a mighty hand and uplifted arm. Nor have we set our hope on

<sup>1</sup> *Apol.* ii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Apol.* ii. 6.

any other (for there is none other) than the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." <sup>1</sup> Justin believed, with the other apologists, that so far as Christianity was a philosophic system of monotheistic cosmology, the Old Testament writers were its true exponents.

We pass to Justin's Logos-doctrine, and here it should be noticed that the necessities of abstract thought combined with the witness of the Old Testament in pointing to the divinity of a second Person, or Son of God,<sup>2</sup> the evidence for whose existence appeared to lie on the very surface of the Jewish Scriptures. He is a being numerically distinct from the Father,<sup>3</sup> and is even called a second God (*θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἕτερος*).<sup>4</sup> Though the Logos is a premundane Being, who before creation existed in perpetual converse and communion with the Father, He had an origin. "This offspring, which was truly projected from the Father (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα*), existed with the Father before all creatures, and the Father communed with Him. . . . He whom Solomon calls Wisdom was begotten as a first principle (*ἀρχή*) before all His creatures," etc.<sup>5</sup> By Him as an instrument all things were created; and He is attested to be Divine<sup>6</sup> by the titles assigned Him in Scripture—Word, Wisdom, Power, and Glory of Him that begat Him. Justin makes the place and function of the Logos in the Godhead strictly subordinate and ministerial,<sup>7</sup> and His unity with the Father is described as if it were in its essence only a *moral* unity—a unity of co-operation and service; but the relationship is illustrated by the in-

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Apol.* i. 13, ii. 6. Justin insists on (1) the uniqueness of this Sonship, (2) the subordination of rank which it involved.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* cxxviii.: *ἑτερόν τι ἀριθμῶ*; cp. lvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial.* lvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial.* lxii.—an important passage.

<sup>6</sup> *Dial.* lxi.: *ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν δλων γεννηθεὶς, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>7</sup> *Dial.* lxi.

separable union of the radiance with the sun, the Logos being actually begotten of the Father, but without any division of the Divine substance.<sup>1</sup> Finally, it is by an act of will that He is begotten.<sup>2</sup> According to Justin, this is the ultimate ground of His subordination in rank.

The function of the Logos is to be the essential revealer and interpreter of the invisible Father.<sup>3</sup> In this work of manifestation there is a preparatory stage before the Incarnation. (1) To the Jews the Logos revealed God in prophetic announcements. Much stress is laid by all the apologists, and not least by Justin, on the function of the prophets. These proclaimed beforehand the word of wisdom and revelation which was finally manifested in the Son; and it is on the fulfilment of prophecy that the claim of Christianity to be *the* Truth is mainly based.<sup>4</sup> Much importance is also attached by Justin to the theophanies of the Old Testament; He who appeared to the patriarchs is by him identified with the Logos. But the entire Old Testament bears witness to Him; Ezekiel, Daniel, Isaiah, David, Solomon, Moses, Zechariah describe Him by different titles.<sup>5</sup> "The whole manifold Scripture, with all its many parts and voices, is, as it were, a mighty drama composed by a single author, the Word of God, who alone speaks through all the characters displayed."<sup>6</sup>

(2) But God left not Himself without witness even among the Gentiles. To them too He made Himself known by partial manifestations. Justin teaches that the Logos is the Divine reason immanent or "sporadic"

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* cxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* lxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* cxxviii. : λόγον καλοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμιλίαις φέρεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Hence the λόγος is called ἄγγελος, *Dial.* lvi.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dial.* ii.; cp Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogm.* § 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial.* cxxviii.; *Apol.* i. 36.

<sup>6</sup> H. S. Holland in *Dict. Biog. s.v.* "Justinus."

in humanity. There is an unconscious prophecy in human thought corresponding to the conscious prophecy of Hebrew seers. Every man in every race possesses an implanted germ of the Word, by the power of which he apprehends whatever truth, moral or intellectual, he knows. This striking thought is distinctive of Justin, though it is more completely developed by the Alexandrians. It is true that the manifestation of the Word in heathen sages was only fragmentary and partial; but so far as they were guided in moral conduct, or in philosophic speculation, by the light of the indwelling Logos, they were Christians and friends of Christ. Reason in man is in fact the "candle of the Lord," the manifestation of the Divine reason.<sup>1</sup> But the *whole* Word of God, the Divine reason itself in a personal form was disclosed only in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Logos.<sup>2</sup>

Revelation thus culminates in the incarnation of the Word; and His work is redemptive. He "redeems" man by revealing truth which aids him in his struggle against adverse powers,<sup>3</sup> and in his effort to fulfil by a righteous life the law of his being. This intellectual conception of redemption is, as we have noticed, characteristic of the apologists, and shows their affinity to Plato, and their strong sense of the close relation between belief and conduct, character and creed. Christ then redeems mainly by His teaching: He is "our Master."<sup>4</sup> "The word of His truth and wisdom is more

<sup>1</sup> The implied thought is the essential relation of man's soul to the Divine Logos. "Wo das Vernünftige sich offenbart hat, da ist stets die göttliche Vernunft wirksam gewesen" (Harnack, *Dogm.* i. p. 424). The most important passages are *Apol.* i. 46; *Apol.* ii. 8-10, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Apol.* ii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> "Dämonenherrschaft und Offenbarung—das sind die correlaten Begriffe" (Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 425).

<sup>4</sup> *Apol.* i. 4.

ardent and more enlightening than the powerful rays of the sun, and penetrates into the very depths of heart and mind."<sup>1</sup> Justin, however, does not overlook the redemptive significance of Christ's sufferings, and of His present glorified life. He is a "Helper and Redeemer at the sound of whose name even demons do tremble": such power has "the dispensation of His passion."<sup>2</sup> He is the High-Priest, and Christians are the true high-priestly race;<sup>3</sup> He is the Head (*ἀρχή*) of a new humanity regenerated through baptism, through faith, and through the cross.<sup>4</sup> Through Him men can become gods.<sup>5</sup>

The doctrine of the person and work of the Holy Spirit is as yet undeveloped. Justin speaks of Him as holding "the third place," "a third rank" in the Godhead, and as an object of Christian worship and devotion.<sup>6</sup> The function of inspiration is specially ascribed to Him: He is "the prophetic Spirit." But Justin betrays some indistinctness of thought on the relation between the Spirit and the Logos,—the inspiration of the prophets being ascribed sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other. But the way in which he cites the baptismal formula is sufficient to show that there was no tendency in Justin to a Sabellian confusion of personalities, in spite of his indistinct sense of differentiated functions in the Godhead.<sup>7</sup>

Such is Justin's Christology, and it is of a sufficiently representative type to warrant a few words of criticism.

In Justin the term Logos seems to be employed as a

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* cxxi. ; cp. *Apol.* i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* xxx. ; cp. lxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* cxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial.* cxxxviii. : ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπ' ἀλλαγῆ καὶ ἐπαναγωγῆ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial.* cxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> *Apol.* i. 13, 60.

<sup>7</sup> See *Apol.* i. 33, 36, 60, etc. ; cp. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 44, note 4. On Justin's idea of angels, and the worship due to them (*Apol.* i. 6), see H. S. Holland in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* s.v. "Justinus," p. 578.

standing expression for Christ's higher nature; it guards the idea of pre-existence, just as the complementary phrase "Son" (ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, *Απολ.* ii. 6) implies distinctness of personality. But Justin's use of the term seems to combine the Hebraic conception of "creative word" with the Hellenic or Stoic conception of an immanent Divine reason. It is at this point that we notice the limitations of his thought. He suggests no doctrine of an eternal Sonship, nor even employs such terms as λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός. This means that he is unable to discern the full bearing of the two images by which he illustrates the relation of the Son to the Father: reason and thought,<sup>1</sup> flame and the fire from which it is taken; the one suggesting the unity of the two Divine persons, the other their distinctness.<sup>2</sup> The problem, How is the same Being at once one with God and distinct from Him? he leaves untouched. By protesting against any division of the Divine substance, he vindicates the unity of God; he satisfies the demands of Platonic and Mosaic monotheism. But he suggests plurality when he insists that the Logos is ἕτερόν τι ἀριθμῶ, numerically distinct from God.

The problem therefore which he hands on unsolved is that of correlating two Beings each of whom is God. He is satisfied for himself not to carry his analysis further. He guards the unity of God by insisting on the subordination of the Son, as "begotten" with a view to the work of creation, though pre-existing within the Divine Being.<sup>3</sup> The Divine unity is accordingly maintained by *minimising* the independent existence and activity of the Logos.

<sup>1</sup> Or "utterance." See *Dial.* lxi. Otto's note.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Dial.* cxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Απολ.* ii. 6: ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνῶν καὶ γεννώμενος ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐκτίσσε καὶ ἐκόσμησε. Otto says, "συνῶν, nempe τῷ πατρὶ h.e. tanquam eius mens: λόγος ἐνδιάθετος . . . γεννώμενος: λόγος προφορικός."

Justin's language is in fact of an Arian cast, just because he cannot see his way to any consistent solution of the problem which Arius was to raise, *Was there a time when the Son was not?* He speaks of the Father alone as "increate" (*ἀγένητος*); the Son is His offspring, produced or begotten "by an act of the Father's will";<sup>1</sup> and the question might naturally be asked, If the Sonship depends on the Father's will, is it an absolute, coeternal Sonship?

The "generation" of the Logos is in fact thought of by Justin relatively, as a fact prior to creation; it is not grounded, as by Athanasius, in a metaphysical necessity. But Justin's language implies that the generation is at anyrate unique. If it is described as a voluntary act, at least the Gnostic idea of physical necessity is excluded. If the Son is called *γέννημα*, "offspring," He is nowhere spoken of as a "creature" (*κτίσμα, ποίημα*). Finally, the very phrase "He begat a certain rational power proceeding from Himself" (*ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ*)<sup>2</sup> seems to imply an identity of nature in the Son and in the Father. The limitations of the Logos doctrine are thus due to the fact that Justin does not fully analyse his own conception of God. "Subordination of the Son to the Father must represent the immediate, primary, natural, and intelligible method of presenting to the reflecting mind the reconciliation of the duality of Persons with the unity of will. The very title *Son*, or *Word*, implied it. So far, too, the logic inherited from the philosophies would supply the needful formula." What was needed was the evolution of a higher logic which could "justify the synthesis already achieved by the Christian's intuitive belief in the absolute divinity of a dependent and subordinate Son."<sup>3</sup>

In passing from Justin to *Clement of Alexandria* we

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* lxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* lxi.

<sup>3</sup> H. S. Holland in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* s.v. "Justinus," p. 574b.

are conscious of a difference of tone ; the Christian facts and ideas which in Justin had fulfilled simply an apologetic purpose, are presented by Clement in something of a systematic and dogmatic form. The difference of treatment corresponds to the difference between the sphere in which each teacher moved. At Rome, the gospel was still struggling for recognition ; Alexandria was a " city of science " ; the centre of a kind of renaissance of Greek culture and thought, and its famous catechetical school, which first rose into prominence under Clement's rule, aimed at giving theology its legitimate position as the all-embracing science. For the age was one of transition ; and in Clement we see the Christian apologist conscious of a wider mission than the mere defence of his faith. Thought was in fact " passing from the immediate circle of the Christian revelation to the whole domain of human experience." <sup>1</sup>

Naturally enough, therefore, Clement finds in philosophy no parent of error, but a Divine gift by which the heathen world was of old being prepared for the gospel, as the Jews were by the law. Philosophy was to the Greeks a guide to righteousness, a providential discipline, which was destined to be crowned by the Incarnation of the Word.<sup>2</sup> Christianity is the belief in a God who has ever been educating our race and leading it on towards perfect union with Himself, through the mediation of the Word, disciplining mankind by means of two agencies—Greek philosophy and the Old Covenant. The main interest of Clement is this highly-wrought and richly-developed conception of the Logos. To him the Christ of Christianity appears to be the omnipresent Divine Reason in every stage and degree of its manifestation ; but only fully revealed at the Incarnation.

<sup>1</sup> Westcott in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* s.v. "Clemens Alexandrinus."

<sup>2</sup> See *Strom.* i. 5, § 28.

Christ's advent is a fact which illuminates the whole previous history of the world. All along its course He has been immanent in the rational creation; chastening and enlightening it, and guiding it towards the fulfilment of its original destiny. This idea of the action of the Logos seems indeed to combine the Philonic with the Hebraic conception. The Word is not merely the spoken utterance of God, the creative Word "projected," as Justin had expressed it, from Deity; He is the speaking, teaching Word, the active Wisdom that ever was in and with the Father.<sup>1</sup> Further, it would seem clear that Clement has no doubt as to the distinct personality of the Logos. "In order to believe truly in the Son, we must believe that He is the Son, and *that* He came, and *how*, and *for what end*; . . . and we must know *who* the Son of God is. . . . Again, in order that we may know the Father, we must believe the Son, that it is the Son of God who teaches. And the knowledge of the Son and Father . . . is the attainment and exact apprehension of truth by the Truth."<sup>2</sup> Starting then from the same Platonic basis as Justin, Clement passes beyond him in two points—(1) He has a clearer grasp of the unity of the Logos with God. In the Logos it is God Himself who is immanent in the world. The same attributes are predicated of both Father and Son. (2) He withdraws from the pronounced "subordinationism" of Justin.<sup>3</sup> He even goes so far as to declare that the Son "begets Himself,"<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* is the cause of His own

<sup>1</sup> Thus Clement deprecates the *passive* term λόγος προφορικώς, *Strom.* v. l. § 6. See Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Strom.* v. i. l. Cp. Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alex.*, p. 68, who points out that according to Clement prayer is to be addressed to the Word; *ibid.* p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> See Bigg, *u.s.* p. 69, note 3, where this point is discussed.

<sup>4</sup> ἐαυτὸν γεννᾷ, ἔταυ δὲ λόγος σὰρξ γέννηται, κ.τ.λ. *Strom.* v. 3, § 16 (Dorner, *op. cit.* div. i. vol. i. p. 296). Cp. a note in Harnack, i. 578, 579.

Incarnation. On the other hand, he is akin to his predecessor in his idea of the function of Christ, as the only revealer of the unknowable Father; redemption is enlightenment, and philosophy the necessary condition of advancing from faith to knowledge. He has also some points of contact with Gnosticism—specially his insistence on an “unwritten tradition,” which is the rule of scriptural interpretation, and a guide in the apprehension of truth.<sup>1</sup>

Such, then, is Clement’s conception of the Logos. It is in effect a bold and fruitful expansion of the teaching of the prologue to S. John’s Gospel. The great philosophic ideas which underlie his treatment—the thought of the immanence of God, of the unity of truth, of the essential affinity between the Word and the human soul—are, as it were, claimed by him for Christianity.<sup>2</sup> What, perhaps, surprises us is the comparative absence of reference to the Christian facts—the life of Christ and His redemptive work. The references to the Passion are few, and the name High-Priest is applied to our Lord in the limited sense which Philo gives to the term; Christ is our Representative and Intercessor before God, rather than the One Mediator who offers the atoning sacrifice for man. Partly this peculiarity is due to Clement’s optimistic estimate of man’s condition and capacities; partly, perhaps, to a characteristically Greek deficiency in his idea of Divine holiness.<sup>3</sup> It is by His precepts and His gifts that Christ redeems,<sup>4</sup> rather than by His sacrifice; by His glorified life, rather than by His death. In fact

<sup>1</sup> See Westcott in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* p. 565.

<sup>2</sup> Clement somewhat superficially maintains, like Justin, that the Greek philosophers borrowed from Moses.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, etc. p. 80 ff. The fact is noticed and distorted by Allen, *Continuity of Religious Thought*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> See (*e.g.*) *Pæd.* i. 2, § 6.

there is much in Clement's system that suggests comparison with the Stoic picture of the ideal wise man;<sup>1</sup> there is a kind of cheerful belief in the sufficiency of man's power, not, indeed, to initiate, but at least to cooperate with, the means employed for his redemption.

With regard to the actual conditions and mode of the Incarnation, one point in Clement's system calls for notice. It has been questioned whether his conception of Christ's humanity is not docetic in form or tendency. He shows traces of a Platonic idea of the body as the seat of sinful affections and a prison-house of the soul, and in one passage he even speaks of Christ as playing His part in a drama.<sup>2</sup> But there are passages of less equivocal sense; and the questionable statements have some value as testifying to Clement's grasp of the fact that a Divine Being had really assumed the conditions of manhood. He speaks of Christ as "a spirit made flesh" (*πνεῦμα σαρκούμενον*),<sup>3</sup> and draws out the contrast between the higher and lower nature of Christ antithetically in a series of phrases which remind us of Ignatius. "Believe, O man, Him who is God and man. Believe the living God who suffered and is adored; believe, ye slaves, Him who died; believe, all ye of human kind, Him who alone is God of all men. Believe, and receive for your reward salvation."<sup>4</sup>

A general survey of the early Greek theology shows clearly the nature of the problems involved in the Church's belief, problems which were destined to emerge and press for solution in the following century. Amid

<sup>1</sup> Pffeiderer, *Gifford Lectures*, vol. ii. Lect. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Protrept.* x. §110: τὸ σωτήριον δράμα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὑπεκρίνετο ἀγνοηθεῖς. I must be content with referring to the discussion in Dornier, div. i. vol. i. pp. 297-299; Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, pp. 71, 72; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 595, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Pæd.* i. 6, § 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Protrept.* x. § 106.

all the divergent modes of statement, however, the chief truth which seems to be accepted as part of the constant Christian tradition is the pre-existence of the Logos who was manifested in the Incarnation. The relation of this truth to the current conception of God was not as yet satisfactorily explained; and, indeed, the question was likely to be insoluble so long as Divine personality was understood in the ordinary sense of that term. The idea of personality as something finite and exclusive must be modified. Hitherto the only way of evading ditheism had been the idea that the Logos only became personal when He proceeded forth to create. In the distinction of the Logos from Himself (in the phrases *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *λόγος προφορικός*), the first step was taken towards an analysis of the idea of Deity which pointed to eternal and necessary relationships within the Divine essence.

### § V. WESTERN THEOLOGY

We are still dealing with great representatives of the apologetic era in Christian theology. The Greek school, as we have seen, confronted Gnosticism by a counter-system of *Gnosis*. They regarded Christianity as the true philosophy which ancient sages had sought after, and which Jesus Christ had brought to light in a final and full disclosure of the one true God, authoritatively but partially revealed in the Old Testament. The Western school had no such sympathy with philosophy. They borrowed its concepts and terminology only from necessity; they did not altogether discard, but they mistrusted speculation. Their tendency was to suspect it as the parent of error.<sup>1</sup> They found it at once more easy and effectual

<sup>1</sup> See e.g., Tert. *Apol.* 46: "Quid adeo simile philosophus et Christianus, Graciae discipulus et caeli, famae negotiator et salutis, verborum et

to confront the Gnostic with the consent of the Catholic Church, to measure his speculations by the fixed and rigid rule of an orthodox and universally accepted confession of faith. While the Greeks had represented the expansive and (so to speak) *appropriative* tendency in the Church, the Westerns laid stress on the distinctiveness and finality of her creed. It would seem that the tendency to expand the brief baptismal confession into a standard formula of belief was already clearly marked both in Rome and Asia Minor, and as we have seen, the effect of Gnostic speculation was to give impulse and direction to this tendency. But two great names are perhaps more closely identified with the movement than any other—Irenæus, whose education and experience made him a link between Asia Minor and the West; and the passionate, vigorous, and eloquent Tertullian of Carthage, whose instincts and legal training predisposed him powerfully to accept and adhere to a fixed and authoritative standard of faith. Of these two names the first will occupy us at this point; the theology of Tertullian is important chiefly in connection with the Monarchian controversy, and will be considered later. But the two names should at least be connected for a moment in any survey of apologetic literature, and the remarks which follow apply in great measure to both writers, and in scarcely less degree to Cyprian of Carthage and Hippolytus of Rome.

The Western policy and method, then, was that of confronting the "secret tradition" of the Gnostics with the Church's definite and constant rule of faith. In the uniform tradition of the churches was contained a standard by which all strange doctrines might be tested. This line of defence had already been found effective.

factorum operator, rerum ædificator et destructor, interpolator erroris et integrator veritatis, furator eius et custos!" Cp. *de Præscr.* vii., etc.

We hear of the learned antiquarian Hegesippus (*circa* 170) making a tour of the churches in order to assure himself of their doctrinal agreement.<sup>1</sup> Both Irenæus and Tertullian forego the appeal to Scripture,<sup>2</sup> and fall back on the fixed baptismal creed publicly and universally taught by the successors of the apostles. The distinguishing marks of this catholic "rule of faith" were—(1) unity, as opposed to the shifting, diversified, and complicated speculations of the Gnostics; (2) antiquity, as opposed to novelty; (3) finality, as opposed to any new revelation of essential or saving truth.<sup>3</sup> *Adversus regulam nihil scire, omnia scire est.*<sup>4</sup> It is noticeable that while Irenæus and Tertullian put Scripture somewhat in the background, Cyprian more definitely connects "the tradition" with Scripture as its source;<sup>5</sup> but he is speaking of traditional *usage* rather than *doctrine*. By Irenæus at anyrate the tradition of the Church is thought of chiefly as doctrinal, and he seems generally to imply that in substance it agrees with Scripture and is identical with the written teaching of the apostles.<sup>6</sup> Further, he closely connects the preservation of the Church's *rule of faith* with the apostolic *regimen*. It is the episcopate which is the external bond of unity; bishops inherit the apostolic teaching office (*locus magisterii*);<sup>7</sup> they possess the gift of truth (*charisma veritatis*).<sup>8</sup> In this close connection of the *faith* with the *order* of the Church, we trace the idea which lies at the root of the peculiarly

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32, iv. 22.    <sup>2</sup> See Iren. iii. 4. 1; Tert. *de Præscr.* xix.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. Iren. i. 10, §§ 1, 2, iii. 2. 1; 3. 1; 4. 1. Tert. *de Virg. Vel.* i. "Regula fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis," etc. *de Præscr.* xiv. *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Tert. *de Præscr.* xiv.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* lxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Iren. iii. 1. 1. Harnack points out that the relation of the *regula* to Scripture is not made quite clear or consistent by the Western school. *Grundriss der Dogm.* § 22.

<sup>7</sup> Iren. iii. 3. 1.

<sup>8</sup> iv. 26. 2.

Western conception of the Church, as a visible, authoritative exponent of truth, accessible to all, and universally established; the living oracle of Divine truth; catholic in external diffusion, one in doctrine and organisation.<sup>1</sup> This theory of the Church, perhaps formally stated first by Irenæus and Cyprian, was not altogether new, and cannot be quite fairly described as a "transformation"<sup>2</sup> of the episcopal into the apostolic office. The Western literature of the second century is so deficient that we are not warranted in drawing very positive conclusions. We may well believe that an idea so wide in its scope, and destined to be so fruitful in results, was of gradual growth, the importance of the episcopal office being gradually enhanced under the pressure of controversy and the growing need of clear and definite statements of the Church's faith. Thus the conception of the Church which we find in Irenæus and Tertullian is very far from being "a creative act" of theological genius; it may be traced to the epistles of Ignatius, and behind them to the New Testament itself.<sup>3</sup>

So far we have dealt with the mode of thought, or rather the line of defence, which is characteristic of the Western apologists generally. Of these, IRENÆUS may be taken as the most prominent teacher of Christology, not indeed that his doctrine on the Incarnation is very systematically developed, for the rich and beautiful statements scattered up and down his writings seem at times merely incidental to his main purpose, which is "*The refutation of Gnosis falsely so called.*" Perhaps the chief point of contrast between Irenæus and the great Greek

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iv. 33. 8 : γνώσις ἀληθῆς ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδασχὴ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύστημα κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> As by Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogm.* § 18. Harnack seems to under-rate the teaching of Ignatius, and to draw conclusions too confidently in regard to a period of which after all we know comparatively little.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. C. Gore, *The Christian Ministry*, pp. 55, 56.

apologists is that while they use the Bible as a storehouse of proofs and illustrations, he is in form and in spirit a biblical theologian. His master-thought is the unity of God and of His self-revelation to the world. Against Gnostic ideas of the contrariety of the New to the Old Testament, against their distinction of the supreme God from the Creator, Irenæus insists upon the essential unity and continuity of the revelation recorded in both Testaments. God is one, simple, and perfect. He is indivisible; one and the same Being has been at work in each stage of history; and His action has ever been marked by gradation, progression, continuity. The tradition of the churches has ever proclaimed "the one God, omnipotent, Maker of heaven and earth, the Creator of man, who brought about the deluge, and called Abraham, who led the people out of Egypt, spake with Moses, set forth the law, sent the prophets, and has prepared fire for the devil and his angels."<sup>1</sup> God then is one; but He is also in His essence a Spirit, incapable of partition or self-expansion in the Gnostic sense. "The Father of all is at a vast distance from those affections and passions which operate among men. He is a simple, uncompounded Being, without diverse members, altogether like and self-consistent, since He is wholly understanding, and wholly Spirit, and wholly thought, and wholly intelligence, and wholly reason, and wholly hearing, and wholly seeing, and wholly light, and the entire source of all that is good."<sup>2</sup> Further, as an intelligent and personal Being God is knowable, not merely "Depth" (Bythus);<sup>3</sup> yet man's knowledge of God is the gift of

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iii. 3. 3; cp. iii. 1. 2; 9. 1; 10. 6; 11. 7.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 13. 3. Obs. such a passage appears Sabellian in tendency, but is corrected by the numerous passages asserting the distinct personality of the Son, e.g. iv. 6. 7.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 5. 4; 6. 1; iv. 6. 4. 7. 4.

Divine love: "through His love and infinite benignity, He has come within the range of human knowledge."<sup>1</sup> The essence of His being is love,<sup>2</sup> or more strictly righteousness guided by infinite wisdom and pity. "He is good and merciful and patient, and saves whom He ought, nor does goodness desert Him in the exercise of justice, nor is His wisdom impaired; for He saves those whom He should save, and judges those that are worthy of judgment. Neither does He show Himself unmercifully just; for His goodness, no doubt, goes on before and takes precedence."<sup>3</sup> Thus it is characteristic of God to act on men by persuasion rather than by force, and to fulfil His purpose rather by justice than by the display of power.<sup>4</sup>

I. The revelation of God in the historical Christ is the starting-point of Irenæus' theology, and accordingly he studies the Incarnation from the soteriological point of view. The idea of redemption is the central thought. The Logos-doctrine is no essential part of his system; he is more closely concerned with the historical significance and results of the Incarnation. He studies the actual work of the God-Man from several points of view: as redemption from death, and the means of immortality; as a propitiation of God's righteous displeasure; as the renewal of man's freedom; as the fulfilment of his true destiny. But the current doctrine of the Logos in His eternal relation to the Father finds a place, albeit not a very prominent one, in his theology, and his conception of the Logos corresponds generally to the absoluteness and finality which Irenæus ascribes to the gospel revelation. We may notice in this connection—

1. Irenæus deprecates any attempt to explain the generation of the Divine Word.<sup>5</sup> "If any one says to us,

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iii. 24. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. iii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 25. 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> v. 1. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Generatio inenarrabilis," ii. 28. 6.

How was the Son produced by the Father? we reply to him that no one understands that production, or generation, or calling, or manifestation, or by whatever name one may describe His generation, which is, in fact, altogether indescribable." The thought on which he prefers to insist is the eternal coexistence of the Logos with the Father.<sup>1</sup> Any point beyond this is involved in "unspeakable mystery." Thus Irenæus repudiates physical metaphors (e.g. *προβολή*, *prolatio*), and even seems to deprecate the accepted phrase *λόγος προφορικός*.<sup>2</sup> Such language seemed to him to imply a division in the Divine substance.

2. On the other hand, Irenæus speaks of the functions of the pre-incarnate Logos with the breadth and freedom of Justin or Clement. To the Logos were due all pre-Christian manifestations of Deity, especially those recorded in the Old Testament. In all stages of history the Word was the essential revealer of God; in the whole sphere of the rational creation He has ever been at work; but the Incarnation is the fullest and most adequate manifestation of God. In Christ, the God-Man, the invisible becomes visible, the infinite Being limits Himself; God unites Himself to His creature; the glory of God manifests itself in the living man.<sup>3</sup> Thus the race of mankind, created through the agency of the Word, reaches its consummation and fulfils its true destiny in Christ; and "the end is joined to the beginning."

<sup>1</sup> Cp. ii. 30. 9: "*Semper autem coexistens Filius Patri olim et ab initio semper revelat Patrem,*" etc. Cp. iii. 18. 2: "*Filius Dei existens semper apud Patrem.*"

<sup>2</sup> ii. 28. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See iv. 12. 4, iv. 20. 7 (a noble passage), iv. 6. 3, iii. 6. 2: "*Per Filium itaque, qui est in Patre et habet in se Patrem, is qui est manifestatus est Deus.*" See also iv. 4. 2, "*Mensura enim Patris Filius quoniam et capit eum*"; iv. 6. 6, "*Omnes viderunt in Filio Patrem; invisibile etenim Filii Pater, visibile autem Patris Filius,*" etc.

“Wherefore,” says Irenæus,<sup>1</sup> “the prophets, receiving the prophetic gift from the same Word, announced His advent according to the flesh, by which the blending and communion of God and man took place according to the good pleasure of the Father, the Word of God foretelling from the beginning that God should be seen by men, and hold converse with them upon earth, should confer with them and should be present with His own creation, saving it and becoming capable of being perceived by it, and freeing us *from the hands of all that hate us*, that is, from every spirit of wickedness, and causing us *to serve Him in holiness and righteousness all our days*, in order that man, having embraced the Spirit of God, might pass into the glory of the Father.”

Here, then, we have a complete and coherent view of redemptive history, which has, in fact, become part of the permanent thought of the Church. The unity of the author of creation and redemption is asserted; docetic ideas of Christ's humanity are set aside; the historic development recorded in Scripture is acknowledged; the continuity of revelation is maintained; the proof from prophecy is recognised. It would be difficult to find in any Church writer a greater comprehensiveness of thought, or a simpler grasp of the great facts of the Bible history, as Christianity has interpreted it.

II. The conditions and purpose of the Incarnation are viewed by Irenæus chiefly from the human side, as the consummation of human destiny, and as the reversal of the effects of the Fall. This is consistent with his general point of view, according to which theology centres in the fact of redemption—an idea which, it is obvious to remark, he shares with the Gnostics. In the Incarnation a Divine Person enters on a human existence. On this point Irenæus insists particularly; the subject of

<sup>1</sup> iv. 20. 4.

Incarnation is very God; God in His loving condescension accepting the limitations of manhood; God in His moral perfection teaching men the things concerning Himself. But the relation between the Godhead and the manhood is not, according to Irenæus, the same in every stage of the incarnate life. In the temptations and sufferings of the *status exinanitionis* the Logos is "quiescent."<sup>1</sup> But since the Ascension Christ's glorified manhood subsists under the conditions of the Divine life; it has entered into the glory of God;<sup>2</sup> in the Son of God human nature has attained its consummation.

God Himself, then, is man's Redeemer;<sup>3</sup> "for the Mediator between God and man must needs, through His own affinity to each, bring both together into amity and fellowship, so presenting man to God and revealing God to man." Love has discovered a way of helping man and enabling him to recover what he had lost in Adam. Irenæus regards evil as permitted for a providential end. Man's apostasy has been the occasion for a marvellous display of Divine magnanimity;<sup>4</sup> it has awakened the consciousness of need; the thirst for union with God. And man must respond to the movement of Divine pity by obedience, gratitude, and self-surrendering love, if he is to attain to the vision of God which is his very life.<sup>5</sup> It is in the person of the incarnate Word that the race of mankind finds its true Champion and Head. Christ is the second Adam, in whom the original type of manhood

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iii. 19. 3: ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι . . . καὶ σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν· συγγινόμενου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικῆν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρηστεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. iv. 20. 4.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 21. 1: ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἀνθρώπος ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς.  
Cp. iii. 18. 7, iv. 33. 4.

<sup>4</sup> iv. 37. 7; cp. iii. 20. 1 and 2, iv. 14. 1

<sup>5</sup> iii. 20. 2. "Vita hominis visio Dei."

is restored; in whom man's original destiny is triumphantly fulfilled. And here we touch on the most characteristic feature of Irenæus' system: the idea, derived from S. Paul, that Christ "recapitulates"<sup>1</sup> human nature; gathers into Himself all that belongs to its true essence; fulfils all that belongs to the true idea of manhood. And His work, as the representative man, is twofold—(1) He accomplishes man's ideal destiny; (2) He takes up anew and carries to a victorious issue the conflict in which man had been worsted.

1. The Incarnation is viewed by Irenæus, first, as a fulfilment of man's original destiny. Christ is the Head of a new race; the first-fruits of a new humanity. It was therefore necessary that Christ should "recapitulate" in His own person the different stages of an ordinary human life, in order that man's nature in its entirety might be united to God, that man might "receive the adoption, and become the Son of God."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly the second Adam "did not evade any condition of humanity nor set aside in Himself the law which was His own ordinance for the human race." Thus after passing through every stage of a normal human life, He yielded Himself to death "that *in all things He might have the pre-eminence*, existing before all and going before all."<sup>3</sup>

2. The Word also assumed the nature of man with a view to achieving the victory over the tempter by whom man had been once overcome. We notice that Irenæus anticipates Anselm in teaching that as it was man who had fallen, it was a moral necessity that man should conquer. The victory which man had failed to secure is accomplished in Christ, in whom humanity is recapitu-

<sup>1</sup> On "recapitulation" (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις*), see the detached note at the end of the section.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. iii. 19. 1.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 22. 4.

lated; by His obedience He reverses the effects of man's disobedience. "He fought and conquered; for He was man contending for the Fathers, and through obedience doing away with disobedience completely."<sup>1</sup> "For it behoved Him who was to destroy sin and redeem man, subject to the penalty of death, that He should Himself be made that same thing which *he* was (that is, man), who had been drawn by sin into bondage, and was held by death; in order that sin might be destroyed by *man*, and *man* might go forth from death. God recapitulated in Himself the ancient formation of man, that He might kill sin, deprive death of its power, and quicken humanity."<sup>2</sup>

It should be observed in this connection that we first find developed in Irenæus a theory of the atonement which exercised great influence on subsequent thought: the idea that by the victory of Christ the devil lost his right of dominion over man—a dominion acquired indeed by violence, but only brought to an end by a Divine victory wisely and justly obtained. Divine justice required that what the strong man had unjustly seized should be recovered by lawful conflict. In this conflict Christ was victorious; but Irenæus seems to imply that what He might have lawfully claimed, namely, the devil's captives, He preferred to obtain by way of persuasion.<sup>3</sup> The devil freely consented to accept the death of Christ as the ransom for his prisoners. There is no necessary connection between the two thoughts of moral victory and legitimate ransom. It is apparently Irenæus' desire to give its true significance (1) to the obedience of the Saviour and His constancy under temptation, (2) to the atoning death upon the cross. It cannot be said that Irenæus has any consistent theory of redemption, for

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iii. 18. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 7.

<sup>3</sup> v. 1. 1; 2. 1; 21. 2, 3; cp. v. 22. 1.

there are other aspects of the subject which he occasionally notices.<sup>1</sup> Nor does he overlook the importance of the resurrection of Christ as the first-fruits of a general restitution of mankind.<sup>2</sup> It is a fair criticism on the conception of Satan as a being having independent rights which God respects, that it displays a remnant of "residuary dualism" which contrasts rather strangely with the great unities insisted on by Irenæus.<sup>3</sup> But the attempt to answer the question, *Cur Deus homo*, which the Greek apologists had not raised, is a feature which gives special character to Irenæus' theology.<sup>4</sup>

III. We may briefly notice, in the last place, the close connection of the doctrine of the Spirit with that of the Incarnation. In this point, as in many others, Irenæus develops richly the teaching characteristic of S. Paul. From the manhood of the uplifted and glorified Redeemer proceeds the Holy Spirit, as the mediator of the Redeemer's life-giving presence, infusing it through sacramental channels into humanity as a re-creative force. "To bear God," to be penetrated by the Divine Spirit, was indeed the predestined glory of human nature. In earlier stages of revelation this result had been consistently held in view; man had been gradually trained and prepared for that high dignity,<sup>5</sup> which in Christ was actually attained by human nature. Through the agency of the Spirit, who is the mediating link between God and the creature, human nature is prepared and fitted to receive the Son. And He, in His glorified manhood, is Himself the very

<sup>1</sup> e.g. that of *reconciliation* of man to God through Christ's death, v. 14. 3; the payment of a *debt*, v. 17. 3.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 19. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 67, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 473.

<sup>5</sup> iv. 14. 2: "Prophetas præstruebat in terra, assuescens hominem portare ejus Spiritum et communionem habere cum Deo."

fountainhead whence the Spirit proceeds.<sup>1</sup> The normal sphere of the regenerating and quickening action of the Holy Spirit is the Church.<sup>2</sup> *Ubi enim ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia.* Irenæus seems, in fact, to conceive of the Holy Spirit, not (according to later theology) as "accomplishing the presence" of the ascended Christ, but as co-operating with Him in the restoration of humanity,<sup>3</sup> enabling men to "ascend through the Spirit to the Son."<sup>4</sup> It is not necessary for our present purpose to determine this point precisely. It may suffice to say that the Holy Spirit is co-ordinated with the Son as an agent in the redemptive work; He is the link between Deity and humanity. So far as there is a distinction drawn between their functions, Irenæus seems to teach that the subjective Divine life in man is the work of the Spirit, whilst the creative act by which it is brought into being is due to the Logos. The creative operation and love of the Son precedes the indwelling of the Spirit.<sup>5</sup>

The profound influence on Christian thought of the Christology of Irenæus seems to be due to several causes. In the first place, it is realistic or concrete, not abstract. Its central figure is the historical Christ; its dominating thought the reality of the redemption wrought by Him; it is worked out in the phraseology of the New Testament, especially of S. Paul. Perhaps something also is due to the generally optimistic, even triumphant tone, of Irenæus. The Gnostic theology had

<sup>1</sup> Passages of chief importance—iii. 9, 17, 18, 19, 24, iv. 38, v. 6, 8, 10, 12.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 17. 3; 24. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> v. 36. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Lipsius in *Dict. Biog. s. v.* "Irenæus," p. 277; and Dorner, *l.c.*

regarded the Divine descent into a material mode of existence as a fall or degradation ; to Irenæus it is the turning-point of redemption.<sup>1</sup> The Gnostics had limited to a few the possibility of redemption ; Irenæus teaches that the victory of Christ is that of humanity at large, and that thereby is secured for all who will grasp it the gift of the highest good : immortal life and the knowledge and vision of God. Further, the New Testament ideal, as depicted by Irenæus, seemed to satisfy the yearnings awakened, perhaps, by Neo-Platonic speculation : yearnings for spiritual purification and enlightenment, and for mystical union with Deity.<sup>2</sup> Above all, it was in full correspondence with the spiritual needs and aspirations of average men, and with the consciousness of Christians, in its insistence that God Himself had deigned, in pity and love, to visit man and help him. *Factus est quod sumus nos, uti nos perficeret esse quod est ipse.*<sup>3</sup> And this great truth was brought home to men, not as by the Gnostics, in the mystical and fantastic garb of mythological imagery, but in the simple and majestic language of revelation. The picture of Christ's person in the pages of Irenæus is in a manner self-evidencing ; it is worthy of God.

NOTE.—*The Doctrine of the "Recapitulation"*  
(ἀνακεφαλαιώσις).

The expression is derived from S. Paul, Eph. i. 10, where it is said to be the Divine purpose of grace in the fulness of time *to sum up all things in Christ* (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ). The

<sup>1</sup> See this contrast developed in Iren. ii. 20. 3 (referred to by Harnack *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 472).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> Bk. v. præf. ; ep. iii. 23. 2 : "Opitulatus est homini et in suam libertatem restauravit eum."

word is also used of that saying in which the whole law is *briefly comprehended* (*ἀνακεφαλαιούται*), Rom. xiii. 9. The idea seems also to have been known to Justin.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek commentators give more than one explanation of the word *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*.<sup>2</sup> But in Irenæus the general purport of the word is clear. The phrase implies two essential ideas—(a) *consummation* of all that has gone before; Christ “comprises” humanity in Himself as its true representative, with its different elements, material and spiritual; (b) *complete fulfilment of the original idea* of the universe, a fuller and more perfect embodiment of it. Thus derivatively the word *recapitulare* implies “restoration” or “recombination” of elements which the Fall had disintegrated to their original truth and unity.

Christ then “recapitulates” human nature. He assumes it in its reality and completeness—such, sin only excepted, as the Fall had made it. He passes through each successive stage of human life in order to consecrate it afresh to God. As Mediator, He presents it, according to the truth of its original idea, to the Father. He brings it back into accord with the Divine thought; as the archetype of manhood, He restores it in His own person to its initial truth and purity. He “joins the end to the beginning.” In Him not only humanity, but all the material and spiritual creation is summed up; is gathered into a unity of which He is the representative.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his lost work against Marcion. See Iren. iv. 6. 2, and cp. Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogm.* p. 97; Sanday, *Christologies*, etc., pp. 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See various explanations, ap. Petav. *de Incarn.* ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Petav. *l.c.* quotes Cyr. Alex. *in Joh.* ix. as explaining *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι* thus: τὸ ἀνακόμισαι πάλιν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν εἰς ὅπερ ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰ πρὸς ἀνόμοιον ἐκπεπωκῆτα τέλος. Petav. adds: “Christus ideo venit ut ad unum dissipata ac dissociata universitatis membra redigeret, et tum inter se, tum vero cum auctore ac capite suo colligeret.”

This seems to be the best exposition of the word, which does not exclude collateral ideas such as that suggested by Chrysostom, that in Christ we see a *compendious action* of Divine power,<sup>1</sup> finishing the work and *cutting it short in righteousness* (Isai. xxviii. 22; Rom. ix. 28). The Incarnation was, as it were, a summary way of reducing all things to their true relation to God. Cp. Iren. iii. 18. 1: "*In compendio nobis salutem præstans ut quod perdidideramus in Adam . . . hoc in Christo Jesu recuperemus.*" The most important passages for study of the doctrine are Iren. iii. 16. 6; 18. 1, 7; 21. 10; 22. 2, 3. Cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. p. 465; Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, i. p. 237.

<sup>1</sup> Chrys. *hom.* 23 *ad Rom.* xiii.: ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται τούτεστιν, συντόμως καὶ ἐν βράχει τὸ πᾶν ἀπαρτίζεται τῶν ἐντολῶν ἔργον. Cp. *ad Eph.* i. 9: τὰ διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου οἰκονομούμενα ἀνεκεφαλαίωσατο ἐν αὐτῷ, τ. ε. συνέτεμα.

## PART IV

## THE BEGINNING OF POLEMICS

- § I. The Monarchian controversies.
  - Adoptianism.
  - Modalism or Patripassianism.
  
- § II. Anti-Monarchian theology.
  - Christology of Origen.
  
- § III. Tertullian—Novatian—Hippolytus.
  
- § IV. The Close of Third Century Christology.
  - The two Dionysii.
  - Later writers of the school of Origen.
    1. The Close of Third Century Theology ; the Council of Antioch (269).
    2. Confusions in Ante-Nicene terminology.
    3. Anticipations of Nicene doctrine.
    4. Concluding survey.

## § I. THE MONARCHIAN CONTROVERSIES

The confident tone of the great anti-Gnostic writers, Irenæus and Tertullian, might lead us to suppose that their conception of Christ as the incarnate Logos was the common property of Christians; but a study of the controversies which disturbed the earlier part of the third century serves to show that there was by no means a general acceptance of the Logos-doctrine, which had played so large a part in the writings of the apologists. The fact is that in proportion as the doctrine came to the front, the Trinitarian problem necessarily became more acute. The third century witnessed various attempts to solve the problem on a Unitarian basis. The result achieved, after severe struggle, was the practical exclusion of all explanations that tended to simplify the complex mystery guarded by the Church, at the expense of some essential element in the Christian tradition. The doctrine of the *μοναρχία*,<sup>1</sup> or unity of the Godhead, is a fundamental article of faith. "Scripture and the Church avoid the appearance of tritheism by tracing back (if we may so say) the infinite perfections of the Son and Spirit to Him whose Son and Spirit they are."<sup>1</sup> The necessity of a constant protest against polytheism led the Church—perhaps in a special degree the Roman Church—to insist tenaciously on the Divine unity. It had been the task of the apologists to give its due prominence to this truth. But as yet Christian writers had

<sup>1</sup> Monarchia: singulare et unicum imperium [Dei]. Tert. *adv. Prax.* 3. Cp. Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 1. Dion. Rom. speaks of τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὴν μοναρχίαν (ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 373. See the note, pp. 385-387). Epiph. *Hæc.* lxii. 3, says expressly, ὅτι μὲν ἀληθῶς εἰς ἐστὶ θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἕτερος σαφῶς ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡμολόγηται, καὶ συμπεφώνηται ὅτι οὐ πολυθεῖαν εἰσηγοῦμεθα, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίαν κηρύττομεν (qu. by Harnack, *Dogm.* i. 613). See also Routh, *Sacr. L.c.*

failed to discover any mode of synthesis by which the two doctrines of the Divine unity and the Deity of the Word might be harmonised. The "Monarchian" or Unitarian teachers virtually denied the distinctions of Person within the Godhead, on which apologists like Justin and Irenæus had laid such emphasis. Their error may have been in some degree the result of an intellectual reaction on the part of ordinary lay Christians against the subordinatianist tendency of the apologetic theology.<sup>1</sup> Tertullian says expressly that simple "unskilled persons" (*idiotæ*) shrank with horror from the economy, *i.e.* the Divine revelation involved in the Incarnation. *Expavescent ad οἰκονομίαν. Monarchiam, inquirunt, tenemus.*<sup>2</sup> This statement seems to indicate that the Christology of the apologists was as yet little known in the Church at large; in some quarters the Logos-doctrine was probably suspected as a speculation akin to Gnostic ideas, and derogatory to the Divine dignity of Christ. The doctrine was, in fact, a philosophical conception, and as such little likely to be widely popular or intelligible; it might even seem to threaten the simplicity of faith. The average Christian, who had no means of estimating the apologetic importance of the doctrine, would naturally be slow to welcome it, or recognise it as a true element in the Church's creed. At anyrate, the reactionary tendencies of the time make their appearance in the heresies which are called, though not very happily, Monarchian.<sup>3</sup> Of these there were two classes, —not perhaps always easily distinguishable.

1. Some fell back on what has been termed the "Modalistic" solution of the Trinitarian problem. They denied the *separate personality* (*ιδιότης*) of the Son and

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 292-294.

<sup>2</sup> *adv. Prax.* 3.

<sup>3</sup> The name first appears in Tert. *adv. Prax.* 10, "Vanissimi Monarchiani."

Spirit of God. They regarded "Father" and "Son" as two designations of one and the same subject: God in two different relations to the created universe. It followed that what Scripture records of the Son might be predicated of the Father. Pressed logically, this view resulted in Patripassianism.

2. The simpler solution was that which may be called "Adoptianist" or humanitarian: the denial of the *Deity* of the Son and Spirit. According to this view Jesus Christ was a mere man, endowed with a higher gift of inspiration than others, whether prophets or saints, and gradually elevated, as a reward for His sinless virtue, to Divine dignity.

It may be observed that both views might claim to find support in Scripture. The "Modalists" would point to the Old Testament theophanies and the Apostolic Epistles, and would be supported by the universal consciousness of Christians that in the Incarnation a Divine Being really appeared on earth. The "Adoptianist" school might claim that their view was in accord with the *prima facie* impression derived from the Synoptic Gospels. It is noticeable that this latter school of thinkers can be traced back to the obscure sect of the Alogi,<sup>1</sup> mentioned by Epiphanius, who rejected the Johannine writings on critical grounds, and fashioned their Christology on the basis of the Synoptist narrative. At any rate either school represents a feeling of right jealousy for an intrinsic element of the Christian tradition: the first for the Divine *monarchia*; the second for the historical Christ of the Gospels. Thus the Alogi seem

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. *Hær.* li. 3, invents the name. See *Dict. Chr. Biog.* s. v. "Alogi." They were a sect of anti-Montanists in Asia Minor (*circa* 170), who rejected the Gospel of S. John and the Apocalypse—the former probably on the ground of its teaching as to the Paraclete. See Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 616 ff.

to have laid great stress on the synoptic narrative, even accepting the miraculous birth of Christ; but they rejected the Johannine conception of the Logos on the ground that it appeared to contradict the earlier tradition, and to favour docetic error.

I. It was at Rome that the Adoptianist teachers first endeavoured to found a school. Theodotus of Byzantium gained followers in Rome about the year 185; his most noteworthy successors being a younger Theodotus, and at a later period, Artemon. The "Theodotians"<sup>1</sup> held that Christ was a mere man (*ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*), specially under the influence of the Holy Spirit, who descended upon Him at the Baptism; and that He was finally exalted after due probation to Divine dignity. Possibly Theodotus had some connections with the Alogi of Asia Minor; like them he appealed to Scripture in proof of his views, but did not reject the Gospel of S. John.<sup>2</sup> Theodotus himself was cut off from communion by the Roman bishop Victor, perhaps about 195. This step is of crucial importance as a declaration of the traditional teaching of the Church of Rome on the subject of Christ's Divinity. The party of Theodotus represented their views as those which had been handed down from the apostles; the action of Victor marked his sense of what was to Christian consciousness a "God-denying apostasy."<sup>3</sup> The critical methods of the school were zealously pursued under the leadership of the younger Theodotus, but the vigilance of the Roman pontiffs prevented the formation of a schismatic Church (200-218). It is to

<sup>1</sup> See Epiph. *Hær.* liv.

<sup>2</sup> The proof passages appealed to by the Theodotians were such as these: Deut. xviii. 15; Jerem. xvii. 9; Isai. liii.; S. Mt. xii. 31; S. Lk. i. 35; S. Jo. viii. 40; Acts ii. 22; 1 Tim. ii. 5. Cp. Harnack, *Dojmgengesch.* i. 623, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Caius [?], ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28.

be observed that these Monarchians did not reject the idea of a second Divine hypostasis, namely the Holy Spirit, whom they seem to have identified with the Son of God, and who accordingly was a more exalted being than Jesus on whom He descended. Of this eternal Son they believed Melchizedek<sup>1</sup> to be a manifestation. Christ was merely a man in whom a similar manifestation (*λόγος θεοῦ*) was made; a man exalted above others only in virtue of His superior holiness. The theological method of these humanitarians is also noteworthy. "They forsake," says an old writer quoted by Eusebius,<sup>2</sup> "the Holy Scriptures, and devote their attention to geometry, as if indeed they were of the earth and spake of the earth, and were ignorant of Him that cometh from above." They seem in fact to have applied to theological problems the hard "geometrical" methods of dialectic, and to have made special use of the philosophy of Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> whereas on the side of catholic theology Platonism was at this time the most influential system. Moreover, just as they preferred the empirical philosophy to that of Plato and Zeno, so they rejected the allegorical method, which was favoured by the Church, in favour of a crude grammatical literalism, and endeavoured to ascertain on critical principles the original text of Scripture;<sup>4</sup> principles which were destined rather less than a century afterwards to be applied with more success at Antioch, on a basis common to all educated Christians of that time,—that of Platonism.

Of *Artemon*, a later leader of the Humanitarian school, little is known beyond the fact that he taught in Rome

<sup>1</sup> The name "Melchizedekians" may be only another title of the Theodotians. See some notices of them collected by Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 202; cp. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 627 f.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 299.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 626.

some time before the middle of the third century, and put forward the startling claim that his views had been those of all the Roman bishops previous to Zephyrinus (202–218). He seems to have asserted somewhat more definitely than Theodotus the superiority of Christ to the prophets in respect of His supernatural birth and sinlessness. It might be gathered from Novatian's *de Trinitate*<sup>1</sup> (circ. 250), that humanitarianism had not yet entirely ceased to find defenders in Rome. But it would be a mistake to identify these views with the bare Ebionitic conception of Christ, for the Theodotians claimed to be in accord with the rule of faith, and they do not seem to have intended to teach that Christ was a "mere man" (*ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*). In their view He was rather one on whom the pre-existent Spirit or Son of God descended, in order to enable Him for His redemptive work.

In the East the Adoptianist Christology found exponents in *Beryllus* of Bostra, in whom the two divergent types of Monarchianism seem to approximate, but who in any case needed to be convinced by Origen of the truth of the Logos-doctrine.<sup>2</sup> The most celebrated heretical teacher, however, is *Paul* of Samosata, bishop of Antioch (262–272), the first specimen of a courtly prelate, favoured by the powerful Queen Zenobia.<sup>3</sup> According to the doctrine of Paul, Christ's personality was human, but the Divine Reason dwelt in Him *ὡς ἐν οὐδένι ἄλλῳ*. The Logos was a quality or attribute of the One God, which wrought in Moses and the prophets, but

<sup>1</sup> Esp. c. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. vi. 33, seems to give a substantially true account of Beryllus as—(1) denying the pre-existence of Christ, (2) asserting that He was a perfect man indwelt by Deity. See Redepenning, *Origenes*, pt. ii. pp. 98 ff.; Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. 35 ff.; Harnack, i. 633–635.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack represents him as a "nationalist" bishop, who opposed the scientific theology of the Greeks on patriotic grounds. He wished to assert the "old teaching" of the Church as against Hellenising tendencies.

in a specially exalted degree (*μᾶλλον καὶ διαφερόντως*) in Christ. In the human Christ the Logos dwelt "not essentially but as a quality" (*οὐκ οὐσιωδῶς ἀλλὰ κατὰ ποιότητα*). Accordingly Paul drew a distinction between the Redeemer who was "from below" (*κάτωθεν*) and the Divine Logos who wrought in Him "from above." The connection between the Divine element and the human person was only of a moral order: a unity of will and love such as might subsist between two persons. As the reward of His unbroken obedience and victory over temptation, Christ was exalted into a state of indissoluble fellowship with God, and obtained the *name which is above every name*. In view of the predestinating purpose of God concerning Him, He can be called God. Finally, it should be noted that Paul asserted the "consubstantiality" of the Logos with God (*ὁμοούσιον*); but he used the term (*ὁμοούσιος*) in a sense which was intended to exclude the idea of a distinct personality.

Such in brief outline seems to have been the system of Paul: a system which perhaps seemed to himself the most consistent with the gospel narrative, and with the truth of Monotheism, but which combined two features usually disjoined: a Sabellian view of the Godhead,<sup>1</sup> and a humanitarian conception of Christ. He taught in fact the *apotheosis* of a good man, not an Incarnation of God. Consistently with this belief he abolished the use of hymns addressed to Christ, as an objectionable custom of modern origin, for the Deity of our Lord was, as he supposed, a dignity acquired, not an essential part of His nature. It seems, indeed, that Paul combined the two elements which

<sup>1</sup> [Ath.] *c. Apollin.* ii. 3, ascribes Paul's heresy to his anxiety to preserve the unity of God. See other references to him in *Ath. Orat. c. Arian.* i. 38, iii. 51. Epiph. *Hær.* lxxv. regards him as a renewer of Artemon's heresy. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 627, 628 note, gives a full list of original authorities. See esp. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 285-367.

appear separately in Sabellianism and humanitarianism. According to him the Logos was an impersonal quality of God, and might be called "Son" only in a metaphorical sense.<sup>1</sup> The historical Christ on the other hand was an inspired man, in whom the Divine Word or Wisdom dwelt. The union between the two is no more than a "conjunction" (*συνάφεια* or *συνέλευσις*); they are in fact two distinct persons (*ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*). The perpetuity of Christ's union with God (the Logos) was the reward of His moral probation and victory,—a kind of "indefectible grace" vouchsafed to His manhood. He could be described as "pre-existent" only in virtue of the predestination and foreknowledge of God.

The proceedings against Paul ended in the issue of a synodal letter by the six bishops who met at Antioch in 269. This will occupy our attention later.<sup>2</sup> It needs only to be pointed out that the Christology of Paul was not without its influence at a later period on Lucian of Antioch and his school, which was the seed-plot of Arianism.<sup>3</sup> The same general conception of the relation between the Logos and Christ seems to have become traditional in the Church of Antioch, as may be gathered from the theological statements of Theodore the Mopsuestian. The condemnation of Nestorianism was in a sense a second condemnation of the Samosatene, who was always regarded by later writers as in some sense an arch-heretic.

<sup>1</sup> ὁ πατήρ ἕνα τῶ νιῶ [*sc. τῶ λόγῳ*] εἰς θεός.

<sup>2</sup> A synod was held as early as 264, Firmilian of Cæsarea being present. The aged Dionysius of Alexandria sent a letter (Euseb. vii. 28). This was followed by a second synod—both being without result. The third synod, probably held in 268, ended in Paul's excommunication and deposition, which was not finally effected till 272.

<sup>3</sup> Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i. 5, describes Arius' doctrine in terms which show connection with the theology of Paul. Harnack [i. 645 note] traces the influence of Paul in the school of Antioch and in the *Acta Archelai*; cp. p. 647 note.

II. The type of Monarchianism which seems to have been most prevalent in the third century, and most difficult to contend with, was that which questioned the reality of personal distinctions within the Godhead; a phase of thought which is sometimes called "Modalism."<sup>1</sup> Not only, as we have seen, did ordinary Christians shrink from the "economy," through fear of falling into ditheism; "Modalism" also seemed to embody the universal belief as to the fundamental fact of Divine redemption, namely, the Incarnation of God. It appeared to secure the truth of Christ's Divinity, and accordingly was favoured even at Rome. The earliest Monarchians of this type appear in the East near the close of the second century. Their teaching first becomes explicit in Praxeas and Noetus, and assumes a philosophic form in Sabellius.

*Praxeas*, a presbyter of Ephesus, and a violent opponent of Montanism, appeared in Rome, it would seem, during the last decade of the century; but probably the main scene of his activity was Carthage.<sup>2</sup> The teaching of *Noetus* of Smyrna, and his pupil Epigonus, seems to have attracted more attention at Rome, and to have even commended itself to the Roman bishops, especially to Callistus (217-222), the opponent of Hippolytus. Perhaps the simplest expression of Modalism is that of Noetus.<sup>3</sup> Starting from the unity of God, he maintained that it was God the Father Himself who was born, suffered, and died. Christ was in fact the Father.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* as teaching that the so-called "Persons" of the Blessed Trinity are only "phases" or "modes" (*τρόποι ἀποκαλύψεως*) under which the one God reveals Himself. On the affinities between Modalism and Stoicism, see Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 651, 652 note, 661.

<sup>2</sup> This corresponds best with the fact that he is ignored by Hippolytus. As to his probable career, see *Dict. Chr. Biog. s.v.* "Praxeas."

<sup>3</sup> Hippol. *Philos.* ix. 1-10, insists on the connection between the teaching of Noetus and that of Heraclitus, not quite without just reason; cp. Harnack, i. 652 n. See generally Hippol. *o. Noetum* (in Routh, *Opuscula*).

Noetus laid great stress on the will of God, as that element of His personality whereby He submitted Himself to conditions non-natural to Deity: visibility and passibility.<sup>1</sup> The Father, in so far as He voluntarily subjects Himself to these mortal conditions, is the Son, the distinction between the two Divine Persons being only nominal. The doctrine of Praxeas exhibits that of Noetus in a more highly elaborated form. Praxeas impugned the catholic belief as tritheistic; and himself insisted on the distinction between the Father and the Son as substantial rather than merely nominal. The Father is Spirit; the Son is Flesh. Since in Christ the Divine principle is the Father, and the humanity assumed is the Son,<sup>2</sup> the Father actually shared the sufferings of the Son,<sup>3</sup>—Himself suffered in the Son. This "Patripassianist" view is the chief characteristic of the naive and unphilosophical form of Modalism. The formula of Callistus preserved by Hippolytus<sup>4</sup> was intended to be of a mediating character, but was so far in accordance with the language of Praxeas and Noetus as to be virtually Patripassian. The last sentence is worth quoting as illustrating the author's desire to recognise the element of truth in the adoptianist view.<sup>5</sup> "For the

<sup>1</sup> He declared the Father to be ἀφανῆ μὲν ὅταν ἐθέλῃ, φαινόμενον δὲ ἥνικ' ἂν βούληται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄορατὸν εἶναι καὶ ὁρώμενον . . . ἀγεννητὸν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, γεννητὸν δὲ ὅτε ἐκ τῆς παρθένου γεννηθῆναι ἠθέλησεν, κ.τ.λ. (Theod. ap. Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. p. 27.) As illustrating this the theophanies of the Old Testament were cited.

<sup>2</sup> Tert. *adv. Prax.* xxvii. They specially appealed to S. Lk. i. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxix.: "Compassus est Pater Filio."

<sup>4</sup> *Philos.* ix. 12. See the formula ap. Harnack, i. 664. It expressly adduces as a proof-text S. Jo. xiv. 11. "It was the bridge," says Harnack, "by which the Christians of Rome, originally Monarchian in their ideas, followed the tendency of the time and of ecclesiastical science, and passed over to the recognition of the Logos-Christology."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* l.c.: πότε μὲν εἰς τὸ Σαβελλίου δόγμα ἐμπέπτων, πότε δὲ εἰς τὸ Θεοδότου οὐκ αἰδέεται.

Father who became present in Him, after assuming the flesh, deified it by uniting it to Himself, and made it one [with Himself], so that Father and Son are called one God. Now this [Godhead] being one Person (*ἐν πρόσωπον*) cannot be two; and thus the Father suffered with the Son."

Enough has been said to illustrate the character of Modalism as it appeared, and was controverted in the West. Anxious though they were to refute it as a speculative opinion, the Western writers probably lacked the qualifications for dealing with it critically. As we have already seen, their strength lay in their tenacious hold of the Christian tradition that Christ was very God, and that there was only one God. This practical grasp of two verities, which they found it difficult exactly to adjust, gave to the attitude of the Western Fathers a decisive importance in relation to the Arian struggle.

*Sabellius*, who was probably a bishop or presbyter in the Pentapolis (N. Africa), taught actively in Rome during the earlier part of the third century (*circa*. 215), and was therefore a contemporary of Noetus and Praxeas. But his system is of much greater interest than theirs as an attempt to give philosophic form and consistency to the Modalistic tendency, and to exhibit it in its cosmological, not merely in its theological relations. According to Sabellius, the names Father, Son, and Holy Spirit<sup>1</sup> designate three distinct phases under which the one God described in the Old Testament<sup>2</sup> successively manifests Himself. God is the Monad (or τὸ ὄν), and may be described as *ὑποστάσις*. The three names Father, Son, and Spirit together express His relation to the world; the Father is revealed in the giving of the law; the Son,

<sup>1</sup> The recognition of a third *πρόσωπον* differentiates the Sabellian from the Noetian view.

<sup>2</sup> Epiph. *Hær.* lxii, 2, says he used the Old Testament and New Testament Scriptures, and especially a so-called "Egyptian Gospel."

in the Incarnation; the Spirit, in inspiration and the re-creation of souls. Whether the idea of strict temporal succession in the Divine self-manifestations was maintained by Sabellius is not clear; what is certain is that in his view the personal names represented only three energies in one hypostasis. Sabellius agreed with the Catholics that creation was the work of the Logos, but His forthcoming was merely a transitory manifestation or phase (*πρόσωπον*) in the eternal life of God. There are some important points in the system which are matters of dispute,<sup>1</sup> but its pantheistic tendency is developed in a theory afterwards advanced by Marcellus of Ancyra, which was justly censured as Sabellian, viz. that of a self-expansion of the Monad into the Triad; all created existence had proceeded from God through the mediation of the Logos; but, as Athanasius observed, the appearance of the Logos being transitory, it would follow that created existence must ultimately cease. For if the Monad by a process of self-expansion (*πλάτυσμος*) produces the universe, by self-contraction (*συστολή*) He will annihilate it. The final stage of the Divine process must be a restoration of the original unity,<sup>2</sup> God, the Monad, being finally *all in all*.

Of Sabellius' own system it may be remarked—(1) He finds no room for an Incarnation in the proper sense. The humanity of Christ would seem to have no relation to his teaching; at anyrate it is completely ignored.<sup>3</sup> (2) The importance attached to cosmology was not without its effect on Christian thought. In the

<sup>1</sup> e.g. whether *πάτηρ* and *μόνας* were identical (as assumed above); and in what exact sense he used the terms *πρόσωπον*, *ομοούσιος*, and *γέννησις*.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 25. *εἰ ἵνα ἡμεῖς κτισθῶμεν προήλθεν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ προελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν, δῆλον ὅτι ἀναχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ . . . οὐκετι ἐσόμεθα.* Cp. *Orat.* iv. 12, 14. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 317 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Dorner, *div. i. vol. i.* pp. 167-171.

Christology of Athanasius, the mediation of the Word in nature is represented as parallel and preparatory to His work in redemption.<sup>1</sup> (3) Finally, the word *πρόσωπον* became discredited and was finally excluded from catholic terminology. On the other hand, the significant term *ὁμοούσιος* seems to have been used by Sabellius. The employment of the word in the Nicene symbol is the result of a long sifting process by which the orthodox connotation was gradually determined.

## § II. ANTI-MONARCHIAN THEOLOGY

The conflict with different types of Monarchian error passed without leaving any deeply marked traces in the West. In Rome itself Sabellianism seems soon to have become extinct. The West was, in fact, characteristically slow to add to the received faith even in the way of explanation or definition. A passing reference to the Patripassian heresy is made by Cyprian,<sup>2</sup> and possibly with a view to its exclusion, the creed of the Church of Aquileia was enlarged by the addition of the words *invisibili et impassibili* to the clause *Credo in deo Patre omnipotente*.<sup>3</sup> Paganism was still powerful in the court and the army, in learned circles and in general society. Thus according to some writers of the early fourth century, like Arnobius and Lactantius, the main importance of Christianity lay in its declaration of Monotheism and its pure morality. Few Western writers of the third century show any disposition to welcome the profound speculations connected with the Logos-doctrine; they accept the name Logos, and in untechnical biblical

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Harnack, i. 680.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* lxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Rufin. *Comm. in Symb. Apost.* c. v.: "Sciendum quod duo isti sermones in Eccl. Romanæ symbolonon habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos hæresos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris *Patripassiana* appellatur."

phraseology they insist on the truths finally vindicated at Nicæa and Chalcedon, the full Deity of Christ and the perfection of the two natures ;<sup>1</sup> but beyond this they do not go.

Such is the general character of Latin theology of the third century. If we wish to gain some idea of the precise extent to which the Alexandrian Logos-theology was accepted by Western writers, we must examine the system of Tertullian and the works of Hippolytus and Novatian. It seems desirable, however, before doing so to deviate a little from chronological order, and to survey the Christology of the great teacher, who was the ablest and boldest Christian thinker of his age, and whose work exercised the most profound and lasting influence on Christian dogmatics: ORIGEN of Alexandria, the pupil of Clement and his successor as the master of the famous catechetical school.

*Christology of Origen.*

Origen's career [185-254] extends over the period within which the main problem of Trinitarianism was first seriously faced by the Church, and a succession of systematic efforts was made to solve it. It is chiefly in relation to that problem that his theology will here be reviewed. His life was an eventful one ; his character possessed an extraordinary charm. Specially conspicuous in him seems to have been "the love which enabled him, notwithstanding his varied culture, to strike his roots deeply into the doctrine of the Church, and to take it and its spirit as regulative of Christian gnosis."<sup>2</sup>

It will not be necessary to touch, except incidentally,

<sup>1</sup> Cyprian may be taken as an instance (*d.* 258). See esp. his *Test. adv. Jud.* lib. ii. cc. 6, 10 ; and a beautiful passage in *de Bono Patientiæ*, vi. See also *de Idol. Van.* xi.

<sup>2</sup> Dörner, *Person of Christ*, i. 2. 105. As to Origen's life and doctrinal system, see Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, Lect. iv., v., and the references there collected. See also the glowing panegyric of Greg. Thaum. ; cp. Vinc. Lirin. *Common.* xvii. There is a recent study of Origen in Pfleiderer's *Gifford Lectures*, vol. ii. Lect. viii.

or the varied, fertile, and profound speculations of Origen as to the creation and destiny of the universe; his somewhat fantastic angelology and demonology; his analysis of human free-will, or his methods of biblical interpretation. His training in the school of Neo-Platonism, and his broad intellectual sympathy, gave him numerous points of contact with even such opponents as Celsus, both in methods and principles;<sup>1</sup> while the immense range of his knowledge, and the inexhaustible fulness of his ideas, makes him of all theologians the most many-sided.<sup>2</sup> Further, his reverence for truth made him anxious to find a place in his system even for popular ideas on theology. He was at once conservative of Christian tradition and daring in speculation beyond its limits. Of his Christology it has been said that, with one exception, he finds a place for every view of Christ's person that had been entertained during the preceding two centuries.<sup>3</sup> He shows traces of the influence of Philo, and of the very Gnosticism which he so energetically opposed. Thus his system, on the one hand, appears to gather up and incorporate the main ideas and tendencies of his own time; while on the other, it was full of suggestions which were to be developed in different directions during the age that followed.

Origen seems to have visited Rome during the pontificate of Zephyrinus (202-218), *i.e.* during the interval between the expulsion of Theodotus by Victor and that of the Noetian school by Callistus. He could not fail to be impressed with the difficulty and peril of the doctrinal crisis implied in these two events; but the question of Christ's Deity in its relation to the Divine unity was, in fact, pressed upon him not only by the controversies within the Church, but also by the work of the Unitarian

<sup>1</sup> See the curious judgment of Porphyry, quoted by Euseb. vi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 568 note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 597

Platonist Celsus. Hence the form of Origen's Christology may be said to have been determined mainly by the controversial necessities of the time.

I. He approaches the Incarnation from the Platonistic standpoint. The attributes of God are described mainly in negative terms. He is the Monad, incorporeal, passionless, incomprehensible, absolutely simple, "pure intelligence, or something transcending intelligence and existence."<sup>1</sup> God is dimly revealed in creation as the source and sustainer of all being; but the only absolute knowledge of Him must be imparted by the Logos. Origen is not content, however, with a merely metaphysical conception of Deity as the first cause of all existence; God possesses the attributes of spirit,—will, self-consciousness, moral character. His omnipotence is not absolute or unconditioned; it is limited by His perfections; He can do only what He wills,<sup>2</sup> and His will is good. Thus, in opposition to the Marcionite severance of Divine justice from Divine goodness, Origen maintains that both attributes are combined in the one God. "The God of the law and the Gospels is one and the same, a just and good God; He confers benefits justly, and punishes with kindness; since neither goodness without justice, nor justice without goodness, can display the [real] dignity of the Divine nature."<sup>3</sup> This point is important, because to the Divine goodness Origen traces the origin of revelation. Self-communication is of the essence of the good.

II. In exhibiting the truths of revelation, Origen was guided partly by an *à priori* idea that the very fact of revelation necessarily postulated the existence and activity of the Logos; partly by anxiety to be loyal to the tradition of the Church. He is at one with Clement and the Westerns in his adherence to the rule of faith,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *c. Cels.* vii. 38: ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ οὐσίας.

<sup>2</sup> *c. Cels.* v. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *de Princ.* ii. 5. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *de Princ.* i. 2. 1.

though within its wide limits he felt himself at liberty to articulate, expand, and interpret at pleasure. But here again he moved within the lines of Scripture; his daring flights of fancy invariably have their basis in some biblical incident or text, which by the aid of allegorical interpretation, or the "spiritual sense," was made to illustrate the deepest mysteries of the Divine dispensation. Especially in relation to his Christology we shall have occasion to notice how largely certain texts seem to dominate his thought. He is akin to Irenæus in being a biblical theologian. His theology might almost be called a methodical exegesis of Scripture.

III. His doctrine of the Logos only differs from that of his predecessors in the greater precision with which he insists on the distinct hypostasis of the Son, who was manifested in the Incarnation. It is noticeable that he starts from the historical person of Christ. "We must note that the nature of the Deity which is in Christ in respect of His being the only begotten Son of God, is one thing, and that human nature, which He assumed in these last times for the purpose of the economy, is another." Here, at the outset, is a strong statement of the distinction between the two natures combined in our Lord's person.

In Origen's doctrine of the Son, we may notice two or three distinctive points.

1. He teaches the doctrine of an eternal generation of the Son. The Son is coeternal with the Father. Origen uses the phrase which was afterwards contradicted by Arius, *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*.<sup>1</sup> The Light was never without its radiance. Nay, the relation of Father and Son is supra-temporal; the "generation" of the Son is an eternal process within the Divine Being, a movement without beginning or end. "The Father eternally

<sup>1</sup> See *de Princ.* iv. 1. 28; cp. i. 2. 10.

generates the Son."<sup>1</sup> This eternal generation is explained, according to the tradition of the Greek apologists, as an intemporal exercise of the Father's will. The Son is begotten *velut quædam voluntas Eius ex mente procedens*.<sup>2</sup> And while thus securing the Divine freedom, Origen definitely excludes the physical metaphors which were commonly employed by his predecessors and contemporaries. He deprecates "prolatio" (*προβολή*) as too corporeal a term to be predicated of a movement internal to the Divine essence.<sup>3</sup> There can be no partition of the indivisible substance of Deity.<sup>4</sup> "For the Son is the Word, and therefore we are not to understand that anything in Him is cognisable by the senses. He is Wisdom, and in wisdom there can be no suspicion of anything corporeal. He is the true Light . . . but He has nothing in common with the light of this [visible] sun." Nothing, indeed, could be more emphatic than Origen's insistence on the Godhead and distinct personality of the Son. He is the perfect "image of the invisible God"; unchangeable, essentially God, and not merely by participation (*κατὰ μετουσίαν*). There is community of essence between Father and Son.<sup>5</sup> And the Son is a person separate from the Father, having distinct functions, and independent subsistence; not personally identical with the Father, though actually Divine.

Such is one line of thought pursued by Origen in regard to the subsistence of the Son. He argues logically

<sup>1</sup> *Hom. in Jerem.* ix. 4: *ὅτι γεννᾷ ὁ πατήρ τὸν υἱόν.* *De Princ.* i. 2. 4: "æterna et sempiterna generatio sicut splendor generatur a luce."

<sup>2</sup> *de Princ.* i. 2, §§ 6, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *de Princ.* iv. 1. 28; cp. i. 2. 4: "Infandum est et illicitum Deum Patrem in generatione unigeniti Filii sui atque in subsistentia eius exæquare alicui vel hominum vel aliorum animantium generanti."

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* §§ 6, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Communio substantiæ.* As to the possible use of *ὁμοούσιος* by Origen see note in Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 179.

from the scriptural doctrine that *God is Light*; and he endeavours, with the aid of the analogy of light and its radiance, to do justice to the tradition of the Church that the Son was a Divine hypostasis. In one point he agrees with Tertullian, while in another he advances beyond him. On the one hand, he freely interchanges, as Tertullian does, the terms Logos and Son,<sup>1</sup>—the abstract term and that which connotes moral relationship; on the other hand, while Tertullian conceived the Trinity as economic,—God as it were in movement, opposed to God *in statu*,—Origen, by his doctrine of the eternal generation, replaces the thought of movement (*prolatio*) by that of an eternal process, ever complete in itself, yet ever continued.<sup>2</sup>

2. But besides the inferences which he drew from those passages of Scripture which pointed to the co-equality and coeternity of the Son, there was a second line of thought into which Origen was led by the exigencies of his logic. As supreme Cause and Source of Being, the Father must be conceived to be greater than the Son. If He is *αἴτιος*, the Son, who derives from Him His being, must be *αἰτιατός*, and so far inferior. The Father is *αὐτόθεος*, or *ὁ θεός*; the Son is *θεός*. The gulf between the original fount of Deity and the Son is recognised by the incarnate Christ Himself. Origen insisted specially on three recorded utterances of Christ: "My Father is greater than I"; "Thee, the only true God"; "There is none good save One."<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable, however, that Origen only attempts to formulate the inherited doctrine of the subordination of the Son within the actual limits drawn by Scripture. Thus, in accordance with what he conceived to be the teaching of the last-quoted text, he denies to the Son essential good-

<sup>1</sup> See *in Joh.* i. 23. The reference is from Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doc.* § 43.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. pp. 115 note and 109.

<sup>3</sup> S. Jo. xiv. 28, xvii. 3; S. Mk. x. 18.

ness. He is good, but not the very good; the image of Divine goodness, but not absolute goodness,—not unalterably good.<sup>1</sup> This, perhaps, is the most extreme statement advanced by Origen in connection with the Son's subordination. As the image of God, the Son is *αὐτοσοφία, ἀντοαληθεία*, but Scripture forbids our speaking of Him as *ἀντοαγαθός*. Origen seems further to deny that the highest kind of prayer, adoration with doxology, may lawfully be addressed to the Son. He teaches that "we may address the Saviour in immediate supplication for those boons which it is His special province to bestow. But in the supreme moment of adoration, when the soul strains upwards to lay itself as a sacrifice before the highest object of thought, we must not stop short of Him who is above all."<sup>2</sup> But here, again, it should be observed that Origen is guided by our Lord's own statement, "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, He will give it you."<sup>3</sup>

These two points give to Origen's doctrine of the Divine Sonship its peculiar character. While we acknowledge that the subordination of the Son is unguardedly pressed, it is interesting to observe Origen's method and motive. His method consists in faithful adherence to the scriptural statements; his motive seems to be the desire to guard, and in some measure restate, an essential part of the tradition he had inherited, the tradition which

<sup>1</sup> *de Princ.* i. 2. 13 [Fragm. i. 5]: *εἰκὼν ἀγαθότητος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντοαγαθόν. καὶ τάχα καὶ υἱὸς ἀγαθὸς ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἄπλως ἀγαθὸς . . . οὐχ ὡς ὁ πατήρ ἀπαραλλάκτως ἀγαθός.* The passages are given by Bigg, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 186. Cp. Bull, *Def. Nic. Creed*, i. p. 256 ff. "If we regard the Son relatively as He is the Son, and derives His origin from the Father, it is certain that all the worship and veneration which we offer to Him redounds to the Father, and is ultimately referred to Him as the fountain of Godhead." See also Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 390, 391 note.

<sup>3</sup> S. Jo. xvi. 23. See *de Orat.* xv., xvi.

guarded the *monarchia* by emphasising the ministerial function of the Son.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, his Platonistic conception of God led him to distinguish between what is *incommunicable* and what is *communicable* in God. The Son possesses all of the Divine that can be communicated, —the totality of the spiritual attributes of God. But incommunicable is the fact of being the primal ἀρχή, the fountainhead of existence. If the οὐσία of the Father consists in His being ἀρχή, the Son may be even described as ἕτερος κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ ὑποκείμενον τοῦ πατρός.<sup>2</sup> But in reality the subordination is "modal." The Son is inferior to the Father only in being generate; only in deriving from the Father the Divine essence. "It is the difference between cause and effect, and in this aspect it sometimes seems to Origen immense."<sup>3</sup>

In regard to the question of the age, the reconciliation of the Son's *hypostasis* with the Divine unity, Origen cannot be said to give a perfectly consistent account. Thus in one passage he speaks as if the unity of the Godhead consisted in a perfect moral harmony of will between the Father and the Son. They are one in unity of thought, in identity of will and purpose.<sup>4</sup> But his tendency is to fall back on the traditional position, that the Divine unity consists in the fact of the Son's *derivation* from the Father, and of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son.<sup>5</sup> The already ancient doctrine of subordina-

<sup>1</sup> See *de Princ.* præf. § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *de Orat.* xv. [where notice the v.l. ὑποκείμενος]. Origen does not use the terminology of the doctrine of the Trinity in its later sense, but the terms are already employed, οὐσία, ὑπόστασις, ὑποκείμενον, προσῶπον, possibly ὁμοούσιος. See Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, 163-165 notes.

<sup>3</sup> Bigg, *op. cit.* p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *c. Cels.* viii. 12: τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος. He illustrates by Acts iv. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Origen's doctrine of the Holy Spirit is not very clear. He seems in one passage to speak of Him as a creature, but this is balanced by very strong Trinitarian language. See Bigg, *op. cit.* 171 ff. (notes).

tion seemed to be the only available key to the problem. And with this position the use of the word *ὁμοούσιος* was consistent. So far as there is a communicable *οὐσία* of God, the Son might be called "one in essence" with the Father. For the word *οὐσία* might either denote the incommunicable essence of Deity (*i.e.* in later language, the *ἀγεννησία* which belongs to the Father alone); in this sense the Son is *ἕτερος κατ' οὐσίαν*. Or it might mean those attributes of Deity which are capable of being communicated,—the essence of Deity, which is derived by the Son from the Father as light from light; in this sense the Son might be called *ὁμοούσιος*.<sup>1</sup>

IV. The Incarnation of the Son is the culminating point of the Divine self-revelation. In relation to creation the Son is the eternal Wisdom, the archetype of the universe;<sup>2</sup> the Life and Truth of all things, giving them their consistency and rationality; sustaining and perfecting them according to the true law of well-being for each. He is the Way, providing for the mutability of the creature; the Resurrection, finally destroying death. But as the revealing Word, His activity is confined to the sphere of rational creation, within which He discloses and interprets the secrets of the Divine intelligence.<sup>3</sup> In the Incarnation He becomes the God-man, and passes over, as it were, from the simplicity of the Divine subsistence into the life of manifold relationships involved in redemption; manifesting Himself to men according to their individual needs and capacities as Propitiation, Physician, Shepherd, the True Bread, the Lamb of God.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Dorner's very clear statement, *Person of Christ*, div. I. vol. II. pp. 127, 128.

<sup>2</sup> *de Princ.* I. 2, § 2: "Continens in semetipsa universæ creaturæ vel initia vel formas vel species."

<sup>3</sup> *l.c.* § 3: "Tanquam arcanorum mentis interpres."

<sup>4</sup> These and other *ἐπιβολαί* of the Son are arranged in an ascending scale, denoting different stages in the progress and receptivity of the believer.

His highest function, however, is that of the heavenly teacher, who reveals the hidden depths of Divine knowledge, and imparts a new principle of power to man by exalting him into the life of communion with God. Origen seems, indeed, to make a strange distinction between the historical redemptive *work* of the Son, which deals with human needs in a lower or initial stage, and the function of Divine *revelation* which implies an immediate union between the Logos and the human soul. Accordingly in his system the historical life and death of Christ are *relatively* unimportant; he would have the soul soar beyond the crucified and rest in the Logos; the incarnate life is not *the* truth, but *a* truth beyond which lies a higher; the historic manhood is a medium through which the Logos makes Himself known in His lower redemptive functions; in His highest function He abides in God and with God. The historic work of Christ is indispensable for the great mass of imperfect humanity, and has its significance even for the perfect; but the perfect no longer depend on it for the satisfaction of their own spiritual needs.<sup>1</sup> "God the Word," says Origen, "was sent indeed as a physician to sinners, but as a teacher of Divine mysteries to those who are already pure and who sin no more." "Blessed indeed are they who, requiring the aid of the Son of God, have become such that they no longer need Him as Physician healing the diseased, nor as Shepherd, nor as Redemption, but only as Wisdom and Word and Righteousness, and anything else that He may be to those who, by reason of their perfectness, are able to receive His best gifts."<sup>2</sup> This conception of Christ's work naturally suggests comparison with the Gnostic idea of two classes of believers, spiritual

<sup>1</sup> See Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 592 ff. He refers specially to *c. Cels.* iii. 61, 62, and *in Joh.* i. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *in Joh.* i. 22.

and psychic. The point of contrast is that while the Gnostic conceived Christ's humanity docetically as mere transient appearance, Origen insists on its entire reality, and assigns to it an abiding significance, at least until the final return of all spiritual beings into God, when God shall be all in all.<sup>1</sup>

Such is Origen's general point of view respecting the Incarnation. His account of its actual method is peculiar, and is determined by his preconceived theory as to the origin of the soul. It was not possible for the Logos to unite Himself directly and immediately with matter (τὸ μὴ ὄν); He could only assume human nature through the medium of the soul. What then was the origin of souls? It was to be found, Origen answers, in a defection from a higher state. Creation was eternal. This condition seemed to be required by the eternity of the Divine nature and attributes. Since God was ever omnipotent, "He must always have had those over whom He exercised dominion"; He must from all eternity have possessed a sphere for the display of His perfections.<sup>2</sup> There pre-existed, therefore, a world of created spirits, capable of advance (προκοπή), and therefore morally free. Of these spirits some were steadfast, or rose to a higher estate; some rebelled and became devils. Others became cold in their love, and in consequence of this defection became "souls."<sup>3</sup> But, not very consistently, Origen seems to have believed also in the possibility of a sinless soul;<sup>4</sup> such at anyrate was the soul which the Logos finally assumed. Originally it was like other souls, but

<sup>1</sup> Origen teaches that in the end the exalted humanity of Christ passes over into God. In this μεταβάσις humanity finds its true perfection. c. *Cels.* iii. 41; cp. Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *de Princ.* i. 2. 10.

<sup>3</sup> ψυχὴ der. from ψύχειν = "cooled down πνεῦμα."

<sup>4</sup> See Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. note 23 (p. 462); Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 190 note.

in the pre-existent stage it remained faithful, having no part in the premundane apostasy, and ever cleaving to the Logos in indissoluble love.<sup>1</sup> This soul was by the Logos united to Himself as the medium of an incarnation, the effect of the union being comparable to that of fire on iron. "The soul which like iron resting in the fire, has ever reposed in the Word, ever in Wisdom, ever in God, is God in all that it does, feels, and understands." It becomes immutable through its union with the word; in this soul the fire of Deity found its rest,<sup>2</sup> so that it became the fitting instrument of God. Through the mediation of this perfect soul,<sup>3</sup> the Logos was enabled to assume a body, and through it to impart progressive degrees of glory even to the flesh. The humanity of Jesus was in virtue of the virginal birth free from original taint, but it was real and consubstantial with ours. In this very body He died and rose again from death; but He rose in glory, the substance of the manhood being as it were changed into spirit, and finally made one with the Divine Logos.<sup>4</sup>

Of this Christology it may be remarked, in the first place, that, while it recognises completely the distinct natures of Christ, its object rather is to emphasise the singleness of His personality. The unity of the Divine person seems, however, to be secured by the idea of a gradual fusion in the pre-existent state of two personal subjects, the Logos and the human soul. After the Incarnation, the person of the God-Man is one and

<sup>1</sup> *de Princ.* ii. 6. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *de Princ.* ii. 6. 6, especially the words "in hac anima ipse ignis divinus substantialiter requievisse credendus," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 6. 3: "Hac ergo substantia animæ inter Deum carnemque mediante (non enim possibile erat Dei naturam corpori sine mediatore misceri) nascitur Deus homo," etc.

<sup>4</sup> Origen says (*Hom. in Jerem.* xv. 6) that Christ is now no longer man (*οὐδαμῶς ἀνθρώπος*).

indivisible. The simile of iron resting in fire has been said to mark an epoch in Christology.<sup>1</sup> Just as, if the iron is touched, it is the fire that is felt, not the iron, so the human soul, resting in the Logos, "is God in all that it does."<sup>2</sup>

Next we may note that in Origen's system a real effort is made to recognise the truth and significance of Christ's manhood. Harnack says that Christian Gnosis here really takes up and incorporates in its scheme the Incarnation. As a system of scientific Christology, Origen's view of Christ is most appropriately compared with that of Valentinus or Basilides, if we wish to estimate the advance made in theology since the period of Gnosticism. The fact of the Incarnation, as presented by Origen, reveals not only the condescension of God in manifesting Himself in a human life, but the capacity of human nature to become actually one with God.

A Christology so full and complex as Origen's, which endeavoured to do justice to every aspect of truth which had attracted previous thinkers, naturally gave rise to imputations of "heresy" from many different quarters. But one form of error cannot with justice be ascribed to Origen, namely, the Sabellian or "Modalistic" conception of God; and it is in relation to error of that type that his system is chiefly important. Its significance, from this point of view, is that it securely entrenches the Logos-doctrine in the faith and thought of the Church, and this doctrine is seen to fulfil its function in securing the distinctness of the Divine hypostases. Certainly Origen is hampered in his effort to develop his own thought

<sup>1</sup> Westcott in *Dict. Chr. Biog. s.v.* "Origenes," p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> *de Princ.* ii. 6. 6: "Omne quod agit, quod sentit, quod intelligit Deus est." From this would follow the *communicatio idiomatum*. *Bigg. Chr. Plat.* p. 190.

by his Platonistic idea of God, which, whatever be its merits, is more metaphysical, and even (in a sense) pagan than ethical and Christian. The least, however, that can be said is that he materially helps forward that restatement of the Christian doctrine of God which the Arian troubles showed to be imperatively necessary.

V. A few words are needed on Origen's theory of redemption, which reflects, like the rest of his system, the many-sidedness of his mind. It has been already observed that two aspects of redemption presented themselves to his thought. The redemption of the perfect consisted in the revelation to them by the Logos of the depths of Divine knowledge. This idea of redemption Origen shares with Clement and others of the Greek school. But the idea prevalent in the Church at large, the idea of redemption as a victory over Satan, and the Divinely-ordained means of ransoming mankind from his tyranny, was one which Origen felt bound to recognise. To different classes of men the Redeemer reveals Himself according to their need: to one class as victor over death and sin; to another as the teacher of Divine mysteries. Nay, to the same soul in different stages of its upward progress the Son of God may manifest Himself in successive relations (*ἐπινοίαι*), and the soul responds by a growing receptivity, gradually, by communion with the Divine, rising to the state of beatific union with God. But although Origen seems to attach a lower significance to the historic redemption than to the mystical redemption through knowledge, he develops freely the doctrine of Christ's Atonement. He recognises different aspects of the Passion: its representative value, its propitiatory virtue, its power as a victory over demons, its significance as a ransom paid to the devil, its dignity as the offering of the Mediator and High-Priest of humanity. He dwells on the element of

inexplicable mystery in the death of Christ,<sup>1</sup> and the moral appeal it makes to the heart of man. But perhaps most distinctive of Origen is the thought of the cosmic significance of the Atonement. The perfect Christian depends for his attainment to the highest stage of Divine contemplation, on the reconciliation wrought by Christ's death. And the history of the world finds its central point in the bloodshedding of the cross, which is one of those efficacious realities that belong to the heavenly order, and are therefore eternally true. The blood shed on earth was sprinkled mystically on the altar in heaven, whereby, as the apostle said, *pacificavit per sanguinem crucis suæ sive quæ in terris sunt sive quæ in cælis.*<sup>2</sup> The entire universe participates in the effect of the Divine work. Christ is the great High Priest who brings about a reconciliation between God and the universe, and restores all things to their true place in the kingdom of the Father.<sup>3</sup>

Enough has been said to give some idea of the range and profundity of Origen's speculations. Naturally, the influence of his system in succeeding centuries was incalculably great. The history of Christology during a long period is the history of Origen's ideas. All schools of theology could discover in his works something either to rouse their antagonism, or to support their leading positions. Arians and orthodox, critical and mystical interpreters, secular clergy and monks, could alike appeal to him.<sup>4</sup> Faith and knowledge seemed

<sup>1</sup> See *c. Cels.* i. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Col. i. 20. For the passage of Origen and other references, see Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 212 note. Cp. Dorner, *div. i. vol. ii. p. 146.*

<sup>3</sup> See the magnificent passage in *Joh.* i. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack, i. 603; cp. Vinc. Lirin. *Common.* xvii.: "Quis non ad eum paulo religiosior ex ultimis mundi partibus advolavit? Quis Christianorum non pene ut prophetam, quis philosophorum non ut magistrum veneratus est?"

to be reconciled in a great intellectual structure, which found room at once for the sublime ideals of Platonistic thought, the devout intuitions of the Christian saint, and even the fantastic religious conceptions of popular theology. Perhaps the generous verdict of a recent writer may fitly conclude this section: "If it is the task of theology to unfold the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God which are hidden in Christ, to put them into relation with the various elements of the consciousness of the time, and to prove them to be the fulfilment of all previous germs of truth, and the correction of all previous errors, and thus to make the Divine principle the ennobling leaven for all human thought and life, then we must recognise that Origen has fulfilled this task of theology in a masterly and truly exemplary way."<sup>1</sup>

### § III. WESTERN THEOLOGY IN RELATION TO MONARCHIAN ERRORS

The Christology of the two chief Western writers of the early third century, Tertullian and Hippolytus, marks an important turning-point in the history of doctrine. On the one hand, in opposition to Gnosticism, they may be ranged with Irenæus as representatives of the Western tendency to repel, or at least depreciate, the speculative and idealistic spirit which created the different types of Gnosticism. On the other hand, they differ from Irenæus and other kindred spirits in the fact that they more completely accept, and embody in their system, the doctrine of the Logos. In this point they are practically at one with the great Greek thinkers, although the standpoint from which they approach the doctrine, their modes of thought, and forms of terminology are widely different. There is in both the Latins

<sup>1</sup> Pfeleiderer, *Gifford Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 280.

and the Greeks a philosophical apprehension and treatment of theology, but "the constructive ideas of the Greek Fathers were metaphysical, of the Latin political and juristic."<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to study the contrast between Eastern and Western writers in their mode of handling a common stock of apologetic theses, and in their controversial methods, when dealing with the same misconceptions and errors. Thus it will not be inappropriate to introduce at this point the system of TERTULLIAN, and study it in its anti-Modalistic rather than its anti-Gnostic aspect. As an apologist, indeed, he disparages reason, and speaks scornfully of philosophy as the parent of error; but this is due largely to his temperament, and his tendency to place himself at the extreme point of opposition to the system which he denounces. Yet in his polemic treatises he displays a mind saturated with Stoic thought, appealing freely to "nature" or "reason," and speaking of God and of the Logos as if their substance were corporeal and capable of quasi-physical division and distribution. He is akin, too, to the Stoics in his conception of the Logos as "coming forth" or "produced" in order to create,—the doctrine of the Godhead being treated by him mainly in relation to cosmology. On the other hand, Tertullian's conception of the functions and internal relations of the Divine "Persons" is largely coloured by Roman jurisprudence. The very terms which he introduces into Latin theology are juridical; he regards the Divine self-revelation as a mode of "administration," implying grades of rank, agency, and delegated authority.

Tertullian's Christology is mainly comprised in his treatises *adversus Praxeam* and *de Carne Christi*.

In the former of these tracts he deals with the Divine

<sup>1</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theology*, p. 75. See the whole of the section, pt. i. chaps. iv. and v.

nature. There is some reason for supposing the work to have been aimed more at the influential Monarchians at Rome than at Praxeas.<sup>1</sup> It gives us a clear idea of Tertullian's position in regard to the great question in dispute—the unity of God. That unity consists not so much in the necessary singleness of the first cause of all existence,<sup>2</sup> the uniqueness of the supreme "substance," as in the "sole and single lordship" which must be ascribed to the Creator.<sup>3</sup> The unity is in fact administrative rather than numerical. The administration through "Persons" of the Divine lordship does not necessarily imperil unity of substance. God then is one, and regarded as a "substance" He has in a sense corporeity. Though essentially spirit, He has a body in which spirit necessarily finds its self-expression,<sup>4</sup> for the Divine substance is the supreme reality, and to the idea of reality belongs corporeity. Further, God being a substance is capable of distribution or division; He can be known in part, though not in His totality.

This brings us to the Trinitarian doctrine of Tertullian. He has but little idea apparently of an immanent or essential Trinity of *persons*. The "Trinity" is in Tertullian's view our name for God in movement or self-manifestation. This movement or process is the background as it were of creation, history, and redemption. God is manifested in His relation to the world in successive stages "economically" as Triune in "Person," though one in substance. It will be noticed that Tertullian here

<sup>1</sup> Praxeas has even been supposed to be a nickname for Noetus or Epigonus or Callistus. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 655.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *adv. Marc.* i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *adv. Prax.* 3: "Monarchiam nihil aliud significare scio quam singulare et unicum imperium."

<sup>4</sup> *adv. Prax.* vii.: "Quis enim negabit deum corpus esse, etsi deus spiritus est? Spiritus enim corpus sui generis in sua effligie." Cp. *de Carne Christi*, xi. "Nihil est incorporale nisi quod non est." See Hatch, *Hibb. Lect.* p. 19 n.

introduces terms which became the recognised formulæ of later orthodoxy: *substantia* is predicated of God as an individual and real existing Being. *Persona* is derived from Roman law, and means "person" in the sense of an individual having legal rights and functions. The thought of a distinction of "Persons" in the Blessed Trinity is by Tertullian connected with the kindred thought of differentiated functions or operations. God is revealed as tri-personal in the process of His self-communication to the world.

The Logos-doctrine which more particularly concerns us, is in its essential points described in the *Apology*, c. xxi. (1) God from all eternity possessed within His own Being the Word, the Reason, and the Power by which He created the universe. The essential quality of this "Word" is spirit, because it belongs to the Divine essence which is spirit. (2) This "Word" issued forth in order to create, and in virtue of this movement or act of production (*prolatio*) is called "Son of God" and "God." (3) He is derived from the one Divine substance, yet shares it; as Tertullian elsewhere expands the thought, He is a "derivation and portion" of the whole Divine substance, the Father being the total substance.<sup>1</sup> The relation of the Word to the Father is illustrated by the familiar *simile* of the sun and its radiance. A ray from the sun is *portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur*. (4) The Word thus begotten is distinct from God in manner of subsistence (*modo*) and in position or rank (*gradu*). He

<sup>1</sup> *adv. Prax.* ix.: "Pater tota substantia est. Filius vero derivatio totius et portio sicut ipse profitetur, Quia Pater major me est." Cp. *adv. Marc.* iii. 6. The Father has the *plenitude* of Deity; the Son is *portio*, certe qua plenitudinis consors. Harnack points out that Tert. was hampered by the axiom derived from his philosophy that Godhead in its entirety cannot pass over into the finite, but only a portion of the Divine substance, which *being originate* so far contains an element of finitude, i. 491.

becomes incarnate in the Virgin's womb, and is born in time (*nascitur homo Deo mixtus*). The human being thus formed is the Christ. Here in outline we have the Christology which is developed more fully in the treatise *adv. Praxeam*. All the characteristic notes are struck—(1) the distinction between the two natures—expressed in traditional phrase by the words *caro—spiritus*; (2) the Stoic term *prolatio*, used to express the forthcoming of the Word in creation, and the tendency to identify this “forthcoming” with the “generation of the Son”; (3) the community of the substance shared by the Son with the Father, consistently with subordination in rank, and a separate personal subsistence; (4) the integrity of the two natures united in the person of the historical Christ.

In two points especially the doctrine of Tertullian is peculiar and calls for comment.

1. His teaching as to the Divine generation. His tendency is to limit the idea of “generation” to that movement by which the Word of God issued forth in the work of creation. In consequence of this forthcoming the “Word” (*λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*) or “Reason” of God became *Filius Dei*. The “Sonship” in this sense was an event that had its origin in time, and consequently there was a time when the Son was not.<sup>1</sup> Tertullian seems in fact to use the phrase “generation of the Word” in one of its customary and recognised senses as if it were the only sense. This usage of the term may have been traditional in the African Church,<sup>2</sup> and in Tertullian's case it must be explained subject to the qualifications which his language elsewhere suggests. The phraseology just mentioned, however, if taken by itself, implies that though there

<sup>1</sup> *c. Hermog.* iii. : “Fuit autem tempus cum et delictum et Filius non fuit, quod Judicem et qui Patrem Deum faceret.” See Bp. Bull on this passage, *Def. Nic. Creed*, pt. ii. p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 215.

existed in God an eternal *potency* of Fatherhood, there was a time when He could not be properly called "Father." The Logos is immanent reason or thought before He is the uttered Word.<sup>1</sup> And by his insistence on this point Tertullian may be assumed to have been travelling along the same line of thought as "those who at a later period tried to show that the Trinity is the eternal process of the Divine self-consciousness confronting itself with itself."<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, in short, grasps the distinction between the Divine substance of the Word and His separate personality: but he can only represent the distinction by fixing it in time. The Word ever existed in God; but He became personal, He became *Son of God*, when He came forth to create, to bring into actuality the Divine thought of the world.<sup>3</sup> There are considerations, however, which ought to qualify this estimate of Tertullian's doctrine, for he adduces images which at least suggest the notion of an eternal distinction between the *hypostases* of the Trinity. The *conjunction* of the three persons is illustrated by the simile of the root, the shrub, and the fruit; their *inseparability* by that of the fountain, the stream, and the river; their *coherence* by the image of the sun, the ray, and the terminating point or apex of the ray.<sup>4</sup> Further, Tertullian nowhere speaks of the Son as "created." His usual phrases are *prolatum*, *prolatio* (*προβολή*),<sup>5</sup> terms

<sup>1</sup> "Non sermonalis a principio sed rationalis Deus, etiam ante principium," *adv. Prax.* v.

<sup>2</sup> Dorner, *div. i.* vol. ii. p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *adv. Prax.* vii.: "Hæc est nativitas perfecta Sermonis dum ex Deo procedit, conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine Sophiæ: . . . dehinc generatus ad effectum."

<sup>4</sup> *adv. Prax.* viii.

<sup>5</sup> *l.c.* "Prolatum dicimus Filium a Patre sed non separatum." Cp. *adv. Marc.* ii. 27. Novatian (no doubt following Tertullian) insists on the distinction between "factum esse" and "procedere" (*de Trin.* xv).

which he expressly defends as catholic in spite of their misuse by Valentinus.<sup>1</sup> His difficulties seem to arise in fact partly from his Stoic preconceptions, partly from his reaction against Gnostic idealism. His thought is, so to speak, realistic, and is expressed in concrete imagery; and to this realistic mode of thinking is due his representation of the Divine Sonship as an event or process of development in time. As we shall see, the very word "Sonship" falls in with Tertullian's tendency to change an "abstract process into a concrete relationship."<sup>2</sup>

2. The other point which differentiates Tertullian's Christology is his conception of the Son's subordination. The idea is, of course, an integral part of the standard doctrine of the apologists. Tertullian's treatment of it, however, is characteristically juristic, or even political. The earlier apologists had laid much stress on the ministerial function of the Word, His origination at the Father's will, and His dependence on it. The same line of thought is adopted by Tertullian, but is modified in a characteristic manner. The Son is said "to do nothing without the Father's will," but rather in the sense that He exercises freely a delegated Divine power, than ministers to a superior. The *Monarchia* of God, as it seemed to Tertullian, might be secured by the idea of administration. "The Son," he says, "received all power from the Father. . . . We thus see that the Son is no obstacle to the *Monarchia*, although it is now deposited with the Son. . . . No one, therefore, will impair it by admitting the Son [to it], since it is certain that it has been committed to Him by the Father, and hereafter is to be delivered up to the Father again."<sup>3</sup> It is clear that Tertullian's conception of the *monarchia* as *singulare*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Justin's *προβληθὲν γέννημα*, and see a note on *προβολή* in Newman, *Athanasian Treatises*, vol. ii. p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> Fairbairn, *op. cit.* 394.

<sup>3</sup> *adv. Prax.* iv.

*et unicum imperium* is the determining factor in his theology. In his view the Son and Holy Spirit differ from the Father, not in substance, but in rank, form, and aspect (*specie*); they exercise a plenary power which is inherent but derived. The Father is not prevented by the fact that He is sole ruler from "ministering His own monarchy" through whatever agents He chooses. "I contend that no dominion so entirely belongs to one only . . . as not also to be administered through other persons closely connected [with it] whom it has provided as officials."<sup>1</sup> In a word, the unity of supreme authority is not impaired by its distribution among different agents. The Divine power is exercised and administered by thousands of angels and inferior beings. Why should it be supposed to suffer detriment or division if exercised by and through those who share the Divine substance, who embody "the very force, and the whole wealth (*census*) of the *monarchia*"? It is obvious that this image of administrative or economic unity falls short of the essential unity (*unitas substantiæ*) which Tertullian elsewhere predicates of the Trinity. This strict subordinatianism seemed to be the only escape from the charge of ditheism;<sup>2</sup> and it corresponded closely with Tertullian's conception of the Divine work as pre-eminently self-revelation. God in His transcendental height can only descend to man and come within reach of his intelligence by means of an economic movement. The Trinity in a manner flows down<sup>3</sup> from its source, as the light flows from the sun, or the stream from the fountain.<sup>3</sup> Deity in itself remains invisible, inaccessible, incomprehensible. The Son is Godhead passing over into

<sup>1</sup> *adv. Prax.* iii. (notice the words *personæ* and *officiales*).

<sup>2</sup> *adv. Prax.* iii.

<sup>3</sup> *l.c.* viii. : "Ita Trinitas per concertos et connexos gradus a Patre decurrens, et monarchiæ nihil obstrepat, et *okrovas* statum protegit."

the finite, God made accessible, capable of converse with man, in that His Deity is not absolute but derived. He is the Light made endurable to human eyes by the softening and diminution of its splendour.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Father is impassible, but the Son is capable of redemptive suffering. The stream which at its fountainhead is undisturbed may be troubled as it flows onward in its course; but it remains the same water, only subject to different conditions. In all this line of thought we see traces of the philosophic distinction between God's transcendence and His self-manifestation; only to Tertullian the distinction is not one of abstract thought merely, but is capable of being expressed and represented under the concrete form of separate personalities. "Whatever attributes," he says to Marcion, "you require as worthy of God will be found in the Father, who is invisible, inaccessible, imperturbable, and (so to speak) the God of the philosophers; whereas the qualities which you censure as unworthy must be ascribed to the Son, who has been seen and heard and encountered, the witness (*arbitro*) and servant of the Father, uniting in Himself God and man, God in mighty deeds, in weaknesses man, in order that He may bestow on man as much as He takes from God. What in your eyes is the entire disgrace of my God, is in reality the very sacrament of man's salvation. God held converse with man that man might learn to act as God. God put Himself on a level with man, that man might be able to be on a level with God. God was found little, that man might become exceeding great."<sup>2</sup>

Thus through the Divine Sonship the Deity is brought near to man and enters into relationship with him. It is the main office of the Son to reveal the invisible Father. Tertullian goes further, and in some very striking passages represents the Son as preparing and

<sup>1</sup> See cc. xiv., xvi., xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *adv. Marc.* ii. 27.

training Himself, from the period of the creation onwards, for the Incarnation. This was the purpose of the Old Testament theophanies. They were preludes to the Incarnation, which from the beginning was the goal of the Divine "generation" or "filiation." "God objectively realised amongst men in Christ is the climax of the idea of the world, is that final aim which gives unity to the world and completion to the Word, that is to the self-objectification of God."<sup>1</sup> The Son was ever "learning to be incarnate" and to converse with mankind. In the Incarnation the self-manifestation of God reaches its culminating point. Through the "economy," or dispensation involved in the Sonship of the Word, the "God of the philosophers" remains in His transcendence and yet is revealed. *Invisibilis est, etsi videatur; incomprehensibilis, etsi per gratiam repræsentetur; inæstimabilis, etsi humanis sensibus æstimetur.*<sup>2</sup>

We are now in a position to estimate more clearly the importance of Tertullian's Christology. Briefly expressed, the contribution of Tertullian to Christian thought is the expansion of the idea of the *Sonship*. Hitherto the idea of the *Logos* had been predominant. But with Tertullian, as Dorner says, "the age of Logology is succeeded by the age of Sonship." The defect of the Logos-doctrine had been its tendency to obscure the *personal* element in the Divine relations. The term "Logos" by itself was an abstraction; it was incapable of conveying the fulness of the Christian thought. Even S. John had supplemented the expression by the word *μονογένης*. It was the merit of Tertullian that he gave vitality and prominence to

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 65. The passage referred to is *adv. Prax.* xvi.: "Ita semper ediscebat et deus in terris cum hominibus conversari, non alius quam sermo qui caro erat futurus." Cp. *adv. Marc.* ii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Apol.* xvii.

the other scriptural term "Son," and henceforth the idea of personality became a permanent factor in Trinitarian doctrine. The defect of Tertullian is that he considers the Word to have had no proper *personal* subsistence before the *prolatio*. His tendency is to regard the essence of the Son as eternal, but the personality as having an origin in time. It remained for Origen to combine the *eternity of the Son's essence* with the thought of the *generation of His person*, in the phrase *αἰώνια γέννησις*.<sup>1</sup> But Tertullian's statement, in spite of some confusions, has at least the great merit of introducing, and emphasising, the idea of *moral relationships* within the Deity, and so he marks a return on the part of theology to the ethical idea of God which, in the hands of Athanasius, was to be employed with such effect against Arianism.<sup>2</sup>

Tertullian's doctrine of the Incarnation bears many marks of individuality, but in the main follows that of Irenæus. Similar phrases to those of the earlier writer are used to describe the union of natures in Christ. He is *homo Deo mixtus*; *caro hominis cum spiritu Dei*. The distinction between *caro* and *spiritus* to denote the manhood and the Godhead is one which Tertullian inherited. In his development of the idea of "two natures" in Christ, he practically anticipates the language of Leo and the definition of Chalcedon.<sup>4</sup> He grasps tenaciously the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 241. Cp. Dorner, *div. l. vol. ii. pp. 79 ff.* Dorner holds that Tertullian uses the word *filiatio* in a threefold sense. There is (1) an eternal filiation: God's possession of His own Word within His being—this is a potential Sonship; (2) temporal, the "generation" of the Son, when He issues forth to create; (3) final, the Incarnation: *l.c.* pp. 68, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Newman, *Athanasian Treatises*, vol. i. p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Apol. xxi.*; cp. *de Carne Christi*, xviii.

<sup>4</sup> See *adv. Prax. xxvii.*; observe that *substantiæ* is used by Tertullian for the later *naturæ* (*φύσεις*); cp. Harnack, *Dogmengesch. i.* 512 note.

unity of the person in whom two natures are conjoined: *videmus duplicem statum, non confusum sed conjunctum in una persona Deum et hominem Jesum.* He insists on the consequences of this unity in a passionate outburst, which is a good example of what was called at a later time *communicatio idiomatum.* "*Natus est (v.l. crucifixus) Dei Filius; non pudet quia pudendum est; et mortuus est Dei Filius; prorsus credibile est quia ineptum est; et sepultus resurrexit; certum est quia impossibile.*"<sup>1</sup> The passage is valuable for its ethical tone. As it stands related to its context it is an answer to the Gnostic tenet that contact with the flesh was "unworthy" of God. The insinuation touches a chord of chivalry in Tertullian. *Quodcumque Deo indignum est, he exclaims, mihi expedit; salvus sum, si non confundar de Domino meo.* He means that the true standard of what is reasonably to be expected from God must be love. Christ loved man in spite of his outward humiliation and the defilements of his origin; *amavit utique quem magno redemit.*<sup>2</sup> Whatever substance He is pleased to assume, He Himself makes worthy of the honour.<sup>3</sup>

Another point peculiar to Tertullian is his vehement insistence, in opposition to docetism and *a priori* ideas of matter as essentially evil, on the dignity of the corporeal element in man's nature. His Stoicism, as we have seen, inclined him to ascribe corporeity even to God, and to the soul of man.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly he expends much pains in refuting false or inadequate ideas of Christ's human nature.<sup>5</sup> He maintains that Christ made our flesh His own—the very flesh which had become subject to sin; and that in assuming it He sanctified it from sin.

<sup>1</sup> *de Carne Christi*, v.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iv.

<sup>3</sup> *adv. Marc.* iii. 10: "Nulla substantia digna est quam Deus induat. Quodcumque induerit, Ipse dignum facit."

<sup>4</sup> See *de Anima*, v.-ix.

<sup>5</sup> See *de Carne Christi*, iii.-vi.

His "Christian realism" carries him to great lengths, especially in his antagonism to the Valentinian idea that Christ's body was of sidereal or spiritual texture,<sup>1</sup> not, like ours, of gross earthly material; and therefore not, like ours, born of woman. He glories in the sanctification by Christ of even the lowliest stages in the ascent of man. "Christ loved man even in his uncleanness."<sup>2</sup> "He reforms our birth by a second birth from heaven; He restores our flesh from all that oppresses it." He cleanses it from every stain in the very act of assuming it in its integrity. This anti-docetic line of thought leads Tertullian to insist, as no writer before him had equally done, on the reality of our Lord's human soul.<sup>3</sup> Thus there was a complete and substantial assumption of our humanity by the Son of God;<sup>4</sup> Tertullian, as it were, pronounces the final judgment of the Church on docetism in all its manifold shapes and disguises.<sup>5</sup> But his statements are by no means merely apologetic. He uses the strongest and most glowing language<sup>6</sup> to describe the sanctity and dignity of the material which the Son of God has once condescended to assume and to make His own. The living God, the true God could surely "purge away by His own operation whatever vileness might attach to matter, and heal it from all infirmity."<sup>7</sup> He could "purge the original substance of its dross." "Nay," cries Tertullian, "God forbid that He should abandon to everlasting destruction the labour of His own hands, the care of His own thoughts, the receptacle of

<sup>1</sup> *σῶμα ψυχικόν.*

<sup>2</sup> *de Carne Christi*, iv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* x.; cp. Neander, *Antignosticus*, pp. 476, 477.

<sup>4</sup> In *de Carne Christi*, xx., Tertullian uses the words *concernatur, concisceratur*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Fairbairn criticises the language as even materialistic. *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 97 nota.

<sup>7</sup> *de Resurr. Carnis*. vi.

His own Spirit, the queen of His creation, the heir of His liberality, the priestess of His religion, the soldier of His testimony, the sister of His Christ."<sup>1</sup> The flesh has its share in redemption; the first Adam in the entirety of his nature is destined to be restored after the image of the second Adam. Matter has been consecrated by the Incarnation to be the veil and sacramental channel of the spiritual. "Since the soul is, in consequence of its salvation, chosen to the service of God, it is the flesh which actually renders it capable of such service. The flesh, indeed, is washed [in baptism] in order that the soul may be cleansed from stain; the flesh is anointed that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed [with the cross] that the soul too may be fortified; the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands that the soul also may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ that the soul likewise may be satiated with [the life of] God."<sup>2</sup>

It only remains to notice Tertullian's conception of the redemptive work of Christ. Though less of a mystic than Irenæus, he yet lays great stress on the Passion of Christ. One ground of his opposition to docetism is that if Christ's sufferings be merely putative "the entire work of God is subverted," for in Christ's death "lies the whole weight and fruit of the Christian name."<sup>3</sup> On the whole, the same idea of the fruits of Christ's death is found both in Irenæus and Tertullian: the leading thesis of both writers is that God became man in order to exalt man to a Divine life. The term "satisfaction" appears in Tertullian, but not in relation to Christ's work. It is connected with the legal view of sin which first becomes

<sup>1</sup> c. ix.      <sup>2</sup> c. viii. Cp. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, E.T. pp. 334 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *adv. Marc.* iii. 8: "Totum Christiani nominis et pondus et fructus, mors Christi," etc.

prominent in his system,<sup>1</sup> and reappears in Anselm. It should be added that there are traces here and there of the idea that redemption consists mainly in the knowledge of God and His requirement for man.

Closely connected with Tertullian is *Novatian*, the opponent of Cyprian, a man of harsh and austere temper, but as a writer calm in tone and cultivated in style. His treatise *de Trinitate* shows every mark of intellectual dependence on Tertullian, and admirably illustrates the general type of Christology which prevailed in the West about the middle of the third century. The work was very influential, and did much towards promoting the acceptance of the Logos-doctrine in the West. Novatian goes beyond Tertullian, however, in his insistence on the subordination of the Son, starting perhaps from an even more transcendental conception of God,<sup>2</sup> and endeavouring to secure the Divine unity by attributing to the Son an absolute and complete subjection. Novatian, in fact, falls back upon the traditional doctrine inherited by Tertullian. Thus he declares that the Son was generated by an act of the Father's will: *quando ipse voluit, Sermo Filius natus est.*<sup>3</sup> He allows, indeed, that the Word ever was in the Father, but says that the Father must be thought of as *in a sense* preceding the Son; like Tertullian, he expresses the relationship of ingenerate and generate as a process *in time.*<sup>4</sup> He follows Tertullian also in his description of the Divine generation as *prolatio*;<sup>5</sup> in his

<sup>1</sup> Thus he uses such terms as *culpa, meritum, reatus, crimen, delictum*. See Harnack's note, i. p. 524. The language of *de Pæn.* ii. and iii. is almost exclusively legal in tone. On Tertullian's use of *satisfactio*, see a note in Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doc.* i. p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> See *de Trin.* ii. and iii.

<sup>3</sup> c. xxxi.

<sup>4</sup> c. xxxi.: "Quin et Pater illum etiam quadam ratione præcedit quod necesse est quadammodo prior sit qua Pater sit. Quoniam aliquo pacto antecedit necesse est eum qui habet originem, ille qui originem nescit."

<sup>5</sup> c. xxii.

use of the word *spiritus* to denote the Divine nature;<sup>1</sup> in his treatment of the theophanies; in calling Christ *secunda Persona post Patrem*;<sup>2</sup> but he goes beyond his master in asserting the Son's subordination. The *vis Divinitatis* transmitted to the Son as an act of grace is finally *per substantiæ communionem* restored to the Father.<sup>3</sup> *Filius nihil ex arbitrio suo gerit nec ex consilio suo facit, nec a se venit, sed imperiis paternis omnibus et præceptis obedit: ut quamvis probet illum natiuitas Filium, tamen morigera obedientia adserat illum paternæ voluntatis, ex quo est, ministrum.* The subjection of the Son, in fact, proves the unity of God. *Dum se Patri in omnibus obtemperantem reddit, quamvis sit et Deus, unum tamen Deum Patrem de obedientia sua ostendit ex quo et originem traxit.*

In fact, the relationship between Father and Son is ultimately one of unity, not essential, but moral. Thus commenting on the text, *Ego et Patrem unum sumus*, Novatian says, *Unum neutraliter positum societatis concordiam non unitatem personæ, sonat.*<sup>4</sup> He practically excludes Patripassianism by reducing the unity of the Divine Persons to a kind of ethical relationship.

There are striking passages of the *de Trinitate* which show Novatian's great anxiety to be true to the tradition of the Church (*regula veritatis*), and to the scriptural testimony that Christ is no mere man but Divine.<sup>5</sup> Novatian discerns very clearly that there is danger in ignoring any portion of recorded truth, especially when Scripture witnesses throughout to the Deity of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.*, c. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> c. xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> c. xxvi.; ep. xxxi.: "Dum gradatim reciproco meatu illa Majestas atque Divinitas ad Patrem qui dederat eam rursus ab illo ipso Filio missa revertitur et retorquetur."

<sup>4</sup> cc. xxvii., xxx.

<sup>5</sup> See (*e.g.*) a passage that suggests a comparison with Leo's tome, illustrating the duality of natures in Christ, c. xi.

He also observes acutely that Sabellianism has at least the merit of being *Divinitatis Christi argumentum grande atque præcipuum*.<sup>1</sup> But on the whole he gives us an impression of intellectual embarrassment. He is hampered, as Tertullian is, by the associations of the word "person." He dreads the charge of ditheism if he allows the existence of two distinct persons who are Divine. Christ's personality therefore he regards as having had its origin in time. Clearly what was necessary was a more profound idea of personality in regard to the God-head. "In the domain of spirit," says Dorner, "exclusiveness is not necessary to the maintenance of distinctions, as in the finite, material world. There, on the contrary, as Tertullian already vaguely felt, distinctions confirm unity; for a unity evolved out of distinctions is more compact and self-sufficient. . . . In the domain of spirit, the unity is not an abstract identity or continuity, but one that posits and confirms distinctions."<sup>2</sup>

Passing to *Hippolytus* we come in contact with a theologian who may be regarded as a link, like Irenæus, between the East and West. Probably he had spent much time in the East, before he settled as a presbyter of the Church at Rome. His history is very obscure, but he first rises into prominence as the opponent of Callistus (c. 220). It seems probable that when Callistus betrayed Sabellian leanings, Hippolytus allowed himself to be elected bishop by his followers, and it seems likely enough that he made Portus the scene of his activity. His connections with Irenæus and possibly with Origen give to his theology a peculiar importance and interest.<sup>3</sup> It evidently bears the impress of a

<sup>1</sup> c. xxiii.; cp. the question ascribed to Noetus (Hipp. c. *Noët.* i.), *ἡ εἰς τὸν κακὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδέσθαι τὸν Χριστόν*.

<sup>2</sup> *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

<sup>3</sup> See Lightfoot, *S. Clement*, vol. ii. pp. 317-477.

period when East and West were still in constant and close communication. It retains some of the characteristics peculiar to each school that we have been considering. Thus his general doctrine of the Godhead is Platonistic. God is originally solitary;<sup>1</sup> but was never *ἄλογος*, *ἄσοφος*, *ἀδύνατος*, or *ἀβούλευτος*. God existed in plurality (*πολὺς ἦν*). The Logos subsisted within the Godhead, "having in Himself the preconceived ideas that were hidden in the Father";<sup>2</sup> when the Father willed, and as He willed, the Logos was "begotten,"—issued forth as light from light in order to create, and to dispose all things according to the will of God.

Here Hippolytus restates the Logos-doctrine in the terms which had now become traditional with ante-Nicene writers. The Logos ever existed in God as the unspoken thought of the universe (*ἐνδιάθετος τοῦ παντὸς λογισμὸς*); but His true "generation" took place in connection with creation. Thus "begotten," the Logos stood over against God as "a second Person" (*ἕτερος*). "The Word or Reason proceeding forth was manifested in the universe as Son of God (*παῖς θεοῦ*)." <sup>3</sup> The charge of "ditheism" is met by Hippolytus as by Tertullian. "I say not that there are two Gods, but [I speak of] two persons (*πρόσωπα δύο*), and of a third dispensation, even the grace of the Holy Ghost."<sup>4</sup> The Logos then became Son of God, became a distinct *hypostasis* with a view to creation. Indeed, the name Son properly belonged to Him only as incarnate. "For the Word pre-incarnate (*ἄσαρκος Λόγος*) was not perfect Son, although He was perfect and only-begotten Word."<sup>5</sup> This statement of

<sup>1</sup> *Phil.* x. 32: θεὸς εἷς, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος καὶ ἀπάντων ποιητὴς καὶ κύριος, σύγχρονον ἔσχεν οὐδέν, κ.τ.λ. Cp. *c. Noet.* x.

<sup>2</sup> *Phil.* x. 33.: ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ πατρὶ προενοηθείσας ιδέας.

<sup>3</sup> *c. Noet.* xi.

<sup>4</sup> *c. Noet.* xiv.

<sup>5</sup> *c. Noet.* xv.: Λόγον οὐ υἶον προσηγόρευε διὰ τὸ μέλλειν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.

the temporality of the Sonship is even more explicit than that of Tertullian, and equally decided is Hippolytus' insistence on the Son's subordination: His absolute dependence on the Father's will in the fulfilment of His functions as creator, and enlightener of the prophets, and revealer of God.<sup>1</sup>

Similar to the treatment of Tertullian is Hippolytus' mode of dealing with the Divine unity. God is One, but in the economy is revealed as threefold, each Person of the Divine Triad being an object of faith and worship. The unity of the Three is of a moral kind (*οἰκονομία συμφωνίας*): it consists in a differentiation of functions.<sup>2</sup> "The Father decrees, the Son executes." "The Father commands, the Son obeys, the Spirit gives understanding. The Father is *above* all, the Son is *through* all, the Holy Ghost *in* all . . . The Father willed, the Son accomplished, the Spirit manifested."<sup>3</sup> Again, Hippolytus escapes the charge of Sabellianism by insisting (*c. Noet. xiv.*) that each person of the Trinity has a claim to be "acknowledged" by man, and that the unity of God can only be properly adored if with the Father, the Son and Spirit be recognised. The seemingly Arian element in Hippolytus' Christology consists not in his denial of the eternity of the Logos, but in the assertion that, *as Son*, the Logos had a beginning in time.<sup>4</sup>

The statement of the Incarnation by Hippolytus is

<sup>1</sup> *c. Noet. xiv.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cp. c. Noet. viii.*: πῶς εἰς θεός; . . . μία δύναμις τούτου, καὶ ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, εἰς ἔστι θεός, ὅσον δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τριχῆς [i. τριχῆ vel τριχῶς] ἢ ἐπιθεις.

<sup>3</sup> *c. Noet. xiv.*

<sup>4</sup> The passage *Phil. x. 33*, εἰ γὰρ θεὸν σε ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι, ἐδύνατο· εἶπαι τοῦ λόγου τὸ παραδείγμα, scarcely seems to warrant Harnack's inference (*Dogmeng.* i. 493 note) that Hipp. expressly accentuates the *creatureliness* of the Logos. Indeed, the idea seems excluded by the context, where the Logos is contrasted with the world: ὁ λόγος μόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ καὶ θεός, οὐσία ὑπάρχων θεοῦ. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἐξ οὐδένης, κ.τ.λ.

rich, full, and somewhat mystical in tone,—following the lines of Irenæus. If at times his tendency is to regard the Incarnation as no more than a theophany of an exalted kind, there are qualifying passages which emphatically assert the reality and completeness of Christ's human nature. In the last two chapters of the fragment *contra Noetum* (xvii., xviii.) Hippolytus gives a summary of his belief, which he traces to the tradition of the apostles. He holds a real descent of the Word from heaven (ἀπ' οὐρανῶν κατήλθεν), the assumption by Him of a true body and reasonable soul of the Virgin Mary, in order to undergo a complete human experience (γεγονὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος), as the new Man, and to restore fallen humanity by raising it into the life of incorruption. The concluding chapter (xviii.) gives a series of antithetic contrasts intended to enforce the substantial reality and integrity of either nature, and anticipating the main thought of Leo's *Epistle to Flavian*. In the treatise on *Christ and Antichrist* there is a passage which forcibly recalls the language of the Alexandrine Clement. "The Word shows His compassion and His freedom from respect of persons, by the saints, enlightening them, and schooling them as may be most advantageous to us, like a skilful physician, understanding the weakness of men. And the ignorant He loves to teach, while the erring He turns again to His own true way. And by those who live in faith He is easily found, while to those of pure eye and holy heart who desire to knock at the door, He opens immediately. For He casts away none of His servants as unworthy of the Divine mysteries."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the influence of Irenæus is very apparent in Hippolytus' description of Christ as "the new Man," "wearing the nature of the old man as a robe,"

<sup>1</sup> *de Christo et Antichr.* iii. The somewhat elaborate simile drawn from weaving (in c. iv.) recalls the manner of Ignatius.

and sanctifying each stage of life "that to every age He might become Himself a law."<sup>1</sup> Akin, too, to the general standpoint of the apologists is the conception of redemption as *ἀφθαρσία*, and the thought of the pre-incarnate activity of the Word in a process of continuous revelation through the law and the prophets.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of Hippolytus' statements with those of Tertullian will justify us in regarding these two writers as the most prominent champions of the Logos-doctrine in the West during the third century.<sup>3</sup> Their argumentative efforts to give expression to the traditional belief are instructive by their comparative failure. It remained for Origen to bring out the full significance of those images (the sun and its ray, the fountain and its source) by which theologians found themselves obliged to supplement their reasonings. In an age of intensely keen intellectual activity it is instructive to notice that the germ of further progress was contained in the simple statement of S. John, *God is Light*.

#### § IV. THE CLOSE OF THIRD CENTURY CHRISTOLOGY

In the course of our survey of different types of Christological doctrine, we are now approaching the close of the ante-Nicene period. The tendencies which were to come into open collision in the fourth century became more and more clearly defined in the last decades of the third century. The doctrine of the Logos had established itself as an accepted element in the Christology of the Church, and on all sides there was a growing disposition to formulate

<sup>1</sup> *Phil.* i. 33 : ἐν βίῳ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐληλυθότα, ἵνα πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτὸς νόμος γενηθῆ. Cp. *Iren.* ii. 22. 4, iii. 18. 7.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. c. *Noet.* xi.

<sup>3</sup> Notice in c. *Noet.* xv. the hint that the Logos-doctrine is new, and accordingly unwelcome.

the results of the conflict with Gnosticism and Monarchianism in fixed and artificial symbols. The generation that preceded the Council of Nicæa was, in fact, a period of mutual explanations and of formulated creeds.<sup>1</sup> The technical terms of Nicene theology were all, or most of them, already current, but their connotation was not as yet exactly determined.<sup>2</sup> On all sides the great inconvenience of not possessing a regulative standard of faith was becoming manifest. The ancient baptismal creeds were inadequate in view of the problems that had been raised by theological science, and the speculations in which gifted individuals like Origen had indulged. In the years which followed Origen's death, it became evident that the Logos-doctrine might be very differently interpreted, according as it was combined with a very strict conception of the Divine unity, or with a tendency to lay particular stress on the distinctions of personality in the Godhead. Of this divergence the correspondence between Dionysius of Alexandria (*d.* 265) and his namesake of Rome (*d.* 269) is a prominent illustration. It has, indeed, been regarded as a prelude to the Arian dispute of the next century.

*Dionysius* "the great" of Alexandria belonged to the school of Origen, and appears to have inherited something of his master's spirituality, wisdom, and rare moderation in controversy. In his endeavours to cope with the widespread Sabellianism prevailing among the clergy of the Pentapolis, Dionysius addressed letters to certain bishops, in one of which, intending to assert the distinctness of the Son's personality, he allowed himself to use

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Dogmeng.* i. 708.

<sup>2</sup> See a list in Harnack, *l.c.* 692, note 2. Perhaps the most important are οὐσία—ὑπόστασις—κρίσειν, and ποιεῖν—ἁμοούσιος—ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς—ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν—ἕτερος, κατ' οὐσίαν—ἕνωσις οὐσιώδης—ἕνωσις κατὰ μετουσίαν—ἐνοικεῖν.

unguarded expressions of the extreme subordinatianist type, which so perplexed the recipients that the letter was made the subject of formal complaint to Dionysius, the bishop of Rome. It was discussed in a synod held at Rome soon after 260. The bishop of Rome himself issued a document (to be noticed presently) of a mediating tendency, condemning both the Sabellianists and their opponents, but without naming Dionysius. At the same time he wrote privately to the bishop of Alexandria asking for explanations. In reply Dionysius wrote a lengthy treatise in four books (*ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀπολογία*), in which he complained that some of his expressions had been wrested from their true context and purport, and vindicated his orthodoxy at length.

The language complained of was as follows: Dionysius had stated that the Son of God was a creature (*ποίημα καὶ γενητόν*), and that He was not by nature a Son in the proper sense (*φύσει ἴδιον*), but in essence foreign to the Father (*ξένον κατ' οὐσίαν*); that the Father was related to Him as the husbandman to the vine or the shipbuilder to the boat; that being a creature (*ποίημα*) He was not before He was created (*γέννηται*).<sup>1</sup>

This language as it stands is indefensible, and might have been more wisely withdrawn; but it is qualified, first, by the writer's purpose. He calls the Son a *creature*, because, like his great master, he could find no guarantee of His distinct *personality* except by insisting on His subordination in rank. It is true that he goes far beyond Origen in the reiterated expression *ποίημα*, but his intention was wholly different from that of Arius. He desired to emphasise the *personality*,<sup>2</sup> not the *creatureliness*, of the Logos. His language is, in fact, a premature

<sup>1</sup> ap. Ath. *de sent. Dion.* iv. Athanasius defends these illustrations as *ἀνθρωπίνως εἰρημένα*, x., i. e. as relating to our Lord's human nature.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. *l. c.*: *καιροῦ καὶ προσώπου πρόφασις εἰλκυσεν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα γράψαι.*

deduction from the Logos-doctrine which he inherited from Origen. Secondly, the expressions used were qualified by the images employed to illustrate his meaning. He adopted the accepted simile of the fountain and the stream, the root and the plant.<sup>1</sup> Again, Dionysius explains himself fully in the letter to Dionysius of Rome. Here he enlarges on the image of the sun and its radiance; the Son of God is ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αἰδίου, and therefore Himself αἰδῖος. Next, he recognises the word ὁμοούσιος, which, he admits, gives the sense of Scripture, though not actually found there; and he illustrates the term by the figure of a parent and child; so far the letter implicitly anticipates the Nicene doctrine. The doubtful word ποιητής is explained by Dionysius to mean, as applied to the Father, "author" of the Son's being. The Son is "produced" as the word is "produced," by him who utters it; ποιήσις is a term applicable to literary and other "production." Finally, Dionysius accepts the phrase actually employed in the formal document of his namesake, τὴν τριάδα εἰς τὴν μονάδα συγκεφαλαιούμεθα.<sup>2</sup> Dionysius of Rome had regarded the language of the Alexandrine as tritheistic,—implying ὑποστάσεις μεμερισμένας καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς. Dionysius repudiates any notion of "division" of substance, in terms which indicate that already there is confusion between the different senses of ὑπόστασις. The Western bishop uses ὑπόστασις for the common substance or essence (οὐσία) of the Godhead; the Alexandrine uses ὑποστάσεις as virtually equivalent to πρόσωπα, persons.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it may fairly be maintained that Dionysius of

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Alex. *Fragm. Ep. ad D. Rom.* ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 393: αἶδα δὲ καὶ μέμνημαι, πλεονα προσθεῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ὁμοιώματα, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>2</sup> Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 395; op. 374.

<sup>3</sup> See note in Routh, *l.c.* p. 363.

Alexandria ultimately returns to Origen's position, and, indeed, he seems to state the doctrine of the eternity of the Son with less restriction than his master. The Son is eternal; the light never existed without its radiance. If the Father is the self-existent reason (*νοῦς*, or *λόγος ἐγκείμενος*), the Son is the forthcoming reason (*λόγος προσηδών*). Each is in the other: *οὔτε ὁ νοῦς ἄλογος, οὔτε ἄνοος ὁ λόγος*.<sup>1</sup>

The dogmatic statement of Dionysius of Rome is preserved by Athanasius.<sup>2</sup> Like later utterances of Roman bishops, it displays the instinctive tenacity with which the Roman Church clung to the statements of the creed, accepting them in the fixed traditional sense, and making no attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions. The statement is an admirable example of the *via media*, taking the middle course between Sabellianism, *i.e.* the false interpretation of the Divine unity, and tritheism, *i.e.* the division of the Divine substance. It also condemns the "adoptianist" view of the Theodotians and Paul the Samosatene. The doctrine of the Trinity is thus summed up: "It must needs be that with the God of the universe the Divine Word is united, and the Holy Ghost must repose and habitate in God; thus in One as in a summit, I mean the God of the universe, the omnipotent, must of necessity the Divine Triad be gathered up and brought together."<sup>3</sup> There follows a scriptural proof that Christ is no creature. Scripture speaks of His *γέννησις*, but not of any *πλάσις* or

<sup>1</sup> Routh, *l.c.* 398; cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.

<sup>2</sup> *de Decret. Nic. Syn.* xxvi. See Routh, *l.c.* pp. 373 ff.

<sup>3</sup> ἠνώσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὄλων τὸν θεῖον λόγον· ἐμφιλοχερεῖν δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐνδαιτύσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· ἤδη καὶ τὴν θείαν τριάδα εἰς ἓνα ὡσπερ εἰς κορυφὴν τινα (τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὄλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω) συγκεφαλαιούσθαι τε καὶ συνάγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη [trans. by Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, i. 45].

ποίησις. "For if He *became* a Son (γέγονεν υἱός), there was a time when He was not. But He ever was, if so be He is *in the Father* as He Himself declares" (S. Jo. xiv. 11) It is noticeable also that the text Prov. viii. 22 (LXX. ἔκτισέ με, κ.τ.λ.) is explained by Dionysius to mean, "He set me over the works made by Him."

This celebrated dispute, if it is to be so called, thus ended in a practical agreement as to the nature and person of the Son. As Dorner remarks, the withdrawal of the Alexandrine Dionysius from his untenable position not only did justice to the general Christian consciousness of the Redeemer's person. It made conspicuously plain the fact that "no one of the disputants was disposed to treat the Son as a mere creature." Accordingly the Church advanced to meet the Arian struggle with its common consciousness greatly strengthened, and the settlement now arrived at was a prelude to the decision of Nicæa.<sup>1</sup>

Later writers of the school of Origen developed or expounded their teacher's system; but the fourth century had scarcely begun before there appeared some decided symptoms of reaction, and a tendency to return to the simple scriptural presentment of Christ's person and work. The most celebrated Origenists of the last quarter of the third century were *Pierius*, *Theognostus*, *Hieracas*, and *Gregory Thaumaturgus*.

*Pierius*, known as "Origenes Junior," was head of the catechetical school and the teacher of Pamphilus, the apologist of Origen. It would appear that his terminology, and his statements on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, were open to misconception.<sup>2</sup> *Theognostus*, in his *Hypotyposes*, developed and formulated the theology of Origen, and is adduced by Athanasius as a witness to the

<sup>1</sup> *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> See the passage from Photius in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 429 ff. (He spoke of *δύο οὐσίαι* or *φύσεις* in the sense of *ὑποστάσεις*.)

consubstantiality of the Son.<sup>1</sup> *Hieracas* is the link between Origenism and the monastic system of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The *Panegyric* on Origen by *Gregory* (d. 270) of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus (Thaumaturgus), shows that the latter entirely accepted his teacher's doctrine of the Trinity. The creed ascribed to Gregory, and said to have been taught to catechumens in his church, is in fact "a compendium of the Origenistic theology."<sup>3</sup> Pamphilus and Eusebius of Cæsarea must also be mentioned as notable disciples of the Alexandrian school. On the other hand, *Peter of Alexandria* (mart. 311) did not shrink from freely contradicting some of the less defensible points of Origen's system (e.g. his doctrine of a premundane fall); while in *Methodius* of Patara (circ. 300) appears a theologian who, writing from Origen's own Platonistic standpoint, rejects the main bulk of his opinions. His position resembles that of Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Tertullian, his Christology being of a mystical and ascetic type. It is not, however, necessary to describe it in detail for our present purpose.<sup>4</sup>

Nor is it necessary to trace the course of Christological thought in the West beyond Dionysius. In him already the characteristic features of later Western theology are apparent. The subordinatianism of Tertullian has been repressed; there is no longer any effort to fix *in time* the mystery of the hypostatic distinctions within the Deity. The scriptural testimony of the Son's Deity is accepted

<sup>1</sup> *de Decr. Nic. Syn.* xxv. The statement of Photius that Theognostus called the Son a creature (*κτίσμα*) is questioned by Bull (*Def. Nic. Creed*, bk. ii. c. 10, § 8), but is accepted by Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 418, 419.

<sup>2</sup> See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 485 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack, *Dogmeng.* i. 707 note.

<sup>4</sup> See Harnack, i. 695-705. Harnack regards the theology of Methodius as highly significant, in its union of the rule of faith with Origenistic science, of theoretic optimism with world-renunciation, of mysticism with biblical "realism," etc. Dorner says little (*div. i. vol. ii. pp. 175 ff.*).

by Dionysius as an indisputable foundation, just as it is in a later age by Leo in his letter to Flavian; and there is no trace of any speculative interest in the profound problems which agitated the East. The Western Church was already occupied with immense practical and administrative tasks; it regarded the faith as an instrument for achieving the moral transformation of the world, but its passive resistance to innovations in doctrine proved to be of the most decisive importance in the doctrinal struggles of the next century.

1. *The Close of Third Century Theology; the Council of Antioch (269).*

The most conspicuous event of the latter half of the century was the council held at Antioch to consider the teaching of Paul of Samosata in 269. This council was in point of fact the last of a series of three synods, the first of which assembled as early as 264, chiefly owing to the exertions of the venerable bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius. Firmilian of Cæsarea (Cappadocia) presided over the first synod, and Gregory was present. In the final council the chief part was taken by the presbyter Malchion, a skilful dialectician of the Antiochene school, who is said by Jerome to have been the actual writer of the synodical letter addressed to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria.<sup>1</sup>

The most important doctrinal result of the Antiochene synods is the letter addressed by six bishops to Paul. It illustrates the tendency which was now widely prevalent, to formulate the faith in philosophical and technical phraseology. It is also of great significance as gathering up in one authoritative document the results of a century of active speculation and fertile thought. Finally, it shows how anxious the Fathers were to keep within the

<sup>1</sup> See the letter in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. pp. 303 ff.

lines of Scripture and tradition. It is begging a large question to say that the faith has here been transformed into a system of speculative theology. The controversies of the century had necessitated the use of new weapons, and the restatement of the faith in terms of current science and metaphysics. But the mind of S. John had moved among conceptions not less abstract than those of the Antiochene definition, and it has never been successfully shown that the more elaborate terminology conceals any real addition to the substance of the Church's original faith. The effort after exact expression was characteristic of the Greek mind, as in a later age the craving for concrete realisation of the objects of faith was characteristic of the Western mind. Theology does not necessarily lose its hold on the primary verities of religious faith by becoming philosophic; it does not desert Scripture because it borrows its weapons from the schools; it does not add to the contents of the creed by the development of its terminology. The most notable points in the synodical letter to Paul, which is cast somewhat in exegetical form, are the following:<sup>1</sup>

1. The bishops insist that they are only committing to writing the traditional faith of the Church, handed down from the apostles "who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." This position recalls the line of defence against Gnosticism which Irenæus, Hippolytus and Tertullian had found effective, and which had not been overlooked even by the bold thinkers of Alexandria.

2. A marked pre-eminence is assigned to the Father. He is *ἀγέννητος, εἰς, ἀναρχος, ἀόρατος, ἀαλλοίωτος, κ.τ.λ.* This entirely reflects the tendency of the time towards an abstract, Hellenic conception of God, akin to that of Philo and the Neo-Platonists. The defect of this view is that it is primarily intellectual rather than ethical,

<sup>1</sup> See Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. pp. 289 ff.

and that it logically necessitates a strictly subordinatianist view of the Son's nature and work. God is regarded as an object of knowledge transcending human thought, and only revealed, and that imperfectly, by the Son.

3. Doctrine of the Son: *υἱὸς γεννητός, μονογενής, εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*. It may be noticed that this phraseology is almost entirely Scriptural. The letter goes on to describe Christ as pre-existent (*πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα*); very God, not merely in virtue of Divine foreknowledge (*προγνώσει*), but God "both in essence and hypostasis" (*οὐσία καὶ ὑποστάσει*).<sup>1</sup> The Godhead of the Son is demonstrated from the Scriptures; and His work is described in the usual subordinatianist terms. He "ever was with the Father," and "fulfilled the Father's will in the creation of the universe," being no mere instrument or abstract attribute of God, but a Son generated by the Father "as a living and personal energy" (*ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐνυπόστατον*); revealed in the Old Testament as one who conversed with the patriarchs, in fulfilment of the Father's counsel; described sometimes as "Angel," sometimes as "Jehovah" or "God." Throughout the document we are struck by the prominence assigned to the Logos as "Creator" and "Revealer" of God. This Hellenic conception of the Logos was undoubtedly dominant during the whole period now drawing to its close. The mediatorial function of the Son is barely recognised in the statement that the law was given to Moses "by the ministration of the Son" (*διακονούντος*), in virtue of which the title *μεσίτης* is given to Him in Gal. iii. 19. It will be noticed that the mode and time of the *γέννησις* are not

<sup>1</sup> *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* seem here employed to express the Son's real individual subsistence as a distinct personality. *οὐσία* is used in a sense inclining to the later Aristotelian usage, implying the *reality* of the Son's pre-existence.

touched upon, from which we may infer that the Origenist conception of the "eternal generation" is tacitly suggested in the phrase *σὺν τῷ πατρὶ αἰεὶ ὄντα*. Further, *γεννᾶν* is used to the exclusion of the material imagery implied in the phrases *προβολή*, *prolatio*, etc. Lastly, the free identification and interchange of the terms "Word" and "Son" marks a distinct step forward towards the Christology of Athanasius.

4. The doctrine of the Incarnation is next stated. The Incarnation is at once a condescension on the part of one who is "God and Lord of all created things," and a mission on the part of the supreme Father. It involves a true union of Godhead and manhood whereby a human body (*σῶμα*) is made the receptacle of the fullness of Deity, and becomes "deified" through inseparable union with Godhead. In Jesus Christ a single Divine person "emptied Himself of the state of equality with God" and became man in accordance with Old Testament prophecy.

It should be observed that no reference is made to the human soul of Christ,<sup>1</sup> and in the scriptural quotations by which the above statement is illustrated, the old distinction between *πνεῦμα* (Christ's higher nature, or Deity) and the flesh (*σῶμα*) which He assumed, reappears. There is also, no doubt, a reference to Origen in the statement that in so far as He is Christ [the Logos] is "one and the same in substance" (*οὐσίᾳ*), albeit He is conceived of under many *ἐπινοίαι*.<sup>2</sup>

The rejection of the word *ὁμοούσιος* by the Antiochene Synod will be noticed below. It is only necessary at this point to remark that the result of the synod implies

<sup>1</sup> The Incarnation is called *σάρκωσις*.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* "economic functions, relations to the world," Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 168. *οὐσίᾳ* seems to be equivalent to "persona subsistens." Routh, *ad loc.*

the victory of Alexandrine thought over tendencies which were first conspicuously displayed by Paul of Samosata, but which reappeared in the school of Lucian, and ultimately in Nestorianism. The Alexandrine teachers treated the pre-existence of Christ as the central point of their theology. They busied themselves in speculations respecting the generation and premundane condition of the Logos; they "made it their chief concern . . . to bring out distinctly the difference of kind between the fact of God's *becoming* man, and a mere influence of God upon a man; and to fix the attention upon the incomprehensible and inexplicable side of the mystery."<sup>1</sup> The Antiochene theology was critical and historical, "inclined to seek after clear and well-defined conceptions for the understanding"; and it accordingly preferred to form its idea of Christ from the simple gospel narratives, insisting on the distinctness and individuality of the figure portrayed in them, and having only a languid interest in the strictly theological problems raised by the Johannine doctrine of the Logos. The position of Arius represents, from this point of view, a stage or halting-place in a progressive movement of thought. Arianism is a mere compromise between the purely adoptianist view of Christ and the Logos-doctrine in its current subordinatianist form.<sup>2</sup> What the Church rejected in the Antiochene definition was the Ebionitic conception of Christ as an inspired or Divinely-indwelt man. The appearance of the pre-existent Son of God in bodily form was authoritatively declared to be *de fide* within the Catholic Church, as the rightful interpretation of the complex fact described in Holy Scripture.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. iv. p. 107 (E.T.).

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 646.

<sup>3</sup> The letter contains upwards of forty passages from Scripture, more than half of which are taken from the New Testament.

## 2. *Confusions in Ante-Nicene Terminology*

The language of theological writers in the first three centuries is admittedly inadequate. It is well known that their shortcomings in this respect gave occasion to Petavius to insist that almost all the ante-Nicene Fathers held the very opinions attributed to Arius, and condemned in 325. "It is most clear," he says, "that Arius was a genuine Platonist, and that he followed the opinion of those ancient writers who, while as yet the point had not been developed and settled, had fallen into the same error."<sup>1</sup> He points particularly to the fact that many ante-Nicene writers hold that the Son was not coeternal with the Father, nor coequal; but that He was produced by an act of the Divine will as an instrument for the work of creation.

A candid examination, however, of these writers will scarcely justify this strange conclusion. Rather it will be found that their language is unstudied, and of a free, devotional type, such as would be natural enough to men engaged in a conflict concerning the fundamental truths of faith, with Ebionitic and Gnostic tendencies alternately. Certainly, "they were in difficult and untried circumstances; they were making experiments in unknown regions of thought." What wonder, then, if their language is inconsistent, "tentative, and provisional."<sup>2</sup>

1. Thus we find what may be called "theopaschite" language in the sub-apostolic writers, e.g. *αἷμα θεοῦ, παθήματα θεοῦ, ὁ θεὸς πέπονθεν*; and even Tertullian speaks of "God crucified," "the flesh of God," etc.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petav. *de Trin.* i. 5. 7, quoted by Bull, *Def. Nic. Creed*, i. 10. The treatise of Bull aims at showing that Petavius' view is "manifestly repugnant to the truth, and most unjust and insulting to the holy Fathers, whether those of the Council of Nice, or those who preceded it."

<sup>2</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> See references in Lightfoot, *S. Clement*, vol. ii. p. 15.

Such expressions imply a belief in the Deity of Christ, but would be dangerous in controversy with Gnosticism, as seeming to allow passibility in the Godhead; and they would become still more objectionable in view of Patripassianism like that of Noetus or Praxeas. The price, in fact, paid for securing the full Divinity of the Word would be an obscuration of hypostatic distinctions within the Deity.

2. Little needs to be said of the common tendency to insist overmuch on the subordination of the Son. Some writers, like Justin, lay exaggerated stress on the ministerial functions of the Son in creation and revelation. Justin even calls Him "another God under the Creator of the universe." Others, like Origen, regard the *derivation* of the Son's substance as an element in His being which constitutes not mere inferiority, but generic difference.<sup>1</sup> In the same way Tertullian contrasts the Son, whose essence is *derivatio totius et portio*, with the Father, who is the "entire substance" of Deity. We have already remarked in regard to this point of the Son's subordination, that it is urged in the interests of the Divine unity, the object of third century writers being to maintain, against Gnosticism and paganism, the continuity of the monotheistic revelation of the Old Testament. It is the One and self-same God who reveals Himself through the ministry of the pre-existent Word in the Old Testament, and in the incarnate Word of the New. Uppermost in their minds is the ministrative office of the Son.

3. Again, as to the mode and conditions of the Divine *γέννησις*, occasional statements are made which indicate the want of fixed connotation in the terms employed, and a defective conception of the Godhead. There seem to be, indeed, three, if not four, senses of the word *γέννησις*.

<sup>1</sup> Origen even uses the phrase, *ἕτερος κατ' οὐσίαν*; cp. p. 245.

(a) It is used to denote the mystery of the Son's eternal coexistence with the Father. In this sense the Son's "generation" is not an event in time, but an intemporal and necessary relationship to the Father. "This alone," says Bishop Bull, "is the true and properly so-called nativity of the Word."<sup>1</sup> This sense of *γέννησις* is rather implied than expressed in the favourite images by which the Son's relationship to the Father is described, —the sun and its radiance, the fountain and stream, etc.

(b) The term may mean that act of condescension whereby the Logos proceeds forth from the Father to create the universe; that change of state whereby the eternal Word from being *ἐνδιάθετος* became *προφορικὸς*; passed from a state of repose to one of energetic manifestation.

(c) *γέννησις* may also be used for the actual nativity in time by which *the Word became flesh*; or (d) the resurrection (cp. Ps. ii. 7, LXX.).

The tendency of the ante-Nicene Fathers is to use *γέννησις* in the second of the above significations, implying that the Word became hypostatized, became a "Son," only when He entered on the work of creation. This is expressly stated by Justin, Hippolytus, and Tertullian. The two writers last mentioned speak in explicit terms: "Not a perfect Son without the flesh, though a perfect Word, being the only begotten . . . whom God called Son, because He was destined to become such."<sup>2</sup> "There was a time when the Son was not."<sup>3</sup> Further, the *γέννησις* is ascribed to the Father's will. The Son is *θελήσει γεννηθῆναι*, says Justin;<sup>4</sup> He was generated by

<sup>1</sup> *Defence*, vol. ii. p. 505 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hippol. *c. Noet.* xv.

<sup>3</sup> Tert. *adv. Hermog.* iii. See Newman's *Arians*, Appendix, note 2. The same tendency might be illustrated from the writings of Zeno and Lactantius. See Dorner, *div. i.* vol. ii. pp. 189, 195.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial.* cxxviii.

the Father, *quando voluit*, says Novatian.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the intention of the phrase was to exclude the materialistic or fatalistic idea of some Gnostics, that emanations from Deity were due to necessary laws of being to which even Godhead was subject. The word *θελήσει* was meant to express a moral necessity, the correspondence of the Divine Being to the idea or law of His own nature.<sup>2</sup> Further, there was a tendency to borrow physical, and even materialistic, phraseology from the Gnostics; instances of which would be Justin's *προβληθὲν γέννημα*, and Tertullian's *prolatio* (*προβολή*). Both these writers employed such language to denote the separate existence of the Son in opposition to the Gnostic personification of mere attributes, or to Modalistic evasions. It is true that Tertullian qualifies by an explanation his use of the term *prolatio*, and Origen definitely repudiates it<sup>3</sup> as derogatory to the Divine nature; and, indeed, when applied to the subject of Divine personality, such language is entirely inadequate and even misleading. Nevertheless, it is actually employed by Western writers, and it was only the protests of the Alexandrine school that led to the exclusion of the phraseology in question. To Origen, especially, the Church owes a doctrine of the Divine generation which eradicated the prevalent idea that it was a temporal or physical event, and therewith all notions of a Sonship gradually perfected or conferred in time. In Augustine's time the older opinion had, in fact, become classed as a heresy.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4. The rejection of the word *ὁμοούσιος* by the Council

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 413, says: "Physical necessity is objective, the compulsion of a power without and above; but moral need is subjective, a spontaneous and rational movement, obedience to the idea or law of one's own nature."

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Newman, *Arians*, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Arians*, p. 422.

of Antioch was constantly urged at a later time as an insuperable objection to the adoption of the term in the Nicene symbol. The very word, or at least equivalent expressions, had been occasionally employed by ante-Nicene writers. It seems to have been introduced into theology by Gnostic writers,<sup>1</sup> and is said by Pamphilus to have been used by Origen,<sup>2</sup> while an equivalent expression is found in Tertullian and Novatian. Dionysius, as we have seen, reintroduced the word, and Theognostus had used the phrase ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας. In ordinary usage ὁμοούσιος would imply "generic unity." Two substances of the same kind or nature are ὁμοούσια. Thus, two men or two stars might be said to be "consubstantial" with each other. But, in regard to the incommunicable and unique essence of God, no abstraction is possible. God is above all possibility of comparison with His works. His nature is unique and solitary, "peculiar to Himself and one; so that whatever was accounted to be consubstantial or co-essential with Him, was necessarily included in His individuality."<sup>3</sup>

The rejection of the term at Antioch is said by Athanasius to have been due to the sophistic use of it by Paul of Samosata. He understood the word in a realistic sense, maintaining that if the Son were really "consubstantial" with the Father, there must be some prior "substance" (οὐσία) in which they both alike partake. Thus there would be three substances, one which was prior (προηγούμενη) and two other which

<sup>1</sup> Iren. i. 5, §§ 1, 6: eiusdem substantiæ. The word occurs in Ptolem. *ad Flor.* [ap. Epiph. *Hær.* i. 33]: τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσιν ἔχοντος τὰ θεοῦ ἐαυτῆ καὶ ὁμο-οὐσία γεννᾶν τε καὶ προφέρειν. It was also used by the Manichæans, Ath. *de Synod.*, § 16.

<sup>2</sup> In his Comm. *in Hebr.* quoted by Pamphilus, *Apol.* See Harnack, *Dogm.* i. 580 note; Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 179 note.

<sup>3</sup> Newman, *Arians*, p. 187.

were derived from it.<sup>1</sup> This would imply that the Father was not the original fountain-head of all being; that even His Godhead was, like that of the Son, not ultimate but derivative. The term was accordingly set aside at Antioch, probably on the ground of its Sabellian connotation. According to Paul, the impersonal Logos, a mere attribute or quality, was "consubstantial" with the personal God, as if God and the Logos were no more than one subject. Under altered circumstances the catholic meaning of the word could be vindicated; indeed, as used by the Nicene Fathers, the *ὁμοούσιον* was calculated to secure the doctrine of the Son's Divinity by excluding the idea that He was created, or subject to mutability. It was intended at Nicæa to assert that the Divine *οὐσία*, unique and incommunicable, subsists by derivation in the Son. In the symbol of Nicæa the term *ὁμοούσιον* is in fact defined by the phrase *θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ*; it expresses the identity of the Divine substance, and excludes division of it. The Deity of Christ is one with that of the Father, from whom, nevertheless, as its source, it is derived.<sup>2</sup> As Augustine afterwards writes: *Pater igitur et filius simul una essentia, et una magnitudo, et una veritas, et una sapientia* (*de Trin.* vii. 3). *Substantia Patris ipse Pater est non quo Pater est, sed quo est . . . Persona Patris non aliud quam ipse Pater est* (*ib.* 11).

### 3. Anticipations of the Nicene Doctrine

The doctrine of the Son's "consubstantiality," though

<sup>1</sup> Ath. *de Synod.* xlv. Cp. Bas. *ep.* lii. The theory of Paul implied an *οὐσία πρεσβύτερα*, i.e. something τοῦ ἀγεννήτου πρεσβύτερον. Harnack remarks that this Aristotelian conception of *οὐσία* corresponds with Paul's general mode of thought (*Dogmengeschichte*, i. 643).

<sup>2</sup> On the history and meaning of the Homo-usion, see Newman, *Arians*, pp. 184-190; Ath. *Treatises*, ii. 433 ff.; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 438-440; Bull, *Def. Nic. Creed*, pt. ii. c. i.; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* vol. iii. pp. 360-365.

not expressly stated by the ante-Nicene writers, may be fairly considered to be implied in various expressions and illustrations which frequently meet us in their works.<sup>1</sup>

1. Thus they speak of the Son as "put forth" or "projected," not merely *by* the Father, but *from* Him. They employ very commonly the phrase *ἐκ θεοῦ*. Irenæus says, *τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ γεννηθὲν θεός ἐστι*.<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus, *πάντα τοίνυν δι' αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἐκ πατρός, κ.τ.λ.* And this seems to be the most usual mode of expression.

2. Again, they call the Son "true," "genuine," "unique," or "proper" Son of God: begotten, as Justin says, *ιδίως, παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν γένεσιν*.<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus, in a remarkable passage, points out that the Father begat the Son, and Him alone, *ἐξ ὄντων. τὸ γὰρ ὄν αὐτὸς ὁ πάτηρ ἦν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ γεννηθὲν*.<sup>4</sup> All created things are made *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*. The generation of the Son is unique. He is "only begotten" (*μονογένης*). His generation so far transcends any known mode of corporeal birth that speculation is unsafe, and inquiry to be discouraged.<sup>5</sup>

3. It is also to be remembered that the higher nature of Christ is frequently described as *spirit*, and His pre-existence definitely asserted. This implies that conclusions attained by reasoning from material laws and facts were felt to be inadequate.

4. Further, the Fathers constantly revert to the traditional imagery drawn from the sun and its radiance, etc. It is to be observed that Origen directly bases the doctrine of the eternal generation on this image. "When," he asks, "was that God whom John calls the light destitute of the radiance of His own glory, so that a man may venture to ascribe to the Son a beginning of

<sup>1</sup> See Bull, *Def.* vol. i. p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. i. 8. 5 (quoting Ptolemæus).

<sup>3</sup> *Apol.* i. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Philos.* x. 33 *init.*

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Newman, *Arians*, pp. 160, 161.

existence?"<sup>1</sup> Other similitudes, *e.g.*, the stream proceeding from the fountain, the tree from the root, served to illustrate the "consubstantiality," or at least the inseparable coherence of the Divine persons. The scriptural image of light, *φῶς ἐκ φωτός*, was indeed inserted in the creed in illustration of the *ὁμοούσιον*.

5. They ascribe to the Son Divine attributes, and exempt Him from the number of created beings. Perhaps the descriptions by Irenæus of the Son's work would sufficiently illustrate this point. The very completeness and finality of redemption for Irenæus rests upon the fact that in Christ God Himself has entered into the sphere, and submitted to the limitations, of human life. The Logos, who by the Incarnation unites human nature to Himself, shares all the Divine attributes in their perfection. In assimilating man to Himself, He enables him to realise his original destiny, namely, likeness to the invisible Creator.<sup>2</sup> Christ is worshipped as God; He forgives as God; He is enabled to be our Mediator because He is in nature one with God, as, through His flesh, He is one with us. Irenæus, however, is only one of the "chain of representative writers" who habitually ascribe Divine attributes and titles to Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup>

A general survey of the ante-Nicene literature will show how the way was gradually prepared for the work of the conciliar period. First we notice the uniform appeal made by Church writers to Scripture and the rule of faith. In this respect the epistles of Clement or Ignatius stand on a level with the synodal letter of Antioch. Just as the apostolic Epistles of S. Paul or S. John presuppose a knowledge of the Christian facts, so

<sup>1</sup> *de Princ.* iv. 28; *cp. Tert. adv. Prax.* viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Cp. Iren.* v. 16. 2; and see *reff. in Liddon, Bampton Lect.* pp. 421, 422

<sup>3</sup> See Liddon, *op. cit.* pp. 419 ff.

the collection of Scriptures presupposes the foundation of churches, and the foundation of churches the delivery once for all of a faith on which they were built. The whole Church thus read and understood the Scriptures in the sense of the apostolic teaching; the tradition is to be tested by Scripture, and is, in fact, identical with the true sense of Scripture.<sup>1</sup> We can hardly over-estimate the reverence with which Scripture was regarded by the early writers. Irenæus compares it to the treasure hid in a field; Clement of Alexandria speaks of τὰ ἱεροποιούντα καὶ θεοποιούντα γράμματα; to Cyprian the Bible is *divinæ traditionis caput et origo*.<sup>2</sup> And in accordance with this point of view, the third-century Fathers are as far as possible from abandoning the guidance of Scripture: on the contrary, their one aim seems to be to revert to the standard of faith which they find implied in the express teaching of the New Testament.

But next the Fathers exhibit, even in their least satisfactory discussions, a constant desire to give articulate expression to the general Christian consciousness of Christ as a living and ever-present source of Divine grace and power. It is apt to be forgotten that parallel to the effort of Christian reason to formulate its belief is the continual growth of Christian experience, striving to find for itself intellectual expression. Thus Christian thinkers were constantly and necessarily impelled to make fresh efforts to adjust the different elements of their experience; to secure for the doctrine of God a form ever more satisfying and more complete. In studying, therefore, the development of doctrine within the Church, we must not ascribe too much to external

<sup>1</sup> Tert. *Præscr.* xxxviii. says to heretics: "Quod sumus, hoc sunt Scripturæ iam inde ab initio suo; ex illis sumus antequam aliter fuit; antequam a vobis interpolarentur." Cp. Iren. iii. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, vol. i. pp. 121 f., 130.

causes; "we must not," says Dorner, "overlook the inner soul of the entire historical process. This soul was the conviction which possessed the Christian world that in Christ it had attained to unity, not with a middle being and secondary God, but with God Himself,—a unity, the archetype of which is set before us in the Incarnation of Christ. This conviction—call it mystical if we will—contained the kernel of Christianity, and never permitted the Church to regard the subordination of the Son as an end in itself, and as an independent dogma (as did Arianism)." On the contrary, the subordination of the Son was an *auxiliary doctrine* merely, intended to guard the Divine unity, and to show "that the truth contained in the general and pre-Christian conception of God was not violated by the new conception of God set forth in Christianity."<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *Concluding Survey of Third Century Christology*

Catholic theology had successfully maintained against heresy at least three fundamental points:

1. The doctrine of the Divine unity, and the distinctness of God from the world.

2. The reality of the Divine Incarnation, whether regarded as a supreme revelation of God, or as a condition necessary for the permanent union of God with man.

3. The authority of the tradition, or rule of faith, embodying the historic facts of Christ's life.<sup>2</sup>

The main problem, however, presented to third century thought was that of co-ordinating the Christian facts; of reconciling the unity of God with the Deity of the In-

<sup>1</sup> *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> The rule of faith being mainly historic, not dogmatic, was of little avail in the Christological controversies of the third century. The appeal (*e.g.* of Tert. Iren. Hippol.) is generally to Scripture.

carnate Christ. It is sufficiently clear that this problem could only be solved by restating or remodelling in some way the doctrine of the Divine Nature. As yet, however, the most thoughtful and adventurous school of theology, that of Alexandria, was dominated by an abstract and metaphysical conception of God which had been inherited from pagan Hellenism, while the Western Church was to some extent hindered by a lack of speculative interest in the questions of the time. Nevertheless, it may be said that some real progress had been made in the direction of accurate Christology. Thus Tertullian had brought into prominence the idea of Sonship, and it may perhaps be said that this fruitful conception is the most decisive contribution of the third century to Christian thought.<sup>1</sup> As compared with the term "Logos," the title "Son" was better calculated to secure the conception of distinct personality, and it at once suggested the idea of eternal ethical relationships within the Divine Being, prior to any economic self-manifestation in the universe. Origen had explained the generation of the Son as being no finite act temporal or pretemporal, but an eternal or intemporal process or relation.<sup>2</sup> The correspondence of the two Dionysii had brought into prominence the unity of the Divine essence subsisting in the Persons of the Father, Son, and Spirit. Already a number of theological terms were current, which only required to have their significance and associations precisely determined. Finally, the Council of Antioch had maintained, on grounds of Scripture and tradition, the eternal pre-existence of the Divine Son, who "ever was" with the Father. Nor must we forget that the plain unreflecting faith of ordin-

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. p. 274. This seems to be more true than the statement that it was merely the *Logos*-doctrine which established itself as the result of third century struggles.

<sup>2</sup> Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 14.

ary Christians who believed in Christ simply as a Divine Saviour, was an influential factor in the gradual process of dogmatic definition.

But there was danger in opposite directions. On the one side the Westerns had so peremptorily emphasised the doctrine of the Divine unity as to obscure the distinctions of personality within the Godhead. The Logos-Christology can in fact hardly be said to have found a congenial soil in the West. For the most part it was reluctantly recognised by theologians, who preferred to speculation an unquestioning acceptance of the received creed, "Christ is very God, and God is one," without formal attempts at explanation or adjustment of complementary beliefs. The Easterns on their side had so insisted on the subordination of the Son as to allow themselves in ditheistic and even Arian language. They dreaded polytheism, but cannot be said to have had any logical defence against Arianism, which at a later period found it profitable to appeal to their authority. Nor can they be said to have done justice to soteriology. They were dominated in their statement of the Logos-doctrine by a scientific and cosmological interest. Lastly, the historic Christ, His human development and example, tended to fall into the background; and thus the way was prepared for the reactionary movement which took shape in Arianism.

## PART IV

*(Continued)*

## § V. ARIANISM.

1. The doctrine of Arius.
2. The methods of Arius and his school.
3. Dogmatic consequences of Arianism.
4. Repudiation by the Church.
5. The Council of Nicæa.
6. The word *Homoousia*.

## § V. ARIANISM

At the close of the third century theology had succeeded in becoming completely philosophic. But philosophy was not merely dominant; it threatened to become a tyranny. The faith was in danger of becoming unintelligible to ordinary Christians. The figure of the historical Christ was practically buried beneath the profusion of metaphysical predicates which were finding their way into theological terminology; the doctrine of salvation was treated as secondary in importance to cosmological theory. From this point of view the interest of the fourth century lies—(1) in the reaction from the philosophic Logos-doctrine, (2) the restatement of the doctrine of God in a form ethical rather than metaphysical—biblical rather than Neo-Platonic. The thought of a real Divine redemption again asserts itself, thanks mainly to the genius and devotion of one man, Athanasius. The real interests at stake in the Arian controversy were those of the Christian religion, not of any particular system of philosophy. The question of the age was whether the redemption of humanity had actually been effected by One who was God, and if so, what was His relation to the God of Christian monotheism. The conception of the Son or Logos as a distinct hypostasis, which had been developed in the struggles of the third century, must now be adjusted with the ancient and continuous affirmation of His true Deity.

The Arian struggle actually broke out at Alexandria about 318. Arius was a presbyter in charge of a church in the city; a man of ascetic habits and high reputation, grave, learned, and skilful as a logician. The dispute began in consequence of a protest of Arius against a discourse on the Trinity pronounced by his bishop Alexander. Probably the bishop was insisting on one

particular aspect of the Origenistic Christology, the eternal coexistence of the Son with the Father; and his statement was objected to by Arius as Sabellian in tendency. Arius, on the other hand, insisted (from the Platonistic standpoint) that God alone is eternal, and that all other existence, including the being of the Son, must have been created by an act of the Divine will.

I. The doctrine of Arius may be traced to the school of Lucian at Antioch. Lucian (d. 311 or 312) had taught somewhat on the lines of Paul the Samosatene.<sup>1</sup> God was one; the Divine Logos was a created being sent forth into the world, who assumed a human nature in order to reveal the Father, and to provide an example to mankind. As a creature, the Son only reached the state of unalterable perfection by gradual advance and perseverance in virtue. Lucian seems, in fact, to have combined the ancient adoptianist view of Christ with the current Logos-doctrine of the East, and he employed in expounding his views the critical and literalistic exegesis of Scripture that was already traditional in the church of Antioch. Arius had been the pupil of Lucian, and inherited his teacher's conception of God, a conception derived from Platonism and essentially pagan. God according to this view was a supreme, ineffable, transcendent, isolated being, who needed some intermediary between Himself and the created universe. The minister of creation must be premundane but himself a creature. For God can have no Son in any strict sense. To attribute to Him the act of generation is to ascribe to Deity a capacity for corporeal affections and movements, and thus subject God to laws of mechanical necessity. In a Divine Being *γέννησις* can mean only an act of will whereby He creates a "Son" out of nothing; "generation" is merely a synonym for "creation." This doctrine

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 182 ff.

of God, framed in the supposed interests of the Divine unity, is, as Dorner points out, essentially *pre-Christian*. It is a reversion to pagan thought, and the conception of a created being neither God nor man, a demi-God between the Creator and universe, involves the very principle of polytheism. "These ideas," says Athanasius, "belong to the heathen."<sup>1</sup>

The Arian doctrine of the Son centres in two propositions—(a) the Son is not coeternal: *ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*; (b) the Son is a created being: *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο*.

The Son of God is called into existence by an act of the Divine free will, as an instrument for the creation of the world. He is "Son," therefore, only in a relative, not in the strict sense (only to be called Son, *καταχρηστικῶς*). In Scripture He is called "Image," "Word," "Wisdom," but not in the proper sense: the Divine Wisdom is an inherent attribute of Deity, not an hypostasis. The Son is, in fact, a creature, though unique (*κτίσμα τέλειον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων*). In this sense He is termed "only begotten" by the Apostle S. John.

The Son, then, is a creature: *ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, He is not coeternal with the Father (*συναΐδιος τῷ πατρὶ*). He is no more than a "great power" of God, like the locusts described by the prophet Joel.<sup>3</sup> Further, He is dependent on *grace*, having a creaturely nature *capable* of sin, even though actually sinless. He is subject to creaturely vicissitudes (*τρεπτὸς φύσει ὡς τὰ κτίσματα*). In essence He is foreign to God (*ξένος, ἀλλότριος*); He does not perfectly know, and therefore

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 18: 'Ελλήνων ἴδια ταῦτα; cp. iii. 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Obs. Arius omitted the word *χρόνος*. He would not commit himself to the idea that there was time *ante mundum*. He spoke of the Son as *ἀχρόνως γεννηθείς*, though he denied that He was *ἀναρχος*. He argued, however, as if he meant by *ἦν ὅτε, ἦν χρόνος ὅτε*; cp. *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* i. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Joel ii. 25, LXX.; cp. *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* i. 5.

cannot reveal the Father. His union with Deity is of a merely relative, moral kind,—the harmony of an obedient will.<sup>1</sup> Again, the human nature which was assumed by the creaturely Logos was imperfect. The incarnate Christ was without a human, rational soul (*νοῦς*). The Logos was in Christ united to a human body with merely animal soul (*ψυχὴ ἄλογος*). At this point, an element of docetism enters into the system of Arius;<sup>2</sup> the Incarnation is replaced by a mere *σάρκωσις*. It is fair to point out that the views of Arius seem to have developed under the pressure of opposition. He at first insisted on the uniqueness of the Son, as *κτίσμα τέλειον, υἱὸς μονογένητος*, and even *πλήρης θεὸς μονογενής, θεὸς ἰσχυρός, κ.τ.λ.* But Arius refused to acknowledge that the Son was *ἀληθινὸς θεός*, a doctrine which seemed to him irreconcilable with the prerogatives of the Father. The Father alone can be *ἀγεννητός*; in this attribute of *ἀγεννησία* consists the essence of Deity. The Son as being originate (*γεννητός*) must belong to the order of creatures, and accordingly must be entirely "alien from the Father's essence."<sup>3</sup> The Platonistic idea of the gulf between the Creator and the creature led logically to the formula of later Arianism (*ἀνόμοιον*).

The above brief sketch will have illustrated the relation of Arianism, on the one hand, to the humanitarian doctrine of Paul of Samosata; on the other, to the current Logos-doctrine. The only point of difference between the position of Arius (or Lucian) and that of Paul was that Arius replaced the man adopted and

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* iii. 10. Christ being *τρεπτός*, His goodness was not an essential goodness; consequently His Sonship was the reward of a foreseen perseverance. In fact, Christ *μετοχῇ ἐθεοποιήθη*. *Ath. l.c.* i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. [*Ath.*] *c. Apoll.* ii. 3. This idea of Christ's humanity forms the starting-point of Apollinarianism. Cp. *Petav. de Incarn.* i. 5, §§ 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> *ἄλλότριος καὶ ἀνόμιος κατὰ πάντα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας καὶ ἰδιότητος*. *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* i. 6.

elevated to Divine honour by a created but pre-existent spirit (the Logos).<sup>1</sup> This retention of the pre-existent hypostasis of the Son was a needless encumbrance, and necessitated the theory of a mutilated humanity, since the existence of a reasonable soul in Christ would seem to constitute a second personality.

## II. *The methods of Arius and his school.*

The nature of Arian reasoning should be carefully studied. The early Arians had been for the most part trained in the school of Lucian at Antioch, where they had learned to apply to theology the processes of physical and mathematical reasoning. The abstract Platonist conception of God had been elaborated by the aid of critical exegesis and Aristotelian dialectic. Aristotelian rationalism so dominated the school that the idea of a real redemption was altogether lost sight of.<sup>2</sup> "Nothing was too majestic for a syllogistic formula."<sup>3</sup> Theology tended to become "a technology, *i.e.* a doctrine of the ingenerate and generate elaborated in syllogisms, and based upon Scripture." Thus Arius argued logically from the meaning of the word "Son." A father, he said, must be prior to his son. How could there be a Son of God at once *γεννητός* and *ἀγεννητός*?<sup>4</sup> This logic soon betrayed its author into gross and manifest inconsistencies: for example, though the Arian theory required that the nature of God should be regarded as mysterious and inscrutable even to the Son Himself, it was assumed that the Godhead could be exhaustively explained by reasoning logically from human relation-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. pp. 185, 186; cp. Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 62 ff.

<sup>3</sup> W. Bright, *Church Hist.* 313-451, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. a passage in the *Macrostich*, where the same point is formally urged, *Ath. de syn.* 28.

ships. Further, while starting from the metaphor of Sonship, Arius arrived at the point of denying any Divine Sonship in a strict sense. The later Arians acknowledged the mistake by consistently *denying* that the Divine Being was incomprehensible by human understanding.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the system of Arius was an attempt to discuss and formulate the mysteries of theology on a purely intellectual basis and with the aid of merely physical analogies and processes of reasoning. With Arius the abstract τὸ ἀγεννητόν was equivalent to θεότης;<sup>2</sup> of love, of ethical attributes and relationships he had no notion whatever. On the other hand, no point is more constantly urged by Athanasius in his *Orations* than the futility and impiety of reasoning from earthly relations to the mysteries of the Divine nature. "If," he says, "they were disputing concerning any man, then let them reason in this human way, both concerning his word and his son; but if [they argue] concerning God, who created man, no longer let them entertain human thoughts, but others which transcend human nature. . . . Nor, again, is it right to inquire *how* the Word is from God, or how He is God's radiance, or how God begets, and what is the manner of His begetting. A man must be beside himself to venture on such points, since he demands to have explained in words a thing ineffable and proper to God's nature, and known only to Him and to the Son."<sup>3</sup> Again, "greatly do they err in entertain-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, vol. ii. p. 43 (art. "Arians"); cp. Greg. Naz. *Orat. Theol.* xxvii. 2, *sub fin.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. de. Decr. Nic.* 30, 31 (*Ath. Treatises*, i. p. 53); cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 243; Fairbairn, *op. cit.* p. 405. "The invariable tendency in metaphysics is to the de-ethicisation of a Deity who can be described in terms neuter and abstract rather than personal and moral."

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.* ii. 35, 36; cp. i. 15: σφάλονται μεγάλως περὶ τοῦ ἁσωμάτου τὰ σωμάτων ἐνθυμούμενοι. So ii. 34, iii. 1, 63, 67; cp. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 28.

ing material notions about that which is immaterial." As Athanasius clearly saw, the Arian objection that the idea of generation implied division or mutability in the Godhead could only be met by an entire exclusion of the very notion of materiality in relation to the Divine essence.

Arianism also appealed to Scripture.<sup>1</sup> Speaking generally, they made much of those New Testament passages which seem to imply human limitations in the incarnate Christ, and these they applied to the pre-existent Logos. "The scope of their malicious dealing with the dogma is the endeavour to show that the more lowly utterances which the Lord makes as man (ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου) proceeded from His Godhead."<sup>2</sup> Thus they pointed to such passages in the Gospels as SS. Mk. xiii. 32; Lk. ii. 52; Mt. xix. 17, xx. 23; and especially S. Jo. v. 19, xiv. 28, etc. In the Acts and the Epistles: Acts ii. 36, κύριον καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησε; Phil. ii. 7 ff.; Heb. i. 4, κρείττων γενόμενος, iii. 1, πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν; Col. i. 15 (for the Arian interpretation of which see Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 63). They also set great store by certain Old Testament statements, e.g. Deut. vi. 4; Ps. xlv. 6, 7, ἔχρισέ σε ὁ θεός; and especially Prov. viii. 22, which was an accepted Christological passage, *The Lord possessed* (LXX. ἔκτισε) *me in the beginning of His way*, etc.<sup>3</sup> The earlier leaders of Arianism

<sup>1</sup> See a list of passages in Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 1; cp. iii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Nyss. *c. Eunom.* ap. Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 5. 7; cp. Hil. *de Trin.* ix. *init.*: "Quæ ab eo secundum hominem dicta sunt dicta esse secundum naturæ divinæ infirmitatem [mentiuntur hæretici]."

<sup>3</sup> As to this passage obs.—(1) the clear sense of the Heb. קנה is "possessed"; Aq. ἐκτήσατο; Jerom. Vulg. al. *possedit*. The word occurs Gen. iv. 1, ויחן, LXX. ἐκτησάμην. On the other hand, in Gen. xiv. 19, 22, LXX. has ἔκτισε. Cp. Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. p. 270; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 62 note. (2) Accepting the reading ἔκτισε catholic interpreters were divided. Some distinguish κτίειν (beget) from ποιῶν

were not systematic exponents of the doctrine, their literary activity being mainly confined to epistles in which they mutually encouraged one another. The first who wrote a formal defence of the Arian position was the sophist Asterius, to whom Athanasius occasionally refers in the *Orations*.<sup>1</sup> In his work (*συνταγμάτιον*) he seems to have based an argument on 1 Cor. i. 24 and S. Jo. xiv. 10, but his main contention was the logical impossibility of admitting more than one uncreated being. The usual method of Arianism was to quote texts piecemeal (*μονόκωλα*), insisting pertinaciously on the importance of a few isolated passages, and entirely ignoring the general drift of Scripture. As Athanasius complains, "when forced from the conceptions, or rather misconceptions, of their own hearts they fall back upon passages of Divine Scripture, and even of these, from want of perception, as usual, they discern not the true meaning; and laying down their own impiety as a sort of canon of interpretation, they wrest the whole of the Divine oracles into accordance with it."<sup>2</sup>

At a later time<sup>3</sup> it became customary with the Arians to appeal to the authority of old writers, especially to Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Dionysius of Alexandria. Origen had spoken of the Son as *θεός* or *δεύτερος θεός*, not *αὐτόθεος*, or even *αὐτοάγαθος*. Dionysius and Gregory had spoken of the Son as a "creature." But apart from the questionable statements of particular writers, there had been much in the subordinatianist teaching of the third century which

(create out of nothing). The eternal *γέννησις* might be possibly described as *κτίσις*. Or *ἐκτίσις* was explained as *ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔργοις* (Dion. Rom. See Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 376). But Ath. and others explain *ἐκτίσις* simply of Christ's human nature (*Orat.* ii. 45 ff.); cp. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxx. 2, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Ath. *Orat.* ii. 37, iii. 2. See Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. (s.v. "Asterius"); Harnack, i. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat.* i. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Ath. *de Sent. Dion.* 1.

naturally appeared to favour the Arian view. The desire of formal and logical consistency impelled the Antiochene school to simplify the catholic doctrine by dropping one element in Origen's teaching (the eternal generation of the Son), and pressing the other (subordinationism) to its logical consequences. In this lay the strength of Arianism: that it contended for the very truths which had been the subject of the closing controversies of the third century—the unity of God and the distinctness of the Son's personality.<sup>1</sup>

There are some general causes which account for the temporary success of Arianism. Its leading defenders understood the art of popularising their doctrine. In itself it had the merit of simplicity, and early in the controversy Arius composed the *Θαλεία* ("spiritual banquet"), a collection of songs for popular use. This publication led to a general and terrible irreverence. The lowest classes became familiarised with the most sacred language and doctrines, hitherto only imparted under the discipline of reserve by the Church. Christian divisions became a laughing-stock of the theatres.<sup>2</sup> Profane questions were asked of women and boys in the streets. "Quarrels took place in every city and village concerning the Divine dogma, the people looking on and taking sides."<sup>3</sup> In the court, in private houses, in public thoroughfares, in shops and market-places, there was a "war of dialectics."

In the second (post-Nicene) stage of the quarrel much was due to court influence. After Nicæa, the Eusebian party became merely a secular faction, dependent on the favour of the emperor.<sup>4</sup> "All authorities," says Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Gwatkin, p. 30; ep. *Ath. Orat.* i. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Theodoret ap. Newman, *Arians*, p. 452.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Orat.* ii. 43: τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην προστασίαν ἐποτιθέασι. Cp. iii. 28.

Gwatkin, "are agreed that Arian successes began and ended with Arian command of the palace."<sup>1</sup> The policy of the party was to secure control, by sheer violence or by cunning intrigues, of all the leading episcopal sees: a plan which they successfully accomplished in the East, though they never obtained any real hold upon the West. Further, Arianism commended itself to heathen philosophers by its abstract and transcendental conception of God; its antithesis of Being "create" and "increate" (*γεννητόν, ἀγέννητον*); its practical denial of any possible contact between God and man. On the other hand, it was acceptable to the vulgar, as inculcating the worship of a demi-god. For it must be remembered that heathen influences were still very strong in the empire; the civil service, the army, and the courts of law were filled with pagans; education was largely in the hands of pagans; indeed, general society itself was as yet scarcely touched by Christian ideas. Further, it would seem that the outbreak of the heresy at Alexandria was due to the fact that circumstances were more favourable there than elsewhere to the spread of a heathenised form of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Finally, we may notice that Jewish influence was favourable to the doctrine of Arius, which appealed to Jewish minds not only by its rigid monotheism and its denial of Christ's true Godhead, but also by its lax moral tone.<sup>3</sup> Athanasius, indeed, frequently charges his Arian opponents with being in effect "Judaisers," but the imputation taken strictly is not fair, because the element of creature-worship in Arianism was irreconcilable with the fundamental principle of Judaism.<sup>4</sup> There seems, however, to

<sup>1</sup> *Studies of Arianism*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Gwatkin, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Newman's *Arians*, p. 18 ff.; *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 17, cp. i. 8, iii. 27, 55, etc.; *de Decret. Nic.* i. ff.; *Ath. Treatises*, i. p. 389 nota.

<sup>4</sup> Gwatkin, p. 27.

be truth in the suggestion that in its practical moral results Arianism displays some affinity to the corrupt Judaism which at Antioch and elsewhere was a source of debasement and temptation to unstable members of the Christian Church.<sup>1</sup>

III. The dogmatic consequences of Arianism are pointed out in various passages of Athanasius. Practically they may be described as twofold.

1. The Arian doctrine, on the one hand, involves a false conception of God. It does not merely admit the element of creature-worship, and so violate the first principle of theism;<sup>2</sup> it denies the very possibility of a Divine revelation. God, according to the philosophic view of Arius, is infinitely remote from man; He remains ineffable, mysterious, inaccessible, unknowable; neither self-communication nor generation can be ascribed to Him. He remains an abstract simple unity, the supreme cause in relation to the world, for ever separate from the creature, for ever beyond the reach of human faculties.<sup>3</sup> For, as we have seen, Arianism denied that the Son could have any essential knowledge of the Father. "Even to the Son the Father is invisible. The Word cannot perfectly and exactly either see or know His own Father. Nay, the Son knows not even His own substance,"<sup>4</sup> etc. Thus, "alike by the Divine transcendence and by his own lowliness, man is condemned to remain eternally distant from God."<sup>5</sup>

2. Again, the Arian doctrine undermines the very idea of redemption and atonement. No true union is

<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Arians*, pp. 9-12, 18-24.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. *Orat.* ii. 23, iii. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Ath. *Orat.* ii. 22, seems to be arguing from an Arian statement when he says: οὐ δυνατόν τοῖς γενητοῖς οὐτε βλέπειν οὐτε γινώσκειν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβαίνει πάντα ἢ τε ὀψις καὶ ἢ περὶ τούτου γινώσις, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>4</sup> *Thalia*, ap. Ath. *Orat.* i. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. I. vol. ii. p. 240.

possible between God and man. "If," argues Athanasius, "the Son were merely a creature, man would have remained as he was before subject to death, not being united to God." If the Logos be a creature, and there is need of a mediator between Creator and creature, the latter being unable to endure the untempered touch of God (*τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκράτου χειρὸς*), the Logos Himself will need a mediator, and that mediator a second, and so on *εἰς ἄπειρον*.<sup>1</sup> In a word, on the Arian theory mediation is impossible. Man is capable at best of an ethical sonship, not of receiving a communication of the Divine life. He cannot be a *partaker of the Divine nature*;<sup>2</sup> he must be content with an independent endeavour to follow the example of Christ. Thus "the Arians had made their problem impossible by neglecting its spiritual conditions." The Arian Christ is a witness "not to the love of God, but to a gulf beyond the power of almighty love to close. . . . Revelation (on this theory) is a mockery, atonement an idle phrase, and therefore Christ is dead in vain."<sup>3</sup> No mere creature can impart the principle of sanctification which alone can purify, or the life which alone can re-create the creature separated from its Creator by sin.

IV. We now come to the repudiation of Arianism by the Church. Arius found a certain measure of support in Egypt, but especially in Palestine and Syria, where his tenets fell in with the prevalent dread of Sabellianism. His chief supporter, however, was Eusebius of Nicomedia, who, partly from hostility to the bishop of Alexandria, partly from conviction, warmly espoused the cause of Arius. A synod held in Bithynia pronounced

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.* ii. 69 and 24-26. .

<sup>2</sup> 2 Pet. i. 4. On the Arian theory man is only capable, as Christ was, of a *μετοχή χάριτος*.

<sup>3</sup> Gwatkin, *Studies*, etc. p. 28.

in his favour, and Eusebius of Cæsarea exerted himself to bring about an understanding between Arius and his bishop.<sup>1</sup> When Constantine, by his victory over Licinius, became master of the empire (323), he found it necessary to deal with the dispute, which had already embroiled all the eastern coast provinces. He could not overlook the *political danger* of a disturbance in Egypt; and accordingly he wrote to both Alexander and Arius, urging them in the interests of peace to give up so "insignificant" and scandalous a dispute. The letter was conveyed to Alexandria by a Western prelate, Hosius of Cordova, who was perhaps deemed likely to be an impartial mediator in the dispute. His efforts were unavailing, and it is possible that he agreed with Alexander to induce Constantine to summon a general council.<sup>2</sup> The council accordingly met at Nicæa in June 325.

In the catholic defence of the faith three leading principles may be noticed—principles which to some extent placed the Church teachers at a disadvantage in the conflict with their restless and unscrupulous opponents.

1. *Reserve in imparting doctrine (disciplina arcani)*: partly dictated by the fact that as yet there was no authoritative and generally accepted symbol of faith, partly by instinctive reverence for revealed truth. In the early Church instruction was oral, the reception of it was a privilege, and the effect of this reserve was the growth of a spirit of profound reverence for Christian mysteries. No attempt was made to popularise doctrine. The knowledge of the faith was a special privilege

<sup>1</sup> See Gwatkin, c. 2; Newman, *Arians*, c. 3; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 186-190.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack thinks Hosius played an influential part in this crisis (*Dogmengesch.* ii. 190).

reserved for the baptized. The *traditio symboli* was an important element in the Western rite of baptism; and the historian Sozomen even excuses himself for omitting to insert the Nicene symbol in his history: "It is not improbable," he says, "that this book may fall into the hands of some who are uninitiated."<sup>1</sup> The mysteries and secret religious associations of heathenism probably exercised a considerable influence on the usage of the Church, but it was the work of Christianity to "rectify, combine, and complete the inventions of uninstructed nature." Whatever may have been its origin, the *disciplina arcani* fulfilled a very necessary function in the practical system of the Church.

2. *A conviction that human language was unequal to the task of perfectly expressing Divine truth.* The tendency of Church teachers was invariably to discourage speculation on the great mysteries of the faith. The Fathers use images, not arguments. They acknowledge the poverty and inadequacy of human thought and language.<sup>2</sup> Especially in regard to the subject of the Divine generation the Fathers urge the need of caution; they confess ignorance; they submit to the necessary limitations of human intellect; they accept the revealed fact, without inquiry into its mode.<sup>3</sup> In this reserve Athanasius is conspicuous. Thus, in his *Orations* (ii. 36) he protests earnestly against asking the question "How" in regard to Divine relations, or inquiring into "the mode of the Divine generation." In another typical

<sup>1</sup> See Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, x. p. 293 note; cp. Newman, *Arians*, chap. ii. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Orig. *de Princ.* i. 2. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See several quotations in Newman, *Arians*, p. 160; cp. Greg. Naz. *Orat. Theol.* xxix. 8; Hil. *de Trin.* ii. 2: "Cogimur sermonis nostri humilitatem ad ea quæ incnarrabilia sunt extendere," etc. Cp. c. 9, "Nescio, non requiro," etc. Chrys. *hom. ad Phil.* 228 f., speaks in a similar strain of the mystery of the Virgin-birth.

passage (ii. 32) he asks, "When did man ever see light apart from its radiance? or who ventures to say that the express image is different from the substance? or how is it not sheer madness to entertain the thought that God was ever wordless or wisdomless? For such illustrations and such images has Scripture set before us, in order that, considering the incapacity of human nature to comprehend God, we might be able even from these to form some idea, so far as it is attainable, however inadequately and dimly."<sup>1</sup>

Gregory of Nyssa, it may be added, uses similar language in regard to the mystery of the union of two natures of one Divine Person.<sup>2</sup>

3. *The Church gathers in council in order to confront the modern doctrines of Arius with the common "tradition,"* or consensus of the catholic world. The same method had been informally adopted by such writers as Irenæus and Tertullian. In the fourth century it takes a new shape in conciliar action. And we should notice that the "tradition" finally comes to light in the Council of Nicæa, and is embodied in a fixed and authoritative form. "As regards the faith, the Fathers [at Nicæa] wrote not, *It seemed good*; but, *Thus believes the Catholic Church*; and thereupon they confessed what was the ground of their faith, in order to show that their own sentiments were not novel but apostolical, and that what they wrote down was no invention of theirs, but is the same [doctrine] as was taught by the apostles."<sup>3</sup>

#### V. *The Council of Nicæa.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat. mag.* iii.; Aug. *de Trin.* vi. i. See Note A, *Images of the γέννησις*, p. 673.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. cat.* x., xi.

<sup>3</sup> Ath. *de Syn.* v. [*Ath. Treatises*, i. 68].

<sup>4</sup> The number of bishops attending is variously stated 250, 270, 300, or 318. Only a few Western bishops were present; the Roman bishop sent two priests as deputies. The president is not known; it may well have been Hosius. See Harnack, *Dogm.* ii. 222 ff. Appendix, Note B.

From the different creeds of the various churches it was necessary to select some symbol as a standard. The party of Arius made the tactical mistake of producing an uncompromising Arian creed, which was naturally rejected. Accordingly, Eusebius of Caesarea presented the creed of his Church. He was the most learned representative of that large conservative body in the Council which adhered to the theology of Origen, and deprecated any attempt to define the doctrine of the Trinity more precisely, as an innovation.<sup>1</sup> The creed of Eusebius was short and comparatively simple, but it was evasive on the real point at issue.<sup>2</sup> There was nothing contained in it which Arius might not have accepted in his own sense. Accordingly, though the Caesarean creed was acceptable to the conservative majority of the Council, it did not satisfy Alexander and his friends, who could be content with nothing short of an explicit condemnation of Arianism. Thus, while adopting the creed presented by Eusebius, they insisted on changes in detail which would expressly exclude the heretical opinion. The Emperor himself, prompted apparently by Hosius, suggested the single phrase *ὁμοούσιος*, but other clauses and expressions needed alteration or expansion. To the final form of the symbol the representatives of Antioch and Jerusalem probably contributed

<sup>1</sup> As to Eusebius' own views, see Dorner, i. ii. 217 ff.; Harnack, ii. 18 note; Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. s. v. "Eusebius"; Gwatkin, *Studies*, p. 38 f. He agreed with Arius in his Platonistic conception of God, but did not go so far as to call the Logos a creature. He was rather a secondary God, begotten at the Father's will (*βουληθεὶς ὁ θεὸς γέγονεν υἱὸς πατρός*). He insisted on the *logical* priority of the Father as *cause*, rather than on the *temporal* priority maintained by Arius.

<sup>2</sup> The creed is given in Harnack, ii. 224 note. The most important words are: *καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα, κ.τ.λ.*

something, as well as the Alexandrians. The most important amendment was the substitution of "Son" for "Logos" in the second article,<sup>1</sup> and the more exact definition of *γεννημένον* in the words *γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τούτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς*; and below, *θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί*. In this last phrase the two ideas which Arianism studiously confused, *generation* and *creation*, were carefully contrasted.<sup>1</sup> The ambiguous *σαρκωθέντα* was explained by the addition of *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*, and, finally, anathemas were added, which expressly prohibited an Arian interpretation of the symbol.

The creed was not adopted without prolonged debate, and strenuous opposition to the phrases *ὁμοούσιος*<sup>2</sup> and *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*. But the pacific explanations of the Emperor ultimately overcame the reluctance of the conservative body in the Council. Only two bishops refused to sign the creed.<sup>3</sup> Eusebius of Cæsarea, however, felt impelled to write an apologetic letter to his Church, explaining the motives of his action, and the sense in which he accepted the decision of the Council.<sup>4</sup> Arius was condemned and banished; his writings were ordered to be burned, and his followers were branded with the name "Porphyrians," a term which practically meant "enemies of Christ."

#### VI. *The word ὁμοούσιος.*

We know so little of the actual proceedings of the Council that we cannot explain with certainty how the word *ὁμοούσιος* again came to the front. It does not

<sup>1</sup> Gwatkin, p. 41. See the two creeds side by side in Heurtley, *de Fide et Symb.* pp. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicæa signed, but their signature did not save them from subsequent banishment.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Treatises*, i. 55-59; Harnack, ii. 226-229.

occur in the letter of Alexander, and is very sparingly employed by Athanasius,<sup>1</sup> who was more concerned with the fact connoted by the term than the term itself; and it seems improbable that any Eastern prelate would have suggested the use of an expression which had been rejected at Antioch. The conjecture that it was reintroduced by Hosius seems, on the whole, the most likely to be correct.<sup>2</sup> Since the issue of the dispute between the two Dionysii, the Western Church would naturally be likely to cherish a term which seemed to guard the Divine Monarchia. This suggestion also accounts for the fact that Constantine himself urged, and defended, the insertion of the term in the creed.<sup>3</sup>

There were, of course, very obvious objections to the word. Not only had it been set aside at Antioch (269) owing to the sophistic objections urged by Paul of Samosata. It appeared inadmissible chiefly for the reason that it was not found in Scripture;<sup>4</sup> and the use of non-scriptural terms would be a serious, though not quite unexampled, innovation. Further, the word had a Sabellian connotation. The *οὐσία* of God being equivalent to His personality, that which is "consubstantial" must, it was urged, be included within His substance, just as a man's reason (*λόγος*) is part of himself. To others, *ὁμοούσιος* might seem to have a materialistic sense. Thus Arius in his letter to Alex-

<sup>1</sup> In the first three orations *c. Ar.* he only uses it once (i. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, ii. 227 note, who thinks Hosius' Christology was based on that of Tertullian (*adv. Prax.*) and Novatian.

<sup>3</sup> "He interpreted it," says Eusebius, "as not used in the sense of corporeal affections, nor as if the Son derived his subsistence from the Father, *κατὰ διαίρεσιν* or *κατὰ ἀποκομήν*; for that the immaterial and intellectual and incorporeal nature could not be subject to any corporeal affection," etc. (ap. Ath. *de Decret. Nic.* See Ath. *Treatises*, i. p. 56.)

<sup>4</sup> Ath. *de Syn.* xxviii.

ander<sup>1</sup> denies the idea, which he ascribes to Manichæus, that the Divine offspring is “a consubstantial portion” (μέρος ὁμοούσιον) of the Father.

So far as we can ascertain, the word was defended on three main grounds:—

1. *Necessity*: there was no other term available which would equally serve to exclude the Arian view, or guard the sense of Scripture against Arian evasions. The essential doctrine implied in the word was the truth that the Son is not a created being. To secure this point ἐκ θεοῦ was insufficient, for Arius might point to S. Paul's phrase ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα (1 Cor. viii. 6), and include the Son among τὰ πάντα. Again, “exact image” (ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν) would be inadequate, *likeness* to God being possible in a relative or moral sense for creatures. In order therefore to guard the traditional sense of Scripture, the term ὁμοούσιος seemed to be indispensable, but there was no desire to encumber the faith of the Church with metaphysical terminology. The catholics were reluctantly “compelled to concentrate<sup>2</sup> the sense of Scripture . . . in order to defeat the perversity of the heretics, and to show that the Word was other than created things.”

2. *The limiting force of the context*, especially the anathemas appended to the creed. The term, ὁμοούσιον would be guarded from Sabellianising perversion by the words which defined it, μονογενῆ, τούτεστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς. On the other hand, a materialistic interpretation was excluded *à priori* by the acknowledged conception of God as Spirit, and as essentially One.

<sup>1</sup> ap. Ath. *de Syn.* xvi. This objection would be “a serious difficulty in the West, where *οὐσία* was translated by the materialising word *substantia*.” Gwatkin, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *de Decret.* xx.: ἠναγκάσθησαν . . . συναγαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, κ. τ. λ.

3. As to the rejection of *ὁμοούσιος* at Antioch, it was urged that the term had only been discarded in so far as it was capable of fallacious misuse. Athanasius carefully explains the exact import of the step taken at Antioch,<sup>1</sup> and maintains that great teachers such as Origen, Theognostus, and Dionysius had used the word, or some exact equivalent, in a catholic sense, *i.e.* with the intention of affirming that the Son of God is truly a Son, and therefore Divine and increate. Even Eusebius in his letter to the church of Cæsarea admits that "among the ancients, some learned and illustrious bishops and writers have used the term."<sup>2</sup> It was contended that at Antioch and at Nicæa, the word was not used *in eadem materia*. Paul may have employed the word in one sense, but Arius certainly wished to reject it in another.

Thus the Nicene Council resulted in the admission of a symbol which, as Athanasius declares, vindicated the cause of truth and of religious devotion to Christ.<sup>3</sup> But the victory of the Alexandrine defenders of the faith was too sudden and complete to be lasting. It was "a revolution which a minority had forced through by sheer strength of clearer Christian thought";<sup>4</sup> and the history of the next half-century is one of disastrous reaction in the East, and slow consolidation of conservative feeling in the West. In modern times the Nicene theology has been severely criticised, as too metaphysical to be any adequate expression of the Church's faith. It represents, it has been said, the triumph of metaphysics over ethics, "scholastic terms over moral realities."<sup>5</sup> But such criti-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 289.      <sup>2</sup> *Ath. Treatises*, i. p. 58, ii. *s.v.* *ὁμοούσιος*.

<sup>3</sup> *de Syn.* liv.: ἐπιδιοῦντες μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν.

<sup>4</sup> Gwatkin, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> See Fairbairn. *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 91. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, viii., ix.

cism seems to overlook two facts: first, the actual prominence carefully assigned in the creed to the idea of sonship (*υἰός* being brought to the front, and *λόγος* withdrawn); secondly, the necessary distinction between the intellectual self-expression of faith, and its practical moral activity. These two aspects of faith are not antagonistic or mutually exclusive. The example of Athanasius shows that the same mind can at once clearly grasp the ethical and spiritual significance of the central Christian fact,—the Divine redemption of man in Christ,—and yet insist on the necessity of securing it from corruption or evanescence amid the pressure of hostile thought, by enshrining it in an adequate symbol. Further, no contrast can fairly be drawn in this connection between the apostles and their successors. "The Church needed a long education," says Bishop Lightfoot, "before she was fitted to be the expositor of the true apostolic doctrine. A conflict of more than two centuries with Gnostics, Ebionites, Sabellians, Arians supplied the necessary discipline. The true successors of the apostles in this respect are not the Fathers of the second century, but the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries. In the expositors of the Nicene age we find, indeed, technical terms and systematic definitions; but . . . the main idea of Christ's person, with which he (S. Paul) confronts Gnostic Judaism is essentially the same as that which the Fathers of these later centuries opposed to the Sabellianism and the Arianism of their own age."<sup>1</sup>

We have therefore no reason to entirely regret the vast influence exercised by Hellenic thought upon Christian theology. Elements providentially prepared, when once assimilated by the Church, minister to her work and growth, and cannot be lost. The Nicene theology does not mark a stage at which the development of Christian

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. to the Colossians* (ed. 7), p. 125. See Note C in the Appendix.

thought was arrested; it has a permanent function to fulfil in the presentation and defence of Christianity; it has finality only as the fact which it enshrines and guards has finality. Any certainly true fact is in a sense final; but the "finality," or, in other words, the objective certainty of a fact, is a condition of its fruitfulness and power.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The reader should by all means consult the monograph by Mr. Bethune-Baker, on *The Meaning of Homoousios in the Constantinopolitan Creed* (*Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. No. 1).

## PART V

## THE DEFENCE OF THE NICENE SYMBOL

### § I. The Post-Nicene period, 325-381.

Reaction after the Council.

Different stages of the struggle.

- (1) Eusebian reaction, 325-344; the different parties in the Church :—

Eusebians and Catholics.

Marcellus and Photinus.

The Christology of the various Eusebian Creeds of Antioch and Sirmium.

The Council of Sardica, 343-344.

- (2) From the Council of Sardica to the death of Constantius (344-361).

The Eusebians, semi-Arians, and Arians: different symbols employed.

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- (3) To the Council of Constantinople, 381.

The Council of Alexandria, 362; questions of phraseology.

The Council of 381.

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### § II Theology of Athanasius.

The treatises *contra Gentes* and *de Incarnatione*.

Anti-Arian polemic.

### § III. Final formulation of the Nicene theology: the Cappadocian writers, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, and Gregory Nazianzen.

# THE INCARNATION

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## § I. THE POST-NICENE PERIOD, 325-381

THE period intervening between the Council of Nicæa and that of Constantinople was one of doctrinal reaction, and consequent confusion. The minute study of historical details is unnecessary for our present purpose. Our task will be the more simple one of reviewing in general outline the different currents of thought and opinion which were set in motion by the momentous decision of Nicæa.

That decision, it may at once be stated, had been arrived at with a rapidity which took a large portion of the Church by surprise. The fact is that the celebrated watchword of catholic belief, the *Homoousion*, had been very reluctantly accepted by many members of the Council, to whom the use of an unscriptural term appeared to be at best an unwelcome necessity. The term not merely excited the hostility of declared Arians, who at this time formed a comparatively insignificant group, but also offended the conservative instincts of theologians trained in the school of Origen, such as Eusebius of Cæsarea. These men still clung to the subordinatianist teaching of their master, and were deeply concerned for the interests of his theological system. The defenders of the Nicene formula thus

found various reactionary forces ranged against them: the conservative theologians who deprecated any employment of non-scriptural terms; prelates of strong personal ambition like Eusebius of Nicomedia; declared Arians; besides the great body of indifferentist or unlearned bishops, who had been induced to accept the *Homoousion*, but still dreaded the spectre of Sabellianism. To these must be added the Meletian schismatics of Egypt, with whom the reactionary party eagerly made common cause, and the multitude of heathens and Jews who instinctively favoured the Arian, *i.e.* the semi-pagan conception of God.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the Emperor Constantine himself after a short interval threw the weight of his influence into the anti-Nicene scale, perhaps suspecting that the symbol adopted by the Council did not represent the general sense of Eastern theologians, and being anxious accordingly to interpret the *Homoousion* in such a way as covertly to reintroduce, or at least make room for, the vague ideas of Christ's person which the symbol had displaced. That a liberal interpretation of the Nicene formula was admissible is made clear by the letter to the Church of Cæsarea in which Eusebius defends his subscription. He states that he had accepted the *Homoousion* in a qualified sense as declaring merely the truth that the Son was derived from the Father (*ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν υἱόν*). The term, he says, implies that the Son of God "bears no resemblance to the creatures which have been made, but is in every way assimilated to the Father alone who begat Him,<sup>2</sup> and is not of any other subsistence or substance, but from the Father." Finally, he explains the rejection of the Arian tenet *πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν* as intended merely to

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* Euseb. *ap.* Ath. *de decr. Nic.*: μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφωμοιωσθαι.

assert the doctrine of the Son's pre-existence before the Incarnation.

Thus the real controversy as to the Deity of the Son can only be said to have begun with the Nicene Council. For nearly sixty years the wearisome strife was prolonged; a strife ennobled indeed by instances of steadfast faith and endurance, but abounding also in miserable lapses and scandals, and specially disgraced by the relentless use of persecution. One figure alone can be said to stand out in heroic proportions,—that of the great Athanasius, who on succeeding to the episcopal throne of Alexandria (326) rose at once to the position of leadership, with the significant result that the anti-Nicene movement became during a considerable period mainly a personal crusade against Athanasius.

The actual struggle seems to fall naturally into three main divisions or stages:—(1) the period from 325 to the Council of Sardica, 343; (2) from 344 to the death of Constantius, 361; (3) from 361 to the Council of Constantinople, 381.

I. The first stage of the conflict may be described briefly as a period of Eusebian reaction and ascendancy: By dexterous use of their influence at Constantine's court, the Arianising party succeeded in accomplishing to a large extent the objects they had in view, which were mainly two: the removal of the leading catholic prelates, especially their most formidable and powerful opponent, Athanasius, and the withdrawal of the *Homoousion*.<sup>1</sup> Under the astute guidance of the unscrupulous Eusebius of Nicomedia they managed, partly by violence, but mainly by intrigue, to secure for themselves the leading

<sup>1</sup> Ath. *de Synod.* xxxii.: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν συνόδων, καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν γραφομένων δείκνυσι τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς συνεληθόντας μαχομένους μὲν πρὸς τὴν ὁμοκαὶά σὺνοδον, ἀσθενοῦντας δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

sees of the East; and the deposition of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, in 331, was followed after a prolonged struggle by the condemnation of Athanasius at the Council of Tyre (335), and his banishment to Trêves (336). In the same year (336) Arius suddenly died on the very eve of his enforced readmission to communion, and a few months later (May 337) Constantine himself passed from the scene, with the result that Eusebius of Nicomedia became the acknowledged leader of the anti-Nicene party. His promotion to the see of Constantinople (339), and that of Acacius to Cæsarea (340), were events which displayed the bias of the new emperor, Constantius.

We thus find two parties confronting each other during this first period. (1) The Catholics, or Nicenes, under the leadership of Athanasius, were intent on guarding the symbol of the Council. The main stronghold of the catholic cause was in the West, one effect of Athanasius' banishment having been the formation of close ties between himself and some of the Western bishops, notably Julius of Rome. Indeed, Rome became from this time forward the stronghold of orthodoxy—a point which proved to be of special importance when the attacks on Athanasius were renewed (338–340). (2) The “Eusebians,” or “Acacians,” while professing to condemn the developed tenets of Arius, clung tenaciously to the subordinatianist theology which they had inherited from Origen, and aimed at the total exclusion from the creed of non-scriptural terms. The party included men of different types, some of them more in earnest than others, but those who came to the front were mere political intriguers, contending for religion without possessing it,—men like Eusebius himself, Acacius “the chameleon,” George of Laodicea, Leontius of Antioch, and at a later time Eudoxius, and the Western bishops

Valens and Ursacius. The great number and variety of the creeds which they put forth, between 340 and 361, testifies to their consciousness of the fact that they must confront the catholic *Homoousion* with something more substantial than mere negations, while they must satisfy the orthodoxy of the West by a decided condemnation of Arianism. This is the dogmatic importance of the creeds of Antioch and Sirmium, of which Athanasius gives an account in his work *de Synodis*. Before examining these, however, it is necessary to return to the Nicene party in order to describe briefly some circumstances which added impetus to the reactionary movement.

We have noticed that one consideration which caused the *Homoousion* to be accepted with great reluctance was the fact that it had been condemned at Antioch (269), as a phrase capable of Sabellian connotation. The fear of Sabellianism was very prevalent in the East, and unfortunately it was not long before the Eusebians could point triumphantly to the appearance of the very doctrinal tendencies which they had (to some extent, no doubt, sincerely) deprecated.

*Marcellus*, bishop of Ancyra, was a friend of Athanasius, and a zealous supporter of the Nicene symbol. In controversy, however, with the Arian Asterius, he unguardedly pressed the doctrine of the *Homoousion* in a Sabellian direction. His aim probably was to be true to the monotheistic language of Scripture, and to expose the tendency to polytheism which he, like Athanasius, discerned in the Arian belief. Marcellus was led "in the way of argument," we are told, to describe the Logos as an impersonal attribute of the Godhead, originally quiescent or potential, but in due time forthcoming and operative as *ἐνέργεια δραστική*. He held that for the purposes of creation, redemption, and sanctification, the

Divine Monad, without any loss of its essential unity, "expanded itself" into a triad (*πλατύνεται εἰς τριάδα*); but that ultimately, when the Logos and the Spirit should have fulfilled their respective functions, it would again "contract itself" (*συστέλλεται τριάς*). Marcellus also rejected the catholic doctrine of the Divine generation; Scripture, he maintained, nowhere mentions any "generation" of the Logos. He would accordingly confine the expressions, *Son, Image, Firstborn*, to the *incarnate* Christ, thus practically ignoring or denying the pre-existent personality of the Word, who, he held, was manifested in personal distinctness from the Father only at the Incarnation. In the historic Christ the Logos became personal, became the "Son of God."<sup>1</sup> In fact, according to Marcellus, the Incarnation was only a temporary economy; the Logos, having completed His redemptive work, laid aside the manhood which He had assumed, surrendered the kingdom to the Father, and was again merged in the Deity, becoming what He was before the Incarnation.<sup>2</sup> Marcellus indeed appears to have displayed the same Pantheistic tendency which had marked the system of Sabellius. He attempts, but fails in the attempt, to co-ordinate the idea of a coeternal Logos with that of filiation; and his solution of the problem involved abandonment of that very mystery of the eternal Sonship, the discernment and formulation of which had been the result of the doctrinal struggles of the third century.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 22, τὸν Λόγον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εἶναι Λόγον ἀπλῶς, ὅτε δὲ ἐνηνθρώπησε, τότε ὀνομάσθαι υἱόν.

<sup>2</sup> Basil, *Ep.* lxi. 2 (writing to Athanasius), mentions this as the gist of M.'s heresy, ὅς Λόγον μὲν εἰρήσθαι τὸν μονογενῆ δίδωσι, κατὰ χρείαν καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ προελθόντα, πάλιν δὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξῆλθεν ἐπαναστρέψαντα οὔτε πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου εἶναι οὔτε μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ὑφεισθάναι. What became of the actual human body of Christ Marcellus does not appear to explain.

<sup>3</sup> On Marcellus, see *Ath. Apol. c. Arian.* xxxii., xlvi.; *Orat. c. Arian.*

*Photinus*, bishop of Sirmium, the pupil of Marcellus, developed his master's teaching in an Ebionitic direction. In his view, Christ was a mere man supernaturally born of a virgin, and exalted to Divine dignity. The Logos indwelling Christ was an impersonal attribute of God, whom Photinus described as *Λογοπάτωρ*, i.e. both Father and Logos. This type of error approximated to the views of Paul the Samosatene, while the system of Marcellus was akin to Sabellianism.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious what a heavy discouragement the lapse of Marcellus and Photinus must have been to the catholic cause. The Eusebians were not slow to use their advantage, and in more than one of the Antiochene and Sirmian creeds they expressly condemned the errors of both teachers. Athanasius seems to have dealt very tenderly with Marcellus, and was for a long while inclined to defend him; at Rome his somewhat evasive confession of faith was apparently accepted as orthodox by Julius in a Synod held in 341;<sup>2</sup> but Athanasius eventually felt himself bound to abandon the defence of one whose teaching had been so dangerously developed by Photinus.<sup>3</sup>

Turning now to the various creeds put forth by the Eusebians, the dates of which range over the period between 341 (Council of the "Dedication" at Antioch) and 359, when the "dated" creed (third Sirmian) was forced upon the Western bishops assembled at Ariminum, we may notice some features which indicate the general position of the opponents of the Nicene symbol.

iv. ; Epiph. *Hær.* lxxii. Also Harnack, *Dogm.* ii. p. 235 note ; Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. 273-283 ; Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 75-89 ; Zahn, *Marcellus von Ancyra*, cited by Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Stud. der Dogmengeschichte*, § 33.

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. note 53. Cp. Epiph. *Hær.* lxxi.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter of Julius in Ath. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellus was deposed by a (Eusebian) Synod at Constantinople in 336 ; Photinus at Sirmium in 351.

(α) The general type of Christology exhibited by these documents is Origenistic. They contain strong assertions of the favourite Arian thesis that there can be only one "unoriginate" (ἐν τὸ ἀγέννητον), and that consequently the Son is subordinate as being γέννητος, "having as His origin (ἀρχήν) the Father who generated Him, for the Head of Christ is God."<sup>1</sup> The denial that the Son was begotten by an act of the Father's will (θελήσει or βουλήσει) is condemned: "those who irreverently say that the Son was generated not by choice or will, thus encompassing God with a necessity which excludes choice and purpose, so that He begat the Son unwillingly, we account as most impious and alien to the Church."<sup>2</sup> But in general there is an evident anxiety on the part of the framers of the creeds to approach as closely as possible to the Athanasian standpoint: a marked deference to the statements of Scripture, and a characteristic tendency to heap up terms expressive of the Son's dignity by way of compensation for the omission of the *Homousion*. Thus the second Antiochene symbol styles the Son, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, ὅλον ἐξ ὅλου, μόνον ἐκ μόνου, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως, κύριον ἀπὸ κυρίου, λόγον ζῶντα, σοφίαν ζῶσαν, φῶς ἀληθινόν, ὄδον, ἀλήθειαν, ἀνάστασιν, ποιμένα, θύραν, ἀτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοιώτον τῆς θεότητος, οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλήs καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δοξης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, κ.τ.λ.<sup>3</sup> Again, in the third creed of Antioch,<sup>4</sup> the Son is declared to be "perfect God of perfect God, begotten of the Father before the worlds." But throughout the symbols there

<sup>1</sup> The "Macrostich" in Ath. *de Synod.* xxvi. 3; so the "First Sirmian" [351], xviii.: οὐ γὰρ συντάσσομεν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀλλ' ὑποτεταγμένον τῷ πατρὶ.

<sup>2</sup> "Macrostich," *ubi sup.* 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ath. *de Synod.* xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxiv.

is a steady avoidance of the one crucial test of orthodox catholic belief.

(b) It is to be further observed that in some of these creeds there is an express condemnation of Arian statements, intended doubtless to conciliate the Catholics; but a comparison of the anathemas of the "Macrostich" for example, with those affixed to the creed of Nicæa, illustrates the tendency of the Eusebians to shelter themselves behind evasive phraseology. In the "Macrostich," it is declared "unsafe" to assert that the Son is *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, or *ἐξ ἑτέρας τινος ὑποστάσεως παρὰ τὸν πατέρα*, or that "there was a time when He was not"; but the only reason alleged is that these phrases are *not found in Scripture*,—an assertion which leaves open the question of their truth or falsity. It is significant also that the epithet *κτιστόν* which Arius applied to the Son, and which was anathematised by the Nicene Fathers, is omitted from the list of expressions condemned by the "Macrostich," nor is there any repudiation of the Arian assertion *οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι*.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Again, several of the creeds contain a very decided condemnation of the teaching of Marcellus, which is not improbably aimed at Athanasius. Thus it is declared that Christ "abides as King and God for evermore"; that "His kingdom continues indissoluble to endless ages";<sup>2</sup> while in the "Macrostich" the disciples of Marcellus and "Scotinus" (Photinus) are expressly anathematised for rejecting Christ's pre-existence, deity, and unending kingdom, "upon pretence of supporting the *Monarchia*."<sup>3</sup> It is clear that while the Nicene symbol was avoided as unscriptural, and Sabellian in tendency, the aberration of Marcellus and his adherents was welcomed by the Eusebians as a kind of object-

<sup>1</sup> But see the close of the second Antiochene symbol: *de Synod.* xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *de Synod.* xxii., xxv., xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxvi. 6.

Lesson, effectively illustrating the consequences of the Athanasian position.<sup>1</sup>

Enough has been said to give a fair idea of the attitude assumed by the Eusebians. The mere number and variety of the symbols produced by them sufficiently proves the weak and undecided character of their belief, and its inability to offer serious resistance to the pressure of hostile dialectic. Yet the position of this party seemed to be justifiable so long as the Nicenes could plausibly be represented as inclining to Sabellianism. In the next stage of the struggle the anti-Nicene coalition was to some extent dissolved; the more religious-minded members of the party, after holding for a long while to the Origenist Christology, came to the point of declaring at the Synod of Ancyra (358) that the Son was not a creature, and that He was begotten of the Father's substance (*ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*). When once they were convinced that the Nicene symbol was not intended to shelter Sabellianism, they gradually drew nearer to the Catholics, and finally coalesced with them. The doctrine of such men as Basil of Ancyra, or Cyril of Jerusalem, was practically, if not verbally, that of Nicæa.

The importance of the proceedings at the Council of Sardica (343-344) is rather historical than dogmatic. The withdrawal of the Eusebians to Philippopolis served to exhibit very clearly the cleavage of opinion between East and West. The seceding party, besides deposing various Western prelates and reaffirming the former sentences against Athanasius, finally adopted a creed which was practically identical with the fourth Antiochene symbol.<sup>2</sup> The Westerns, under Hosius, contented them-

<sup>1</sup> See a list of the most important creeds in Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 91 [vol. i. p. 358].

<sup>2</sup> See Hilar. *de Synod.* xxxiv.; op. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 289.

selves with reaffirming the symbol of Nicæa,<sup>1</sup> and went so far as to acquit Marcellus of the charges brought against him by the Eusebians.

II. After 344 there was a rapid development of the situation, and it was not long before the adherents of the Nicene symbol found that they had to reckon with three divergent types of belief.

1. The Eusebians, after prolonged efforts to find a satisfactory formula, eventually adopted as their watchword the phrase ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα.<sup>2</sup> Their aim was to exclude any non-scriptural phrase, and accordingly they were only consistent in dropping any reference to the Divine substance (οὐσία). The vagueness of the phrase ὅμοιον perfectly suited the purposes of the irreligious and indifferent members of the party. The expression seems to appear publicly for the first time in the so-called "dated" creed, or third Sirmian (359), in which the Son is confessed to be ὅμοιος τῷ γεννήσαντι αὐτὸν πατρὶ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς.<sup>3</sup> An explanation is appended as follows:—"Whereas the term 'substance' (οὐσία) has been adopted by the Fathers in simplicity, and gives offence as unintelligible to the people, and not contained in the Scriptures, it has seemed good that it be removed, and that it be never in any case applied to God again, because the Divine Scriptures nowhere mention the οὐσία of Father and Son. But we say that the Son is like the Father in all things (ὅμοιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα), as all the Holy Scriptures declare and teach."

<sup>1</sup> Ath. *tom. ad Antioch.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> In the second Sirmian creed ("the blasphemy": see Ath. *de Synod.* xxviii.), the Arian leaders, Valens, Ursacius, and others, make a new departure. They represent the *mystery* of the Divine generation as an excuse for ignoring the *fact*. The use of οὐσία is prohibited, on the ground that the Father alone knows how He begat the Son. This, as Gwatkin remarks, was a new policy (*Studies of Arianism*, p. 157).

<sup>3</sup> See Athan. *de Synod.* viii.; cp. xxx.

This document was probably drafted by the semi-Arian prelate, Mark of Arethusa,<sup>1</sup> and is evidently the result of a compromise, the more strict symbol of the semi-Arians (*ὁμοιούσιον*) being omitted. Virtually it expresses the views of the Acacian or neo-Eusebian party, and the *ὅμοιον* is the *positive* symbol which at the close of this period, by aid of intrigue and persecution, ultimately triumphed. For it was a recension of this "dated" creed that was eventually forced on the Western bishops at Ariminum (359), a document which indeed was of an even lower type than the original, inasmuch as the bare phrase *ὅμοιον* was craftily substituted for *ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα*, while the use not only of *οὐσία* but also of *ὑπόστασις* in relation to the Divine Persons was proscribed.<sup>2</sup> Not only was the West compelled to accept this document; it was also adopted a few months later by an Acacian Council at Constantinople (360). Thus in 360 "the whole world groaned and marvelled to find itself Arian."<sup>3</sup>

The real objection to the phrase *ὅμοιον* is not its incorrectness, but its obviously evasive character. By semi-Arians like Basil of Ancyra, it could be employed in a virtually catholic sense, as including the idea of likeness "in will, in subsistence, in existence, in being," likeness such as a son bears to a father.<sup>4</sup> So Cyril of Jerusalem speaks freely of the Son as *ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα, ἐν πᾶσιν ὅμοιος*, and seems to regard this confession as

<sup>1</sup> A clear account of the circumstances is given by Dr. Bright, *Historical Writings of S. Athanasius*, Introd. p. lxxxii. ff.

<sup>2</sup> See the creed in Ath. *de Synod.* xxx., which should be compared with the "dated" creed in c. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Jerom. *adv. Lucif.* vii. The most prominent Eusebian of this period was the unscrupulous Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia.

<sup>4</sup> See Basil's declaration, ap. Epiph. *Hær.* lxxiii. 22, *κατὰ πάντα δε οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.*

the "royal road" of orthodox belief.<sup>1</sup> Nor does even Athanasius hesitate to repeatedly employ the expression.<sup>2</sup> But as used by Arianising theologians the *ὁμοιον* was ambiguous: it might connote mere likeness in will, or character, or operation, and indeed, as we shall presently see, it was liable to be employed as the logical premiss from which was deduced the blasphemous formula *ἀνόμοιον*.

2. This period (344-361) also witnesses the rise of the so-called "semi-Arian," or as it might be more correctly called, the "semi-Nicene" school, consisting of those who in perfect sincerity and on religious and doctrinal grounds, objected to the *Homoousion* as Sabellian in tendency, and preferred to adhere to the Cæsarean creed presented at the Council by Eusebius. There were earnest and even devoted men among them, such as Mark of Arethusa, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the learned and blameless Basil of Ancyra. It should be added that Constantius himself—wavering, restless, despotic, and passionate as he was—more decidedly inclined to this party than to their *Homœan* or Acacian rivals.<sup>3</sup> These theologians were deeply imbued with the subordinatianist teaching of the pre-Nicene period, but they were desirous to side with Athanasius, and were more and more alarmed and repelled by the growing secularity and profanity of the Acacian party. Nor did they share in the strong aversion to non-scriptural phraseology which was supposed to be the chief objection to the symbol of Nicæa.

In 358 the views of this middle party took shape at the Synod of Ancyra held under the presidency of Basil.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Catech.* iv. 7; xi. 4; xi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See passages in Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, vol. ii. pp. 432 f.

<sup>3</sup> Newman, *Arians*, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> See Epiph. *Hær.* lxxiii. 2-11. Cp. Loofs, *op. cit.* § 34.

The synodal letter of this Council shows that pure Arianism at anyrate was not the creed of the East, for it definitely repudiates the strictly Arian tenets, *e.g.* the *ἀνόμοιον* and the creatureliness of the Logos. It insists that in essence the Son is like the Father (*ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*),<sup>1</sup> but at the same time the *Homoousion* is condemned.<sup>2</sup>

The proceedings of this Council are interesting for more than one reason. It was a clear gain that there should be some decisive protest against positive Arianism;<sup>3</sup> but the distinctive features of the Ancyrene statement are—(1) its insistence on our Lord's *Sonship* as implying *ὁμοιότης*. Our Lord bids us be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, "in order that . . . hearing the title *Son* we may conceive of the Son as *like* the Father whose Son He is." The revelation of the Divine Fatherhood is in fact a clue to the theological problem. "In the phrase *ἀγέννητος*," says Basil, "there is no indication of the *Father's* power." . . . "Even if we mention the name Father, we find suggested in the very title the notion of the Son. For a father is so called as being the father of a son."<sup>4</sup> (2) The scriptural defence of the *ὁμοιούσιον*. (3) The repudiation of the *ὁμοούσιον* as virtually equivalent to *παύτσούσιον*, used in a Sabellian sense.<sup>5</sup> Evidently the Synod was anxious to mediate between the Sabellian and Arian views of Christ's person. The texts quoted in support of the *ὁμοιούσιον* were such as S. John v. 19 (*ὁμοιῶς ποιεῖ*) and 26, Rom. viii. 3, Phil. ii. 7, and

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. *Hær.* lxxiii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 11.

<sup>3</sup> The Synod condemned the Arian manifesto of Sirmium ("second Sirmian," called the "blasphemy"). See Ath. *de Synod.* xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Epiph. lxxiii. §§ 8, 14, 19. Cp. very similar language in Basil of Cæsarea, *Ep.* xxxviii. 4; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxx. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Other points are noticed in a long note of Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. p. 249.

special stress was laid on the expression *Image of God* as implying likeness, but not identity of substance. In fact, with the declaration of *likeness* the semi-Arians were satisfied. Athanasius speaks of them with uniform respect and consideration. "Those," he says, "who accept everything else that was settled at Nicæa, and dispute only about the *Homoousion*, are not to be regarded as enemies; nor do we attack them as Arians, or as opponents of the Fathers; but we discuss the matter with them as brethren with brethren, who have the same meaning as ourselves, and differ only about the word. For when they acknowledge that the Son is ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως, and that He is not a creature or a product, but genuine and natural offspring (γνήσιον καὶ φύσει γέννημα), and that He is eternally with the Father as being His Word and Wisdom, they are not far from accepting even the *Homoousion*."<sup>1</sup> It would seem that the influence of *Hilary* did much towards gradually drawing over the semi-Arians to the catholic view. His treatise *de Synodis*, which was written apparently in 358, was designed to bring about an understanding between the Gallican Church and the semi-Arians. Hilary frankly recognises the difficulties which hindered the latter from accepting the *Homoousion*, but exhorts them earnestly no longer to repudiate a formula which alone could secure the doctrine which he and they prized—the true Sonship of our Lord. "*Homoision* intelligo ex Deo Deum, non dissimilis essentiæ, non divisum sed natum, et ex innascibilis Dei substantia congenitam in Filio, secundum similitudinem, unigenitam nativitatem. Quid fidem meam in *homoision* damnas, quam per *homoeisii* professionem non potes non probare?" Finally, he adds, "Date veniam, fratres, quam frequenter poposci.

<sup>1</sup> *de Synod.* xli.

Ariani non estis; cur negando *Homousion* censemini Ariani?"<sup>1</sup>

3. Meanwhile the doctrine of strict or logical Arianism was developed in the hands of Aëtius and Eunomius in a direction which Arius himself seems to have suggested.<sup>2</sup> Of these two leaders little needs to be said. Aëtius appears to have been in succession a vine-dresser, a goldsmith, and a medical practitioner. Both he and his pupil Eunomius had practised disputation, and both displayed the familiar Arian characteristics. But with some faculty of disputation, and skill in Aristotelian methods of dialectic, they combined a disdain of dissimulation which was comparatively creditable, and which soon brought upon them the resentment of Constantius. After 360 the *Anomæan* Arians ceased to be formidable; indeed it is evident that the formulation of their tenets produced a reaction, as is proved by their condemnation at Ancyra. The general line of their reasoning was as follows. Starting from the conception of God as *ὁ ἀγέννητος*, they argued that between the *ἀγέννητος* and *γέννητος* there could be no *essential* resemblance (*κατ' οὐσίαν*), but at most a *moral* resemblance.<sup>3</sup> As the Unbegotten, God is an absolutely simple being; an act of generation would involve a contradiction of His essence

<sup>1</sup> Hilar. *de Synod. seu de fide Orientalium*, lxxxviii. (written probably at the end of 358). By "congenitam in Filio . . . nativitatem," H. seems to mean, "a simultaneous, unique generation involving perfect likeness." This is an assertion apparently of the fact that the Son is *coeval* with the Father, *only-begotten*, and, as a consequence, the *exact image* of the Father's substance.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Thalia*, ap. Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 6, ὁ λόγος ἀλλότριος μὲν καὶ ἀνόμιος κατὰ πάντα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας καὶ ἰδιότητός ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>3</sup> Eunom. *Expos. fid.* 2, ὅμοιον τῷ γεννήσαντι μόνον κατ' ἐξάρετον ὁμοίωτα . . . οὐδὲ ὡς ἀγέννητον ἀγεννήτω. Cp. *Apol.* xiv., xxviii., ap. Fabricius, *Bibl. Græca*, vol. viii. c. 23. Epiph. *Hæc.* lxxvi. gives the *συνταγμάτιον* of Aëtius. Cp. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxix. 10, οὐ ταύτων, φησί, τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ τὸ γέννητον· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ ταύτων.

by introducing duality into the Godhead. The Unbegotten cannot possibly resemble in essence that which is begotten. The formulæ arrived at by this kind of reasoning were *ἑτερότης κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀνόμοιος καὶ κατὰ πάντα καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν*, etc. The Acacians did not venture openly to favour the *Anomæans*, and actually anathematised them at Seleucia in 359,<sup>1</sup> but as Newman points out, in its practical effect the *ἴμοιον* was really equivalent to the *ἀνόμοιον*, "mere similarity always implying difference."<sup>2</sup>

It is not necessary to enter at length into the historical relations between the different parties whose divergent beliefs we have been reviewing. It is enough to point out that the exclusion of other formulæ seemed to pave the way for the victory of the *ἴμοιον*.

The logical Arians fearlessly concluded that Christ was not God; the semi-Arians, who differed from the Arians not only in their more religious tone of mind, but also in their sense of the mystery of the Divine Being and relationships, could not satisfactorily clear themselves of the charge of ditheism;<sup>3</sup> the Emperor and the court party (Acacians) soon perceived that if peace was to be restored, it could only be by dropping the *Homoousion* and carrying a neutral formula, such as *ἴμοιον κατὰ πάντα ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ λέγουσιν*. It was a deadlock, and a colourless and indefinite symbol seemed to be the only mode of escape. Consequently the "third Sirmian" creed was drawn up as a provisional formula (May 359), but that which was eventually carried at the divided Council of Ariminum and Seleucia contained, as we have

<sup>1</sup> Ath. *de Sýnod.* xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Arians*, p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> The exposition of faith at Ancyra says of S. Paul's preaching at Corinth, *τῷ ἀσυλλογίστῳ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐμῶρανε τὴν σοφίαν τῶν συλλογίξεσθαι δυναμένων* (Epiph. lxxiii. 6). See Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, 2. 284; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 244.

noticed, a bare assertion of the *ὁμοιον*, Valens audaciously omitting the qualifying words *κατὰ πάντα*. This imperial creed, as it may fairly be called, was forced upon the Western bishops in exchange for the condemnation of pure Arianism.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the work of Nicæa was undone. In 360 in a Council held at Constantinople the Acacians completed their triumph. Probably in deference to the suspicions of Constantius, Aëtius was banished, while some leading semi-Arians, Basil, Macedonius, Cyril, and others, were deposed and exiled as troublers of the Church's peace. Hilary, after making a desperate effort to reopen the discussion of the faith before the Emperor and Council,<sup>2</sup> shared the same fate. The prospects of the Church at the time of Constantius' death were indeed as gloomy as could well be conceived,—the Latins committed to an Arian creed, the Roman bishop Liberius a renegade, Hosius dead, Athanasius a wanderer in the deserts, Arian prelates in most of the sees of Eastern Christendom, perplexity and dismay in the hearts of the faithful laity who still adhered to the Nicene faith.<sup>3</sup>

III. The years 361–381 witnessed the doctrinal break-up of Arianism, and the decline and close of its ascendancy. The return of Athanasius to Alexandria took place on Julian's accession; in the following summer (362) a Synod was held at Alexandria to discuss several points of pressing importance, especially the treatment of bishops who had arianised. As to these it was decided that those who had communicated with

<sup>1</sup> See Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 246, 247. Cp. Ath. *de Synod.* viii. Ath. points out in *de Synod.* iii. and iv. that the creed is dated, and its novelty confessed by the very fact.

<sup>2</sup> In his *ad Const. Aug.* lib. ii.

<sup>3</sup> See Newman's *Arians*, App. Note V.

Arians compulsorily, through surprise or weakness, should continue to hold their sees on signing the *Homoousion*. All, in fact, were to be welcomed into Christian fellowship who would *now* accept the Nicene formula and condemn Arianism.

The other main question raised at the Council was one of phraseology. Confusion had arisen from the fact that the Westerns used *hypostasis* as synonymous with *substantia* (*οὐσία*), and accordingly spoke of *una hypostasis*, while the usual Eastern phrases were *τρεις ὑποστάσεις* and *μία οὐσία*. The difficulty was specially acute in relation to the schism at Antioch, where the Meletians adhered to the phrase *τρεις ὑποστάσεις*, while the schismatic party of Paulinus (Niceses) preferred *τρία πρόσωπα*. The Council of Alexandria incidentally endeavoured to heal the trouble at Antioch, but its efforts were frustrated by the self-willed action of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari. Its main concern, however, was to regulate and adjust the theological terminology which had occasioned confusion. After mutual explanations had been offered, it was decided that both phrases (*una hypostasis* and *τρεις ὑποστάσεις*) were to be deprecated. Neither *οὐσία* nor *ὑπόστασις*, it was maintained, were strictly applicable to the Godhead, *οὐσία* being nowhere used in the Scriptures with any reference to the Divine Being, and *ὑπόστασις* being employed by the apostle only "through a dogmatic necessity" (*τῇ τῶν δογμάτων ἀνάγκῃ*). The use of these terms, therefore, though acknowledged to be allowable in any other connection (*καθ' ἕτερον λόγον*) was practically discouraged, and the Nicene creed was unanimously adopted as a standard not only of belief, but of phraseology.<sup>1</sup> Besides declaring the divinity of the Holy Spirit against Mace-

<sup>1</sup> See Ath. *tom. ad Antioch.* 5, 6; Socr. *H.E.* iii. 7. Cp. Newman, *Arians*, c. v. § 1.

donius, the Council also asserted the verity of our Lord's reasonable human soul. In the following year (363) a synod held at Antioch, under the presidency of Meletius, accepted the *Homoousion* in the somewhat evasive sense, *ὅτι ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὅτι ὁμοίος κατ' οὐσίαν τῷ πατρί.*<sup>1</sup> The explanation is significant; while it covered the ambiguous confession of men like Acacius, it served also to mark the amalgamation of religious-minded semi-Arians with the Nicenes.

During the interval between this Council and the synod of Constantinople (381) several prominent figures passed from the scene. The death of Liberius (366) was followed by that of Hilary (368). Athanasius himself, after once again suffering exile during the persecution of Valens, passed away in 373; and Basil of Cæsarea in 379. The accession of Theodosius in 379 restored the hopes of the orthodox. Eight years after the death of Athanasius the second ecumenical Council was summoned to meet at Constantinople. No Western bishops were present, but 150 Eastern prelates attended. The first president, Meletius of Antioch, died during the session of the Council, and was succeeded by Gregory, and he, on his resignation, by Nectarius. Among those present at the sittings were Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril of Jerusalem. According to the prevailing view, the result of the Council was the adoption of the Nicene creed, with certain additions,—a clause directed against the tenets of Marcellus, and an expansion of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, in view of the Macedonian development of Arianism. But historical investigation points to a different origin of the formula supposed to have been adopted at Constantinople. There is good reason for doubting whether the so-called Niceno-Constantino-

<sup>1</sup> Socr. *H. E.* iii. 25.

politian creed was the one really subscribed by the Council. It seems probable that the Synod of 381 put forth no new symbol, but contented itself with acknowledging the Nicene creed.<sup>1</sup> The creed which we usually call "Nicene" (Niceno-Constantinopolitan) was probably a recension of an older creed, possibly the traditional baptismal creed of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> enlarged by Cyril soon after his transition from semi-Arianism to the *Homoousion* (about 362). It was only at a later time, when the Council of 381 was generally recognised as ecumenical, that the creed was ascribed to it. "It was to all appearance reserved for a later time than the age of Chalcedon to confuse the 'creed of the 150' with the enlarged Nicene creed, and thus to complete the fictitious history which was begun when the 150 Fathers of Constantinople were first reputed to be the authors of the creed, of which we may well believe that they had expressed approval."<sup>3</sup> Thus, in fact, it would seem that the Nicene symbol "in its turn gave place to a creed of yet more venerable ancestry, the worthiest of those that were called forth after a longer experience by the wants of a more auspicious time." There is nothing to show why the creed in its present form was attributed to the Council of 381. It should be observed in regard to this symbol that (1) as compared with the Nicene creed, it omits the explanatory clause, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, and the anathemas; (2) as compared with later definitions, there is no assertion of the consubstantiality (*Homoousion*) of the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Sozom. *H.E.* vii. 9. See the arguments of Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 265 note, and Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.* i. 192 note. Cp. Hort, *Two dissertations* (1876); Loofs, *Dogmengesch.* § 34, 4 note.

<sup>2</sup> See Cyril, *Catech.* v. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Hort, *Two dissertations*, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> The attempt to reconcile the Macedonians, of whom thirty-six attended the Council, completely failed. See Socr. *H.E.* v. 8.

## § II. THE THEOLOGY OF ATHANASIUS

Athanasius was born about 296. He was brought up at Alexandria and trained in the catechetical school. In 325 he took a prominent part in the Council of Nicæa; succeeded Alexander as bishop in 326; and died in 373. The most elaborate dogmatic work of his later years is his series of *Orations against the Arians*. His historical writings, especially the treatises *On the decrees of the Nicene Synod*, and on the *Synods of Ariminum and Seleucia*, are important as a chief source of information respecting the course of the Arian controversy between 325 and 361. But already at an early age (about the year 318) he wrote a work consisting of two essays, *Against the Heathen* and *On the Incarnation of the Word*—both of them remarkable for their philosophic mode of treatment and their strong grasp of the central fact of Christianity. The work *contra Gentes* (λόγος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων) is a polemic against heathenism, the main purpose of which is to assert the distinct personality and transcendence of God; from this monotheistic position Athanasius argues to the existence of a Divine Word or Son. The *de Incarnatione* (περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Λόγου) takes as its starting-point the intimate relation that exists between the universe and the Logos, regarded as its creator, and as the essential revealer of God.

Before giving any detailed account of this treatise we may briefly describe the subsequent literary history of the author. To the years between 350–355 belong Athanasius' *Apology against the Arians*; his letter to a friend *On the decrees of the Nicene Synod*, defending the use of the non-scriptural term *Homoousion*; his *de sententia Dionysii*—designed to refute the pretension of Arius and his followers that the doctrine of Dionysius of

Alexandria accorded with their own. The *Orationes* were written apparently during the third exile, when Athanasius was in hiding in the Nitrian desert. The *Letter to Epictetus* belongs to 371, and is significant as marking the point of transition from controversies on the Trinity to those which concerned the Incarnation. In this letter Athanasius states the faith against positions which, in germ at least, are those of Apollinaris and of Nestorius respectively—viz. the assertion that Christ's body was not truly human but formed out of the essence of the Godhead, and the view that the Virgin-born and crucified Jesus was a human individual distinct from the Word or Son.<sup>1</sup> Athanasius sees in these ideas a retrogression to Docetism, and insists on the necessity of a *real* assumption by God of the human nature which needed redemption.

We may now return to the two earliest treatises—the *contra Gentes* and the *de Incarnatione*—in order to form some idea of the point of view from which Athanasius regards the Incarnation. It may be said at once that he is the first Greek Father who seems explicitly to raise and to answer the question *Cur Deus homo?* His starting-point is the existence and Deity of the Logos. The existence of the Word was acknowledged by the highest philosophy of the day; His Divine subsistence was an element in the immemorial tradition of the Church. Athanasius aims at exhibiting the continuous operation of the Logos in creation, in the preservation of the universe, and in the restoration or salvation of mankind.

In the *contra Gentes* Athanasius paves the way for his doctrine of the Incarnation by insisting on two com-

<sup>1</sup> See *ad Epict.* vii. (against docetic tendencies), and xi. (against Nestorian tendencies). Cp. chap. ii. and Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. p. 354 f. Bright, *S. Ath., Orationes against the Arians*, introd. p. xcvi.

plementary truths—(1) the transcendence and self-sufficiency of God as the immaterial and invisible cause of all that exists;<sup>1</sup> (2) His immanence as the principle of order, harmony, and rationality that pervades the universe.<sup>2</sup> The principle whereby God is present in the universe can be no other than the Logos, not the mere “sporadic” Logos of the Stoics, but the very Word (*αὐτολόγος*) of God Himself, living and operative, “a person distinct from the creation . . . who ordered the universe and enlightens it by His providence,” *ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθὸς λόγος ὑπάρχων*.<sup>3</sup> At this point Athanasius gives to his description of the Godhead that *ethical* turn which colours his whole theory of the Incarnation, and is specially characteristic of the catholic conception of God which he represents. The goodness of God—that is his keynote. “The God of the universe is by nature good and glorious (*ὑπέρκαλος*); whence also He is kind to man. For a good being is incapable of envy; He grudges to none his existence; nay, He wills the existence of all that He may be able to show His loving-kindness to man.”<sup>4</sup>

At this point the transition is made to the consideration of the Incarnation. God is the fountain of good; He accordingly imparts to His rational creatures the light of the Logos,—makes them *λογικοί*, and possessors, as it were, of “shadows of the Logos.”<sup>5</sup> He protects them beforehand from failure to attain their true end by the gift of a law, and of grace to fulfil it. Why then was the Incarnation necessary?

1. First, answers Athanasius, because sin appeared, and by depriving man of the Logos, deprived him of the principle of *life*. Sin thwarted the purpose of God, and

<sup>1</sup> *c. Gent.* xxviii., xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xxxvi.—xl.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xl.; *op.* xlii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xli. The thought is Plato's: see *Tim.* 29 π. *Cp. de Incarn.* iii

<sup>5</sup> *de Incarn.* iii.

defaced His image in man; but its main consequence was death. Man who by continued subjection to, and union with, the Logos might have been immortal, became by sin subject to the law of natural corruption (*φθορά*). The ethical view of the Incarnation is at once suggested. "It was our state that was the cause of the great descent; our transgression that evoked the loving-kindness (*φιλανθρωπίαν*) of the Logos."<sup>1</sup> What was God to do? To have acquiesced in the ruin of His handiwork would have been weakness, or want of love; it would have been unworthy of His goodness.<sup>2</sup> Thus Athanasius boldly insists that the necessity of redemption lies in the perfection of the Divine character. "But," it might be asked, "if God is good, why was not repentance on man's part sufficient?" Athanasius replies that repentance might have been a sufficient remedy for sin viewed merely as an act of the will; but repentance was powerless to undo the physical effects which sin had wrought. Men were overwhelmed in their natural corruption, and besides there was a just claim of the Creator to be satisfied (vii.). Nothing would suffice in such a crisis but the very presence of the creative Logos Himself. He who had been the creator must needs be the author of a new creation; He alone could share the thoughts, and sympathise with the purpose of the Father, could recognise the unseemliness of the ruin, the pitifulness of the misery in which man was involved (vii., viii.). So He assumed a body akin to ours, a body capable of death, capable also of being an instrument of restoration. This sacred body He constituted His organ,<sup>3</sup> and by His entire appropriation of our nature became our perfect representative before God (ix.). This surely was a work

<sup>1</sup> *de Incarn.* iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vi. s. fin.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* viii.: ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ κατασκευάζει ἑαυτῷ ναὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἰδιοποιεῖται τοῦτο ὡσπερ ὄργανον, κ.τ.λ.

“peculiarly suited to God’s goodness”; it was a worthy exhibition of love seeking the recovery of the lost. So at least does the New Testament describe it (2 Cor. v. 14; Heb. ii. 9, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

2. Athanasius proceeds (xi.–xvi.) to give a second reason for the Incarnation. It was necessary not only for man’s restoration, but for the revelation of God. Man was made for the knowledge of God, and to this end was endowed with a share of the Logos, but by sin he lost the principle of Divine reason, and in spite of God’s witness to Himself in creation and in the law, he gradually sank to lower depths of degradation (xi., xii.). It was thus necessary that the Logos Himself should assume a body, that man might be again renewed after His image. If the effaced image was to be restored it must be renewed by the Son of God Himself, as being the very image of the Father; if the lost knowledge of God was to be recovered, the Word of God must come down to man’s level and present Himself by means of a human body in the sphere of sense (*ἐν γενέσει καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς*) in order that through Him man might recognise the Father (xiii.–xv.). And this the Word actually accomplished in the Incarnation. “For men’s minds having finally fallen to things of sense, the Word disguised Himself by appearing in a body, that He might as Man transfer men to Himself and centre their senses on Himself, and . . . persuade them by the works which He wrought that He is not Man only, but also God” (xvi.).

So far Athanasius has stated the two main functions of the incarnate Logos. (1) As the *Life* He destroys the principle of corruption which held man captive; He restores to man what he had lost by sin, the boon of immortality (*ἀφθαρσία*). (2) As the *Word* of God He

<sup>1</sup> *de Incarn. x.*

restores the true knowledge of the Father<sup>1</sup>—this point being expanded in chaps. xvii.—xix., with special reference to the death of Christ.

In the following chapters (xx.—xxxii.) the Divine method of salvation is dealt with in detail, in order to exhibit more distinctly the real consequences of Christ's death and resurrection. The central thought of this section is that the Logos is in two respects the Head and Representative of our race; first, in paying the debt due for sin, on behalf of all; second, in imparting to the human race the fruits of His victory over death,—life and incorruption (*ἀφθαρσία*). Christ assumes the body of man in order to pay the debt which all owed (*τὸ ὀφειλόμενον παρὰ πάντων*). For "since it was necessary that the debt owing from all should be paid again . . . to this end, after giving the proofs of His Godhead from His works, He next offered up His sacrifice also on behalf of all, yielding His temple to death in the stead of all, in order, first, to make men quit and free of their old trespass,<sup>2</sup> and, secondly, to show Himself more powerful even than death, displaying His own body incorruptible as firstfruits of all" (xx.). Two results in fact followed from the death, and were attested by the resurrection: (1) "the death of all was accomplished (*ἐπληροῦτο*) in the Lord's body"; (2) "death and corruption were wholly done away by reason of the Word that was united with it" (xx.).

This chapter summarises Athanasius' teaching as to the purpose of the Incarnation; the thought of redemption is the keynote of his theology. His central idea is

<sup>1</sup> Harnack remarks (*Dogmengesch.* ii. 159) that this is a reproduction of the favourite thought of the apologists, but while they insisted chiefly on the *teaching* of Christ, Athanasius regards the *person* of Christ as the real revelation of the Godhead. What nature was powerless to teach man, he learned from the actual life and activity of the incarnate Word.

<sup>2</sup> See also chaps. vii., ix., x., where the same thought is developed.

that by the Incarnation the Divine Being Himself entered into the world of humanity, in order to fulfil its obligations, and to lift it into the life of fellowship with God—in a word, to “deify” human nature.<sup>1</sup> It is in this respect that Athanasius seems to advance beyond some of the ante-Nicene apologists. They regarded the Logos philosophically as the creative and life-giving principle of the universe. Athanasius looks upon the Logos as essentially the Redeemer and Saviour; the philosophical standpoint gives way to the religious and ethical interest.<sup>2</sup> Athanasius in fact anticipates the Thomist view that the Incarnation was needed only for man’s restoration, and was a supreme manifestation of Divine pity and love. “His becoming man,” he says in another work, “would never have taken place, had not man’s need been present as the cause.”<sup>3</sup> And here he is true to the traditions of the Greek school of apologists, especially Justin and the writer to *Diognetus*, although his estimate of *revelation* as the means of redemption appears qualified and subdued when compared with theirs.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. liv. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνηθρώπησεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν. This is on the whole the most characteristic idea of Athanasius. Cp. esp. *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 38, 39: αὐτὸς υἱοποίησεν ἡμᾶς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ἐθεοποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος. Ὅχι δὲ ἀνθρώπος ὢν, ὕστερον γέγονε θεός· ἀλλὰ θεός ὢν, ὕστερον γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ἵνα μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς θεοποιήσῃ. Θεοποίησις is for Athanasius a heightening of human life, a renewal of man after the Divine likeness, not a pantheistic absorption of the human in the divine. (See Harnack, *op. cit.* ii. p. 162 note; cp. Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. p. 88, s.v. “Deification.”)

<sup>2</sup> Observe in this connection the importance of the doctrine of creation in chaps. i.—iii., in which the act of creation is ascribed not to the Logos but directly to God. To the elder apologists, as to Philo, the characteristic work of the Logos was that of creation—an idea which tended towards dualism, by over-insistence on the thought of mediation between God and the creature. Characteristic of Athanasius is the idea expressed in *Orat. c. Arian.* iii. 6, τὸ γὰρ ἴδιον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, ἐν ᾧ ἡ κτίσις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν κατηλλάσσετο. [Harnack, ii. 206 note.]

<sup>3</sup> *Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 56.

The second section of the *de Incarnatione* is in large measure apologetic; the third section (xxxiii.-lv.), even polemical. The main interest of both parts, however, is that, apart from details, they answer some great *à priori* objections to the actual fact of the Incarnation, and the mode of its occurrence. Thus (1) Athanasius deals with the somewhat modern difficulty that the Incarnation is incompatible with the idea of the Divine infinity (xli, xlii; cp. xvi., xvii.). His reply is that though the Logos dwelt in the body, He was not pent up in it. He did not cease to be in the entire creation, as the source of its life, and movement, and order. There is nothing absurd in the idea that the Word should manifest Himself, as in the whole universe, so specially in a part. "For humanity too is a part of a whole" (xlii.). And this is justified by analogy: for the human mind "though pervading man throughout, is interpreted by a particular part of the body, the tongue." Similarly the Word, though pervading the universe, may well use the human body as an instrument. (2) Again, it is asked, "Why did the Word not manifest Himself through some nobler part of the creation than man?" as if it were unworthy of Him to dwell in a mere human body. Athanasius answers that the Word came "not to make a display, but to heal and instruct the suffering." It was man alone that had gone astray; "neither sun nor moon nor heaven nor the stars nor water nor air had swerved from their order; but knowing their artificer and sovereign, the Word, they remain ever as they were" (xliii.). The Word became man in order to aid him, thus condescending to his weakness, and coming as it were to the rescue of the storm-tossed universe, by taking His seat at the helm and correcting its calamities.<sup>1</sup> Here again it is noticeable that Athanasius finds the true answer to a specula-

<sup>1</sup> Ath. refers to a passage of Plato, *Polit.* 273 D.

tive difficulty in the character of God. (3) Again, "Why did not God aid man by mere *fiat* (*νεύματι μόνῳ*)? Why was the Word compelled to assume a body—He who had called the creatures into being?" Athanasius replies that the question now was not of creating a world—calling it out of non-existence, but of restoring that which was already existent. "It was not things non-existent that needed salvation, so that a bare *fiat* should suffice, but man, already existent, was going to corruption and ruin" (xliv.). Further, the corruption had made its seat *within* the body, "death was engendered within," and it was necessary that life also should be, as it were, "wedded" (*συμπλακῆναι*) to the body, if the inherent corruption was to be vanquished and expelled. For the life of the Logos is, as it were, the asbestos robe protecting the body from the ravages of death; it was with good reason, therefore, that the Saviour clad Himself with a body, in order that man's mortality might be *swallowed up of life*.<sup>1</sup>

The whole book concludes (xiv. ff.) with a valuable summary of the facts of Christian experience as attesting the present and victorious energy of the risen Christ; the decay of paganism and its accompanying evils, the expulsion of demons, the spiritual triumphs of the faith in nations, in society, in the individual character (lii.).<sup>2</sup> "In a word," says Athanasius, "the achievements of the Saviour, resulting from His becoming man, are of such kind and number, that if one should wish to enumerate them, he may be compared to men who gaze at the expanse of the sea and wish to count its waves."

So far we have been concerned with Athanasius' theory

<sup>1</sup> The question raised by Athanasius is discussed more fully elsewhere (p. 326); cp. Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat. mag.* xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Especially noteworthy is the martyrs' contempt of death (lii.). Cp. the great passage in chap. xlii.; and Cyprian, *ad Donat.*

of redemption.<sup>1</sup> Dorner makes one criticism which may be repeated here, namely, that though the arguments of Athanasius imply the completeness of Christ's human nature, he yet makes express mention only of the body, without any reference to the human soul of Christ. He regards our Lord rather as the Logos veiled in human flesh, than as the man passing through the different stages of human probation and development. In this respect he seems to fall short of his own conception of the Incarnation—that it was no mere theophany, but an actual participation in the lot and sufferings of man.<sup>2</sup> It is, in fact, characteristic of Athanasius that he habitually looks upon the Logos as the sole motive, "hegemonic," personal principle in the God-man. To him Christ is the indivisible God-man, the Divine Saviour and Enlightener, essentially one with the God whom He manifests. Here is a point of contrast between Athanasius and the Antiochene school (Arius and afterwards Nestorius). To the latter, salvation seemed to consist not so much in essential fellowship with Deity, as in the knowledge of God coming to the aid of human freedom; and Christ was accordingly regarded less as the Logos incarnate than as the perfect, inspired man, communicating a revelation of Divine truth to men. The interest of Athanasius, in a word, was ethical and religious; that of his opponents in the Arian struggle was mainly intellectual.<sup>3</sup>

From Athanasius' doctrine of the Incarnation we pass to his anti-Arian polemic and his conception of the Trinity.

<sup>1</sup> Substantially the same soteriology is found in *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 40-43, ii. 67-70.

<sup>2</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 259. But Harnack (*Dogmengesch.* ii. 213 note) points out that in *Orat.* iii. 30, *σάρξ* is expressly explained as meaning "human nature" in its totality. The verity of Christ's human soul was asserted by the Council of Alexandria (362), the doctrine being further developed by Hilary.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack, ii. 161 f.

His method of dealing with Arianism consists in a clear development of its consequences. Thus, for example—(1), if Arius be right, the doctrine of an *eternal* Trinity is false: there was a time when the Godhead was, as it were, incomplete (ἐλλειπής), and the sacred Triad only attains completeness by the inclusion within itself of a created being—once non-existent, now deified and worshipped. An alien substance (ξένη καὶ ἀλλοτρία φύσις) is introduced into the sphere of Deity; a pagan addition is made to the fulness of the Godhead.<sup>1</sup> (2) Again, the Fatherhood of God cannot have been an eternal fact. There was a time when He as yet did not possess His Logos and Radiance (ἦν πότε ἀλογος, καὶ φῶς ὧν, ἀφεγγής ἦν).<sup>2</sup> (3) Further, the worship of an Arian Christ is in principle merely polytheistic. It is the worship of two Gods, one increate, the other created.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, if Arius be right the worship of the Church is heathenish. (4) Finally, if the Logos be merely a creature, and therefore alterable in character (τρεπτός), he can neither reveal the Father nor unite man to God.<sup>4</sup> It is this last consideration on which Athanasius lays the greatest stress. His strong soteriological interest prompts him to grasp, and forcibly point out, the real issue at stake, namely, the question whether the Son be a creature or not. "Divine Sonship and creatureliness," he says in effect, "are ideas incompatible with each other."<sup>5</sup> The essential meaning of "Son" in relation to Deity must imply consubstantiality of essence. The Arian insistence on *posteriority* to the Father assumed a condition, namely, *time*, which could not exist in the case of God. If Christ, in fact, be literally a Son,

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 24, 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.* iii. 16. This is a favourite anti-Arian thesis. Cp., e.g., *Bea. Cæs. Ep.* cexliii. 4, πολυθετα κεκράτηκε μέγας θεός παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ μικρός.

<sup>4</sup> See *Orat.* i. 35, and ii. 67, 70.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *Orat.* ii. 2, 20, 73.

He must be what the Father is. No creature could mediate between God and man; could unite the creature to the Creator; could bestow the grace of adoption—adoptive sonship implying a real, essential sonship.<sup>1</sup>

Athanasius' general method of explaining expressions which implied the creatureliness of the Son, and which accordingly were pressed by the Arians, was to refer them to His manhood. As man, Christ is "exalted" for us; as man He "receives"; as man He is "anointed"; as man He was "created the beginning of the ways of God";<sup>2</sup> as man He is called "firstborn of creation."<sup>3</sup> In short, all such expressions as *ποιεῖν, γένεσθαι, κτίζειν, κ.τ.λ.*, are to be referred to "the ministry and the economy" of the Word.<sup>4</sup> In the *third Oration* various New Testament statements are examined, especially such as imply human limitations in the incarnate Word.<sup>5</sup> These (such is Athanasius' usual line of interpretation) are to be looked at ethically as instances of condescension to man's weakness and ignorance,<sup>6</sup> not as implying any failure of power or knowledge in the Word.

In Athanasius' positive doctrine of the Trinity the following points are important:—

(1) We notice his tenacious hold on the doctrine of the *monarchia*. His starting-point is the statement *μία*

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.* ii. 24, 34, 35, 66–69. Cp. Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat.* i. 41 (Phil. ii. 9), 46 (Ps. xlv. 7 f.), 53 ff. (Prov. viii. 22; Heb. i. 4 and iii. 1). The discussion of Prov. viii. 22 LXX. *κύριος ἐκτίσεν με ἀρχὴν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ*, takes up a large part of *Orat.* ii., see esp. ii. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Col. i. 15; see *Orat.* ii. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Orat.* i. 62.

<sup>5</sup> See esp. iii. 27 for a list of Arian "stock" passages.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 37 ff. deals with the subject of Christ's supposed ignorance (S. Mk. xiii. 32). On this point (see below, p. 621) Ath. speaks uncertainly. In iii. 43 he simply says, *ὡς μὲν λόγος γινώσκει, ὡς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀγνοεῖ ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἴδιον τὸ ἀγνοεῖν*. But see other suggestions in 48. In iii. 58 Ath. allows the idea of *προκοπή* in Christ.

ἀρχὴ θεότητος.<sup>1</sup> Yet within this unity there are ὑποστάσεις, "Persons" really subsistent (οὐσιώδεις),<sup>2</sup> not divided, or of different nature, but inter-related and inter-dependent, the Son being related to the Father as stream to fountain or radiance to light. Athanasius, indeed, approaches the Sabellian position when he says that S. Jo. x. 30, *I and the Father are one*, demonstrates the identity (ταυτότητα) of the Godhead, while S. Jo. xiv. 10, *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*, proves the unity of the substance (ἐνότητα τῆς οὐσίας). But this passage (*Orat.* iii. 3) is followed by one expressly repudiating the Sabellian view.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The Son is ἐτεροούσιος τῶν γεννητῶν, and ὁμοούσιος καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς. He shares the unchangeableness (τὸ ἀτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον) of the Divine substance. It is noticeable that in the *Orations* Athanasius avoids the term ὁμοούσιον. He was concerned with facts rather than with names, and he adheres closely to Scripture both in argument and statement. He frequently uses the phrases ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν, ὁμοίας οὐσίας (e.g. *Orat.* i. 20, 21, ii. 42), perhaps with a view of conciliating the semi-Arians; and even adopts the term ὅμοιος (*Orat.* i. 9, ii. 17); or ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκῶν (i. 26); even ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα (ii. 18, 22). The fact is that he is penetrated by the Platonistic idea of the immeasurable gulf that separates the Creator from the creature; if the Son be ranged on the side of the Father, He is thereby set over against the creature (ii. 20).

<sup>1</sup> See esp. *Orat.* iv. 1; cp. iii. 15, and ii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. has no word for "persons." He uses δύο or τρεῖς, as the case requires. See the important passage *Orat.* iv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Expos. fid.* i., where he rejects the notion of a νισπάτωρ. The Son is ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας γέννημα. The Son has one and the self-same substance with the Father. Cp. *Orat.* i. 22, ἔχων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ταυτότητα, and *Orat.* iii. 36, ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ θεότης τοῦ πατρὸς θεότης ἐστίν.

(3) As to the Divine *γέννησις*, human analogies are expressly excluded (i. 14). The Divine generation—here we have an Origenistic thought—is an eternal and necessary process in the Godhead: *ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸς αἰεὶ καὶ τῇ φύσει, οὕτως αἰεὶ γεννητικὸς τῇ φύσει ὁ πατήρ* (*Orat.* iii. 66; cp. iv. 4). But the process is not “necessary” in any mechanical sense. The term *βουλήσει* is, indeed, disallowed (iii. 63), but only because “the Logos is Himself the living Will (*ζῶσα βουλή*) of the Father, by which all things were made.” The “nature” of God transcends the categories proper to human nature: (iii. 62, *ὅσῳ οὖν τοῦ κτίσματος ὁ υἱὸς ὑπέρκειται, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ τῆς βουλήσεως τὸ κατὰ φύσιν.* 63, *ὁ μὴ ἐκ βουλήσεως ὑπάρχων θεὸς οὐ βουλήσει, ἀλλὰ φύσει τὸν ἴδιον ἔχει λόγον*).<sup>1</sup> While, however, Athanasius passes beyond the ante-Nicene subordinatianism, the element of *ὑποταγή* involved in the Son’s *derivation* from the Father is recognised in *Orat.* i. 58, where S. John xiv. 28 is explained: the Father is “greater” than the Son, not in dignity nor in priority of time, but only *διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς γέννησιν*. In general, Athanasius employs the somewhat concrete language of his predecessors when it suits his purpose; thus he speaks of the Son as *φύσει γέννημα* (iii. 67).<sup>2</sup> But his aim seems to be to insist on the actual objective subsistence of the Logos, who is a living person; not like a human word, unsubstantial (*ἀνυπόστατος*), but *λόγος ζῶν* and *ἐνούσιος σοφία*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the whole discussion iii. 62–66. In 66 we have a new mode of statement. The Son is not *ἀθέλητος τῷ πατρὶ*, but *θελούμενός ἐστιν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς*. He is derived from the Father “with the Father’s pleasure.”

<sup>2</sup> So *Orat.* ii. 24, and *Expos. fid.* 3, *γέννημα κατὰ φύσιν τέλειον*.

<sup>3</sup> *de Synod.* xli. Cp. Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat. mag.* i. The *expos. fid.* i. gives a clear summary of Ath.’s doctrine as follows: We believe in God the Father, *καὶ εἰς ἓνα μονογενῆ λόγον, σοφίαν, υἱὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀνάρχον καὶ αἰδιῶς γεγεννημένον, λόγον δὲ οὐ προφορκόν, οὐκ ἐνδιάθετον, οὐκ ἀπόρροιαν τοῦ τελείου, οὐ τμησίμην τῆς ἀπαθούς φύσεως, ὅσπερ προβολήν, ἀλλ’ υἱὸν αὐτοτελεῆ, ζῶντά τε καὶ ἐνεργούντα, τὴν ἀληθινὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς, ἰσότημον καὶ ἰσόδοξον*

(4) There are various important statements touching the person and work of the incarnate Christ, especially in the *Orations*. In brief, Athanasius teaches that the Logos *became man*,—did not merely visit a man (*Orat.* iii. 30, *ἄνθρωπος γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἦλθεν*). In His person two natures were united without confusion; He was not turned into flesh (*ad Epict.* viii.), but appeared in flesh, and made His flesh the instrument of His wonder-working power. In virtue of the unity of His person, all the acts and sufferings of the manhood are to be attributed to the Logos. One Divine person acts both *θεικῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως* (*Orat.* iii. 35). Even the manhood is an object of worship, because it belongs inalienably to the uncreated Logos (*c. Apoll.* i. 6). In the Incarnation there was a real union of our manhood with Deity, whereby sin was destroyed, and humanity set free from its corruption, and made immortal. His death was the death of all—a ransom (*λύτρον*) for us (*Orat.* i. 45). His victorious life also is ours, in virtue of our incorporation into Him (*Orat.* ii. 61, *ἡμεῖς ὡς σύσσωμοι τυγχάνοντες κατ' ἐκείνο σωζόμεθα*). Christ is in virtue of His Incarnation the source to man of Divine knowledge, the pattern of holiness, the bestower of forgiveness and of the Holy Spirit (*Orat.* i. 12, 16, 51; ii. 65; iii. 23–25). In all this line of thought Athanasius closely adheres to what has been called the “Johannine” type of theology,—that which appears in Ignatius, the writer to *Diognetus*, and Irenæus.<sup>1</sup> The Logos has really entered into abiding

(S. Jo. v. 23) . . . θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ (1 S. Jo. v. 20) . . . παντοκράτορα ἐκ παντοκράτορος· πάντων γὰρ ὧν ἀρχεῖ ὁ πατήρ καὶ κρατεῖ, ἀρχοῦ καὶ κρατεῖ καὶ ὁ υἱός· ὅλος ἐξ ὅλου, ὁμοιος τῷ πατρὶ ὧν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Κύριος (S. Jo. xiv. 9) . . . ἐγεννήθη δὲ ἀνεκφράστως καὶ ἀπερινοήτως, κ.τ.λ. Obs. to Ath. the words *θεότης, οὐσία, ὑπόστασις, ἰδιότης τῆς οὐσίας, κ.τ.λ.*, are, in relation to the Godhead, practically synonymous Cp. esp. *tom. ad Antioch.* vi.

<sup>1</sup> The work ascribed to Athanasius *c. Apoll.* i. 8, illustrates the ‘pneumatic’ tendency of A.’s Christology.

communion with men; He is very God, and therefore, through our union with Him, effectually restores our nature and lifts it into the state of salvation, by uniting it to God, or, to use Athanasius' own word, by "deifying" it (*Orat.* ii. 66, 67, 69, 70; cp. iii. 34; *ad Epict.* vii.).<sup>1</sup>

It only remains briefly to notice some general characteristics of the theology and mental habit of this great teacher.

Perhaps the most impressive feature of his writings is the ethical conception of God which marks them. Arius spoke of τὸ ἀγέννητον as if it was an adequate synonym for θεότης. Athanasius insists that the phrase is not scriptural. We are rather taught to pray to "Our Father." Nor ought we simply to ask what God might conceivably have done; for He is not bare power.<sup>2</sup> Nor is He subject in any mechanical sense to necessity.<sup>3</sup> He is essentially loving and good, merciful, and full of care for men.<sup>4</sup> The difference between Athanasius and the Arians lay in this profoundly different conception of God. They, from the metaphysical standpoint denied the possibility of a Divine Sonship; but to Athanasius "omnipotence is not the synonym of God conceived as Godhead. The terms in which He is construed are ethical, and the ethical Deity can never live out of relations or secluded from those who need Him."<sup>5</sup> The Arian struggle did indeed constitute a very critical stage

<sup>1</sup> See generally Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 203-214. Harnack has much severe criticism of Athanasius' doctrine of the Trinity—its "absurdities," "contradictions," etc.—which could not be profitably discussed in this place. See *Dogmengesch.* ii. 218-221.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat.* ii. 68, σκοπεῖν δεῖ τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λυσιτελοῦν καὶ μὴ ἐν πᾶσι τὸ δυνατὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λογίζεσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.* iii. 62, ἀσπῶν ἐστι λέγειν ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἀνάγκην.

<sup>4</sup> *Orat.* i. 63; ii. 65, 77; cp. iii. 8, ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ κηδόμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>5</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theol.* p. 421. See a magnificent passage in Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat. mag.* xi.

in the development of the Christian doctrine of God, and it is difficult to exaggerate the influence and importance of Athanasius' conception of God,—a conception which, as we have noticed, was a heritage from the earliest Greek school of apologists.

It is noticeable too that Athanasius starts from Church tradition as a basis: facts, he says, are more important than statements; *οὐσίαι* are prior to *λέξεις*.<sup>1</sup> He complains that Arians fail to understand the terms *ἐν* and *ὁμοιον* in the sense proclaimed by the Church.<sup>2</sup> He refers to the regular catechetical instruction of the Church as the main element in the formation of Christian faith;<sup>3</sup> to the "apostolic tradition"; to the ecclesiastical rule (*κανών*) or definition (*σκοπός*) which is, as it were, "an anchor of the faith."<sup>4</sup> He maintains that at Nicæa the assembled prelates did but "publish the sound and ecclesiastical faith." "For what the Fathers have of old delivered—that is truly doctrine; and this certainly is the token of [true] teachers, to confess the same thing with one another, and to vary neither among themselves, nor from the Fathers."

Finally, Athanasius did much to check the tendency of his contemporaries towards theological development in a wrong and unprofitable direction. The teaching of Origen, as developed by his pupils, was leading to a "secularisation" of the faith at least in the sense that Christian truth was gradually being transformed into a philosophic system of cosmology. In the East this movement was already strongly marked. Probably the result of Athanasius' work was to arrest this tendency: by recalling the consciousness of the Church to the central fact that in the incarnate Son God Himself had *visited and redeemed*

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.* ii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat.* iii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.* ii. 34; cp. *ad Epict.* iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Orat.* iii. 28, 35, 58; cp. *de decret. Nic.* iii., iv.

*His people.* To the great realities of sin, judgment, death, redemption, and salvation was again assigned their rightful prominence. Athanasius was in fact more or less in conscious antagonism to the "higher thought" and speculation of the Church. His wanderings in exile among the hermits and monks of the desert enabled him perhaps to measure the importance of those unseen forces which keep faith alive and vigorous: the mortified lives, vigils, and prayers of the faithful; the secret work of the Holy Spirit leading men to the knowledge and love of God.

### § III. FINAL FORMULATION OF THE NICENE THEOLOGY

The final formulation of the Nicene theology was the work of the celebrated theologians of Cappadocia, Basil of Cæsarea (abp. 370, d. 379), his brother Gregory of Nyssa (bp. 370, d. 394),<sup>1</sup> and Gregory of Nazianzum (b. 329, d. 389 or 390). This important work was proceeding, speaking broadly, between the years 370 and 394, and its result was the provisional settlement of the terminology of the doctrine of the Trinity, on the basis of the Nicene symbol (*ὁμοούσιον*). The Cappadocians brought to this task a wide and accurate knowledge of current Greek philosophy; they not only inherited the theology of Origen, but had also close connections with the highest thought and culture of contemporary paganism, Basil and Gregory of Nazianzum having studied in youth

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Nyssen's *Oratio catechetica magna* contains a profound and acute treatment of the Incarnation, dealing not only with the personality of the Logos and Spirit (i.-iii.), but also with wider aspects of the Incarnation in its relation to the problem of evil (v.-vii.), and to the character of God. Especially valuable is his chapter (ix.) on the moral glory of the *κένωσις* (cp. xxiv.), and his discussion of some speculative difficulties as to the method of the atonement, etc. Like Athanasius, Gregory takes as his foundation the goodness of God (xix., xx.). Cp. *Antirrh.* xlii.: λέγεται ἕπερ ἐν τῷ σκοπῷ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας συμβαίνει, τοῦτο ἐδλογώτερον περὶ τὸν θεὸν αἰεσθαι. See also Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 162 ff.

at Athens with Julian, afterwards emperor, for their fellow-student.

The Cappadocians take as their starting-point the *Homoousion*. Basil indeed acknowledges that he had felt a difficulty in the use of the term. He would have preferred some such phrase as ἀπαράλλάκτως ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν,<sup>1</sup> but he was induced to accept the *Homoousion*, possibly through the influence of Apollinaris, who seems to have suggested that ὁμοούσιος might imply both ταυτότης and ἑτερότης οὐσίας. Accordingly Basil elsewhere declares that both ὅμοιον and ἀνόμοιον, as words implying mere quality, are inapplicable to the Godhead. He accepts the ὁμοούσιον as "an heir of the Fathers of Nicæa": the term implies the identity of the Divine substance (ταυτότητα τῆς φύσεως), for the "unity" of the Godhead is not proclaimed in Scripture in such wise as to exclude the idea of Sonship, but in opposition to the notions of polytheistic paganism.<sup>2</sup> Together, however, with the *Homoousion* the Cappadocians accept the current phrase τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις,—a phrase which may be said to be distinctive of the neo-Nicene school,—and their task is to co-ordinate it with the older Nicene insistence on the *Homoousion*. In doing this they adhere to the Christology of Origen,—holding firmly to the *separate hypostasis* of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

The results of their work are perhaps embraced in the following summary.

(1) The terms οὐσία and ὑπόστασις are now sharply distinguished. οὐσία receives a sense midway between that of abstract "substance" and the concrete "individual

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep.* ix. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Bas. *Epp.* viii. 3, lii. 1. For passages insisting on the "Monarchia," see also Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxix. 2. Here μοναρχία is explained ὅτι ἦν ἐν περιγράφει πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ἦν φύσεως ἁμοιμία συνίστησι, καὶ γνώμης σύμφοια, καὶ ταυτότης κινήσεως, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ σύννευσις. *Cr. Orat.* xxxi. 14.

being," inclining to the former. *ὑπόστασις* receives a sense midway between "person" and "attribute," inclining to the former. *πρόσωπον* is avoided, though not actually repudiated, as admitting of a Sabellian connotation. The phrase finally adopted is *μία οὐσία* (or *θεότης*) *ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*. A typical passage is the following from Basil's *Epistles*: *οὐσία δὲ καὶ ὑπόστασις ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἣν ἔχει τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ὄλον ὡς ἔχει τὸ ζῶον πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐσίαν μὲν μίαν ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ὁμολογοῦμεν ὥστε τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον μὴ διαφόρως ἀποδίδοναι, ὑπόστασιν δὲ ἰδιάζουσιν, ἵν' ἀσύγχυτος ἡμῖν καὶ τετρανωμένη ἡ περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔννοια ἐνυπάρχη.*<sup>1</sup> In order to guard the unity of the Divine essence Gregory of Nyssa speaks of three "modes of subsistence" (*τρόποι ὑπάρξεως*); and it is held to be allowable to speak of each blessed Person as subsisting *ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει*.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The distinctions of the three Persons are secured by distinguishing between what was common to all (*κοινόν*), and what was peculiar to each (*ἴδιον*, τὸ τῶν προσώπων *ἰδίαζον* [Bas. *Ep.* cxxxvi. 6], *ιδιότης*, *ἰδίωμα*, *ιδιότητες γνωριστικαί* [*Ep.* xxxviii. 5] or *χαρακτηρίζουσαι*). Thus "common to all the Three is the being increate (τὸ μὴ γεγονέναι καὶ ἡ θεότης); to the Son and Spirit, derivation from the Father; peculiar to the Father is ἡ ἀγεννησία; to the Son, ἡ γέννησις; to the Spirit, ἡ ἔκπεμψις or ἐκπόρευσις."<sup>3</sup>

(3) The ante-Nicene idea of the ministerial subordination of the Son is almost wholly set aside.<sup>4</sup> To each Person

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* cxxxvi. 6. Cp. xxxviii. 5 and cxxv. 1. Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat. mag.* i., calls this a "technical distinction." Obs. *φύσις* is admitted as equivalent to *οὐσία*. See Bas. *Ep.* ccx. 4; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxiii. 11, xxxiii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Bas. *Ep.* cxxv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxv. 16, xli. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxx. 5, does indeed explain "the subordination" as Christ's fulfilment of His Father's will, but lays no stress on the statement.

is assigned the exercise of Divine attributes, the possession of the common substance of Deity. There is further an inseparable "identity of operation" (*ἐνεργείας ταυτότητος*) on the part of the Divine Three which implies equality in glory, rank, and majesty (*ὁμοτιμία*). Thus Basil declares "the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost alike sanctify, quicken, enlighten, comfort, and effect all else of the same kind. . . . So likewise all other operations are equally wrought in the saints by the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."<sup>1</sup> The only subordination of the Son acknowledged by the Cappadocian Fathers is that which depends on the derivation of the Son's essence, and this truth is carefully guarded. "The Son," says Nazianzen, "is a Son and therefore not unoriginate (*οὐκ ἄναρχος*), for He is *of the Father*. But if there be a thought of a beginning in time (*ἀπὸ χρόνου ἀρχή*) He also is *ἄναρχος*. For the creator of time cannot be subject to time."<sup>2</sup> Again, "the Son and Spirit are not unoriginate as to *cause*, but unoriginate in respect of *time*."<sup>3</sup> The Son in fact derives His being from the Father, but the entire essence of Deity is in each Person, though each possesses it in a different mode. From this point of view the Father is *αἴτιος*, the Son and Spirit are *αἰτιατά*; but there is no difference or inequality between the Divine Three; rather there is "a continuous and inseparable communion."<sup>4</sup> This doctrine of the inseparable operation of the three Persons is specially characteristic of Gregory Nyssen. He seems to be a Platonic realist, believing in the unity of God as he believes in

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* clxxxix. 7. So 8, "The identity of their operations suggests the unity of the substance." Cp. Greg. Nyss. *Quod non sint tres Dii* [Migne], *P.G.* 45, p. 125 c; *de comm. not.* 180 c.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat.* xxxix. 12; cp. *Orat.* xx. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.* xxix. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Bas. Ep.* xxxviii. 4, *συνεχῆς τις καὶ ἀδιδασκαστος κοινωνία*. For *αἴτιος* and *αἰτιατά*, see Greg. Nyss. *de comm. not.* [Migne], 180 c. Cp. Loofs, § 34, 5.

the unity of man.<sup>1</sup> "The idea of God, or of the Deity, is one, indivisible; there exists but one simple Divine essence; the plurality within the Godhead does not affect this essence itself, but merely the hypostases, each of which contains the entire essence. It is incorrect, therefore, to speak as though the Divine essence were itself a plurality." Strictly and scientifically speaking, we cannot conceive of one Person apart from the two others. The very mention of the "Son" implies the existence of the Father and of the Spirit, but we must not attribute that to the one essence which is predicable solely of the separate *hypostasis*. In the Holy Trinity all Divine activity proceeds forth from the Father, advances onward through the Son, and reaches its perfection in the Holy Spirit. Neither in time, place, will, nor work are the Persons separated.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident that these writers felt a real difficulty in repelling the charge that they taught tritheism. Gregory seems to meet the objection when he suggests that idea of interpenetration, or mutual permeation of the Divine Three (*περιχώρησις*), which was distinctly formulated by later theologians. Basil deprecates the connection with Deity of strictly numerical ideas.<sup>3</sup> Gregory Nazianzen even apologises for the distinction of three *Persons* in the Deity. "This," he declares, "is the peculiar nature of things simple—not to be like some one thing, and unlike another; . . . the property [of a simple thing] is to be rather something self-identical than a thing that resembles another" (*ταῦτόν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφομοίωμα*).<sup>4</sup> The three Persons, he elsewhere says, are

<sup>1</sup> See *Quod non sint* [Migne], pp. 117-119; *de comm. not.* 180 D ff. Cp. Dorner, *div. i.* vol. ii. pp. 315 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Quod non sint*, p. 125 c.

<sup>3</sup> *Epp.* ccxiv., xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Greg. Naz. Oral.* xxx. 20. Cp. xxxix. 11. It would seem that Greg. Naz. popularised the new phraseology.

three in respect of their peculiar properties (*ιδιότητες*); they may be called *ὑποστάσεις* or *πρόσωπα* indifferently, —there is no need to dispute about words; but they are one in respect of essence or Deity. “The distinctions between *Him of whom, Him through whom, and Him in whom*, do not divide the substance, but are modes of characterising the distinctive characteristics (*ιδιότητος*) of one unconfused substance.”<sup>1</sup> To deny, says Basil, the unity of essence is to fall into polytheism; to disallow the separate individuality of the hypostases,<sup>2</sup> is to subside into Judaism.

Thus the theology of the *Homoousion* is developed by the Cappadocians under Origenistic influences. The intermediate stage between their work and that of Athanasius may be traced in the careful dogmatic statement of Basil of Ancyra and others preserved by Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxiii. 12–22),<sup>3</sup> which makes an effort to fix more exactly the sense of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, in relation to the Son. The word *ὑπόστασις* is defended (chap. 16) as having been used by the Easterns, *ἵνα τὰς ιδιότητας τῶν προσώπων ὑφεστώσας καὶ ὑπαρχούσας γνωρίσωσιν*. Basil here makes an advance on Athanasius, and the Cappadocians develop the hint of Basil. The great interest of their work lies in the fact that from the standpoint of the current Platonistic philosophy of the day, they laboured to find a really scientific expression for the Nicene doctrine. Their success represents the victory of Platonism over a dry and formal Aristotelianism; the alliance, at least for a time, of the highest learning of the time with the catholic faith. Athanasius survived long enough to witness the triumph of the cause to which he had devoted his life; and the

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxix. 12.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἰδιότροπον τῶν ὑποστάσεων. *Ep.* cx. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See a long note in Harnack, *l.c.* ii. 249. Cp. Loofs, § 34, 1.

Cappadocians always acknowledged him as the representative *par excellence* of catholic orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup> They themselves certainly deserve the praise which has been justly given them for the sobriety and moderation with which they accomplished their difficult work. They never lose sight of the fact that they are face to face with mystery;<sup>2</sup> nevertheless they energetically assert that a real knowledge of God is possible. "The spirit of modesty just alluded to prevented them from treating as settled that which was still unsettled, impelled them to continue their investigations into the true idea of *hypostasis*, and to give free play to all attempts to further a solution, provided only that the interests of Christology were kept in sight, and that neither mixture nor separation, neither Sabellianism nor Arianism (or tritheism) were favoured and aided."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Harnack, *l.c.* ii. 256, 267. See esp. Bas. *Ep.* lxvi., written about two years before Athanasius' death.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat. mag.* iii.; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxix. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 331. I ought not to close these sections without referring the student to the admirable and exhaustive account of Athanasius, his theology, life, and times, contained in Bp. Robertson's prolegomena to *Athanasius* [Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, ser. 2]. In regard to the neo-Nicene terminology, see the prolegomena to *Gregory of Nyssa* in the same series and the recent monograph by Mr. Bethune-Baker on *The Meaning of Homoousios in the Constantinopolitan Creed* (*Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. No. 1).

## PART VI

## THE PROBLEM OF THE INCARNATION

### § I. Apollinarianism.

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## § I. APOLLINARIANISM

The century which closed with the Council of Constantinople (381) had been entirely absorbed, not in Christological, but in Trinitarian controversy. But "Christology was the perennial motive of the Trinitarian efforts."<sup>1</sup> The formulation of the Christian idea of God must necessarily precede the construction of theory as to Christ's person, and the work of the Nicene Fathers practically amounted to a restatement of the Christian doctrine of God. The doctrine of the Divine unity and transcendence had been supplemented by clearer statements not only of the immanence of the Logos, which was a kind of prophecy of the Incarnation, but also of the relationships subsisting within the Godhead.

At the point we have now reached, the problems which emerge are more strictly Christological. Not of course that the doctrine of Christ's person had been ignored during the Nicene struggle. The great writers who defended the tradition of the Church were deeply conscious at least of the reality of redemption. They had an intuition of Christ's person, practically identical with that which Irenæus and Tertullian had so richly developed. The catholic conception of redemption implied nothing less than an assumption by the Divine Logos of human nature in its entirety. To Athanasius, for instance, who may be regarded as representing the Alexandrine view of our Lord's person and work, Jesus Christ is the representative Man in whom human nature was enabled to do and to bear what was entirely above its native strength; in whom, as the first-fruits of our race, all men died unto sin, and were exalted into the life of Divine fellowship.<sup>2</sup> As Athanasius often insists,

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *div. i.* vol. ii. p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. the *de Incarn.* and *Orat.* i. 41-43, 46, 47; ii. 61, 67, 68; iii. 33.

the Logos made His own *all* that is human; Marcellus taught that in Christ there was a special operation of the Logos, but catholic writers could be content with nothing short of an entire assumption of humanity by the Logos. Hitherto, however, the full significance of this position had hardly been acknowledged. Athanasius, for instance, had insisted much upon the assumption by the Word of human *flesh*, as the temple or organ of Deity; and had gone so far as to explain that the word *σάρξ* in S. John i. 14 implied the perfection of human nature,<sup>1</sup> a true human soul as well as body. The doctrine of the verity of Christ's human soul was in fact asserted by the Council of Alexandria, but the bearing of this verity on the unity of Christ's person had as yet hardly been faced. The importance of the doctrine of the human soul of Christ seems to have occurred to Eustathius of Antioch, who composed a work *on the Soul*,<sup>2</sup> but Athanasius, while maintaining against the Arians the completeness of Christ's human nature, and His consequent possession of a human soul, yet shrank from giving prominence to the logical consequence that Christ, in His human nature, was possessed of real freedom of choice, and really underwent moral probation and development.

The problem as to the unity of Christ's person—the question how the Divine Logos could have assumed human nature in its completeness—was forced upon the Church by the attempted solution of APOLLINARIS or Apollinarius, bishop of Laodicea, a man of cultured and philosophic mind, a gifted exponent of Scripture, and a devoted adherent of Athanasius and the Nicene theology. He conceived that the problem might be solved by

34; iv. 33, etc. Cp. similar statements in Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat. mag.* xvi., xxxii., xxxvi., etc. Hilary, passages in Dorner, div. i. [vol. ii. notes 81, 82.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in *Orat. c. Arian.* iii. *σάρξ* is explained to mean *ἄνθρωπος*.

<sup>2</sup> See Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. note 60.

simple denial of the existence of a reasonable soul (*νοῦς*) in Christ's human nature. For it is noticeable that Apollinaris intended to represent Christ's human nature as impersonal—a doctrine which the Church ultimately accepted. He believed himself to be expressing the mind of Christendom, his aim being on the basis of Nicene doctrine to construct a scientific Christology.

1. What, then, was the error of Apollinaris? It originated no doubt partly in his fear of Arianism, partly in his anxiety to vindicate the unity of Christ's person, but partly also in a false psychology. He regarded the *νοῦς* in man as the seat of sinful instincts, and he was supremely anxious to guard the immutability (*τὸ ἀτρέπτου*) of Christ's human will. "For where," he said, "there is perfect (or complete) manhood there is sin."<sup>1</sup> "Mankind is saved not by the assumption of a reasonable soul, and an entire manhood, but by the assumption of flesh, whose natural property it is to be under guidance (*ἡγεμονεύεσθαι*); and the flesh needed an immutable soul (*νοῦς*), not succumbing to it (the flesh) through weakness of knowledge, but conforming it without violence to itself."

(a) Accordingly Apollinaris accepts the Arian account of Christ's person, namely, that the Logos united to Himself a body of flesh without reasonable soul, in order to turn the doctrine against its advocates, who gave special prominence to the creaturely "mutability" or freedom of choice (*τὸ τρεπτόν*) of the Logos. He felt it necessary to exclude every element of free choice from Christ's humanity. In effect he says to the Arians, "Christ is, as you say, the Logos appearing in human flesh and fulfilling the part of the soul; but He is *not*, as you maintain, a mere creature. He is Divine, and therefore

<sup>1</sup> [Ath.] c. *Apoll.* i. 2. Greg. Nyss. *Antirr.* c. *Apoll.* xl. (a very important passage).

immutable and infallible.”<sup>1</sup> The Logos, in short, was a prevailing principle of holiness, supplying the place of that νοῦς which in Adam had fallen under the dominion of the flesh. Thus the possibility of moral evil seemed to be effectually excluded from Christ’s human nature.

(b) Apollinaris was anxious also to guard the unity of Christ’s person. He feared that the admission of two perfect natures (δύο τέλεια) would involve a dual personality. He, like Nestorius, was unable to conceive of a human “nature” apart from personality. He fell back accordingly upon the notion of a new nature, that of “God made flesh” (θεὸς σαρκωθεῖς). “The true God,” he said, “is He who being separate from flesh (ἄσαρκος) was manifested in flesh, perfect with the true and divine perfection; not two persons nor two natures; not the Divine Logos one person, and the man Jesus another person.”<sup>2</sup> Thus the fear of what ultimately was the error of Nestorius induced Apollinaris to fall back on a kind of monophysitism: the idea that there was in the incarnate Christ μία φύσις σύνθετος, σύγκρατος, σαρκική καὶ θεϊκή.<sup>3</sup> Only so did he hope to secure a true unity of volition and thought; the ruling principle (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) in Christ would be the Logos, and the notion of two thinking or willing principles in the same subject would be excluded.

We should notice the motive which dictated this view. Apollinaris saw that for the accomplishment of Christ’s redemptive work it was vitally necessary that His person should be one and the same; His acts and sufferings, in order to have saving merit and efficacy

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 5. 4. Dörner, *div.* i. vol. ii. p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> See the treatise of Apoll. *κατὰ μέρος πλῆρως* (ascribed to Greg. Thaumatz. and included in his works).

<sup>3</sup> See the passages quoted by Justinian, *c. Monoph.* in Mai, *Script. vet. nova collectio*, vol. vii. pp. 301 ff.

must be those of a Divine personality. It was this thought that he probably intended to express in the phrase *ἄνθρωπος κυριακός*, which catholic writers disallowed.<sup>1</sup> He wished to advance beyond the idea of mere *possession* or *assumption* of manhood by the Logos to that of the Logos actually *being made man*, and to regard the humanity of Christ in relation to His person as an integral, constitutive element, not a mere external addition.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Again, Apollinaris held a view, apparently due to his partiality for Plato, that the rational soul (*νοῦς*) of man, as being free, yet limited in knowledge, must necessarily be the seat of sinful instincts. "Our rational soul," he said, "is under condemnation."<sup>3</sup> If Christ assumed the totality of human attributes, He undoubtedly had human reasoning powers (*λογισμοί*); and it is impossible for these to be free from inherent sin."<sup>4</sup> This view involved the quasi-Manichæan idea that human nature is *essentially* and by its very constitution sinful, the most distinctive element in it (*τὸ κυριώτατον*) being *νοῦς*, which according to Apollinaris is the necessary seat of sin. Accordingly, when Apollinaris denies the presence in Christ of a human *νοῦς*, he does undoubtedly imply that the principle of free will is an evil which mars the perfection of human nature, and from which our manhood needs liberation, inasmuch as it naturally tends to evil.

(d) The sketch of Apollinaris' theology would be incomplete without some allusion to an idea of special

<sup>1</sup> See Greg. Naz. *Ep. i. ad Cledon.* § 3. Aug. retracts his allowance of the phrase *homo dominicus* in *Retract. i. 19, § 8.* [Goldhorn on Greg. *ad loc.*]

<sup>2</sup> Dörner, *div. i. vol. ii. p. 378.*

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Naz. *Ep. i. ad Cled. 10.*

<sup>4</sup> [Ath.] *c. Apoll. ii. 6*; cp. *ibid. i. 2*: 'Ὁποῦ γὰρ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος ἔκει καὶ ἁμαρτία. See also *i. 15.* Cp. Dörner, *div. i. vol. ii. p. 395 ff.* on the Manichæan and Docetic tendency of Apollinaris.

interest, and even grandeur, which underlay his teaching; the idea, namely, of an essential connection between the Divine and human natures, which first reached its embodiment and fulfilment in the Incarnation. A union between God and man seemed to be "demanded by the essence or conception of both natures." In this union Apollinaris conceived that both natures—human and Divine—for the first time reached a predestined goal: humanity, because it remained in a sense imperfect, without the Incarnation; deity, because the Divine love must needs remain unsatisfied till God had actually become man.

According to Apollinaris, the Logos is not only the image of God but the archetype of manhood. He was eternally predestined to become man, and bore within Himself, so to speak, the "potency" of Incarnation. In this sense Apollinaris spoke of Christ's human nature as pre-existent. Christ was the pre-existent heavenly man, as being destined for the Incarnation.<sup>1</sup> So Apollinaris understood the expression of S. Jo. iii. 13, *The Son of man which is in heaven*, and the statement of S. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 47), *The second man is from heaven*. The Logos, who supplied the place of the human soul in Christ, was in no sense foreign to the essence of humanity; rather He was "the truth of human nature"—that without which it could not attain the goal of its development. Accordingly, from this point of view, human nature (*σάρξ* in the wider sense of the term, *i.e.*, *ἄνθρωπος*) was in a sense coeternal with the Logos, not

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Nyss. *Antirr.* xiii. Apoll. said *πρὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος Χριστός*. His contemporaries misunderstood him to mean that the actual *flesh* of Christ pre-existed. It would seem that his teaching was actually perverted in this direction. Thus Greg. Naz., *Ep. i. ad Cleod.* 6, thinks it necessary to deny the descent of the *σάρξ* from heaven. See also Greg. Nyss. *l.c.* [Ath.] c. *Apoll.* i. 2, 4, 7, 9, 10. Cp. Dorner, *div. i. vol. i.* pp. 371-374. Harnack, *ii.* 313.

something adventitious but something essentially "consubstantial and connatural";<sup>1</sup> man's nature pre-existed in God. The human birth of the Son of God was indeed an act of self-humiliation (*κένωσις*), but only in the sense that to be the archetypal man is a higher state of existence than to be actually man and to pass through the stages of a human history. This line of thought had no doubt points of contact with catholic teaching. The work of the Logos in relation to fallen humanity was doubtless that of exhibiting its true archetype and pattern according to the Divine intention. In this sense Christ was "the new" or "heavenly man," the "perfect image" after which our manhood was capable of being re-created";<sup>2</sup> the "second Adam" in whom our fallen nature was restored to its archetypal sinlessness. But to catholic writers there appeared to be a pantheistic confusion in the suggestion that the flesh was "consubstantial and coeternal with the Word."<sup>3</sup> The books *against Apollinaris*, ascribed with doubtful propriety to Athanasius, clearly insist upon the distinctness of the two natures in Christ, as well as on the completeness of the manhood. Christ assumed a human soul as a true element of human nature in its integrity "in order that one might become both, perfect in all points";<sup>4</sup> and the two, though conjoined inseparably in an actual vital union (*ἕνωσις φυσική*, *c. Apoll.* i. 10) yet remain distinct and unconfused. To allow a possible

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. ap. Greg. Nyss. *Antirr.* xvii.: οὐχὶ ἐπίκτητος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐβεργείᾳ γίνεται ἡ σὰρξ τῇ θεότητι, ἀλλὰ συνουσιωμένη καὶ σύμφυτος. Cp. Greg. Naz. *ad Nect.* iii.

<sup>2</sup> [Ath.] *c. Apoll.* i. 5, 7, ii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 12, εἰ δὲ ὁμοούσιος τοῦ λόγου ἡ σὰρξ καὶ συναΐδιος, ἐκ τούτου ἐρεῖτε καὶ τὰ πάντα κτίσματα συναΐδια τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι θεῷ. The form of error which [Ath.] here indicated seems to be a *distortion* of Apoll.'s teaching, but it is a true development of his *tendency* to ignore the distinction between manhood and Godhead. Cp. Gora. *Bampton Lectures*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 7. See esp. 16.

commingling of the two natures in Christ leads to pantheism, just as a mutilation of the manhood implies docetism.

## 2. The catholic position.

(i.) The main motive of resistance to Apollinarianism was a right jealousy to maintain the reality and completeness of man's redemption in Christ. If He did not assume human nature in its integrity, including its most distinctive element (*τὸ κυριώτατον*)—the element most worthy of redemption, and therefore specially needing salvation—Christ could not be either our perfect *example* nor our *redeemer*. Catholic writers complained that the Apollinarian Christ was not really human (*οὐχ ὁμοούσιος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ τὸ κυριώτατον*);<sup>1</sup> He had not assumed the substance which actually needed restoration. Only that which was really united to God could be regarded as "saved." As Gregory Nazianzen expressed it, *τὸ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀθεράπευτον*. The *whole man* must be restored.<sup>2</sup>

(ii.) Church teachers further pointed out a docetic element in Apollinaris' teaching. There could be no possibility of a real human probation, or real advance in Christ's manhood, if there were no real human will to be surrendered,—if, as Apollinaris maintained, "the Godhead without constraint swayed the manhood."<sup>3</sup> The Church teachers indeed agree with Apollinaris in assigning to the Godhead in Christ absolute predominance; above the human nature stands the "hegemonic Divine." One

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Nyss. *Antirr.* xxiii.; cp. Greg. Naz. *Ep. i. ad Cled.* vii.

<sup>2</sup> "Quod si utique imperfectus homo susceptus est, imperfectum Dei munus est, imperfecta nostra salus, quia non est *totus homo salvatus*." (Def. of the Roman Council under Damasus, in Dorner, *div. i. vol. ii.* note 83). Cp. the very similar passage, Tert. *de Resurr.* xxxiv. See also Petav. *de Incarn.* v. 11, §§ 10, 11; Loofs, *Dogmengesch.* § 35, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Nyss. *Antirr.* xli.: ἀβιάστως, φησιν, ἡ θεότης τῆν σάρκα ἠποσώθηται. See [Ath.] c. *Apoll.* i. 2, ii. 4, and Ath. *ad Epiet.* vii.

writer even uses language which at first sight appears monothelitic,<sup>1</sup> but he seems to mean no more than that the human will was ever completely subject to the Divine. While, however, the catholic writers were content with attributing a true human will to our Lord, without insisting prominently on its independent freedom of choice, Apollinaris exaggerated the supposed necessary antinomy between human will and Divine, and preferred to evade the difficulty by denying the very existence of any human soul in Christ. Perhaps the best statement of the position at which catholic Fathers of this period arrived is that of Gregory Nazianzen in his *first Ep. to Cledonius*, c. ix. Gregory claims for the manhood of Christ that though perfect of its kind, it is *relatively* imperfect; just as a hill is inferior to a mountain, or a mustard seed to a bean, so in the same way the human *νοῦς*, though relatively perfect and endowed with a capacity of control (*ἡγεμονικόν*), is yet not *absolutely* perfect, for it serves God and is subject to Him, not sharing the Divine right of control or the Divine majesty.<sup>2</sup> Thus if subjection to God be part of the truth, or absolute idea, of human nature, it is not incongruous to suppose that the unity of Christ's person is compatible with the due exercise of a human will. It is obvious that this merely "quantitative" idea of the distinction between Godhead and manhood—the conception of the Divine as a whole, and the human as a part—is not satisfactory; it only illustrates the fact that theological thought was as yet unable to free itself from physical categories, and that the mystery under discussion

<sup>1</sup> [Ath.] c. *Apoll.* ii. 10, ἡ γὰρ θέλησις θεότητος μόνη. Cp. Bright, *Athanasius' Orations against the Arians*, introd. xeviii.

<sup>2</sup> τέλειον οὖν ἡμέτερος νοῦς καὶ ἡγεμονικόν, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς τέλειον, θεοῦ δὲ δοθῶν καὶ ὑποχείριον, ἀλλ' οὐ συνηγεμονικόν οὐδὲ ὁμότιμον. Cp. Dorner, *div. I. vol. ii.* pp. 425, 426.

was unripe for settlement. The suggestion of Gregory if pressed, would lead logically to the view which afterwards largely prevailed, that the manhood in Christ was a mere accident, or "moment," of the Deity.

In fact the problem which Apollinaris raised was that which Nestorianism revived—the problem of the unity of Christ's person. Apollinaris held that two complete natures must imply a dual personality.<sup>1</sup> Catholic instinct hesitated where Nestorius afterwards boldly drew the conclusion. Gregory Nazianzen makes strong assertions as to the unity of the person of Christ,<sup>2</sup> defending the application of the term *θεοτόκος* to the blessed Virgin, and saying, what other Fathers repeat after him, *ἄλλο μὲν καὶ ἄλλο τὰ ἐξ ὧν ὁ σωτήρ, οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος*. But the mode of conjunction of the two natures is not accurately conceived or stated. Gregory is content to express the union as *σύγκρασις*. Similarly Gregory Nyssen teaches a *transmutation* of the human into the Divine. His language has indeed a strong Eutychian cast; he even denies that the manhood retained its distinctive properties; in the resurrection state it is swallowed up "like a drop of vinegar in a limitless ocean."<sup>3</sup> By the aid of the same illustration he meets the Apollinarian objection that if Christ be perfect man "the triad is expanded into a tetrad."<sup>4</sup>

Thus the problem raised by Apollinaris remained un-

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Nyss. *Antirrḥ.* xliii. *εἰ ἀνθρώπων τελειὸν συνήφθη θεὸς τέλειος, δύο ἂν ἦσαν.* Cp. Greg. Naz. *Ep.* i. *ad Cled.* 8. Apoll. called the Catholics *ἀνθρωπολάτραι*, *ibid.* 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* i. *ad Cled.* 4; *Ep.* ii. 1. <sup>3</sup> *c. Eunom.* v. p. 708 c. [Migne P. G. 45].

<sup>4</sup> *Antirrḥ.* xlii. (a very important passage). Petavius attempts to explain this language (*de Incarn.* x. 1, §§ 6-10). Gregory seems to mean that we finally realise the oneness of Christ's person when we see the sinless infirmities of His manhood—sorrow, pain, hunger, etc., swallowed up in the glory of the risen Christ. His general teaching appears to exclude the idea that he took a docetic view of Christ's humanity.

answered until at a later period catholic theology denied in express terms the existence of two "ruling principles" (*ἡγεμονικά*) in Christ. The Church finally accepted the view that there was but one *ἡγεμονικόν* in Christ, namely, the Divine Logos (*ὁ θεώσας τὸν νοῦν θεός*).<sup>1</sup> At present the catholic writers had only begun to face the problem,—how to harmonise the duality of natures with the unity of person. The mode of solution was not yet apparent, and accordingly the Fathers, after giving tentative explanations, were content simply to cling to the verity of Christ's perfect manhood, adhering to it as a matter of tradition which Tertullian in the third century had helped to formulate in such phrases as *utraque substantia in una persona; duæ substantiæ in Christo Jesu, divina et humana; duplex status non confusus sed conjunctus; etc.*<sup>2</sup>

3. The general result of the controversy with Apollinaris and his adherents<sup>3</sup> was a certain development of the doctrine of the human soul in Christ. In 362 the Synod of Alexandria asserted the existence of a human soul in Christ,<sup>4</sup> and the subject engaged the attention especially of the Cappadocians and Hilary. Gregory Nazianzen revives the idea of Origen that the

<sup>1</sup> Maximus *ap. Petav. de Incarn.* v. 12, § 6. Petav. well says, "Siquidem vel adoptivi filii sunt ii qui Spiritu Dei aguntur—quanto propius excellentiusque naturam ac mentem propriam Deus ipse moderabatur, impulsuque suo quam vellet in partem flectebat? In quod intuens Apostolus dixit *Caput Christi Deum* (1 Cor. xi. 3) quæ vox 'capitis' τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ respondet, et id ipsum 'juris,' 'auctoritatis,' ac 'potestatis' vocabulis continetur."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *adv. Prax.* xxvii. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 304 f.

<sup>3</sup> In 362 the Council of Alexandria rejected A.'s error without naming the author; it was also condemned in different Synods held by Damasus of Rome, between 374–377. Apollinaris seceded from the Church in 375, and died in 390. The polemic against him was carried on by the Cappadocians mainly during 370–380. Basil in *Ep.* cclxiii. 4 (written 377) speaks sadly of Apollinaris' later aberrations.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Socr. *H.E.* iii. 7.

soul (*νοῦς*) was the medium through which the Godhead united itself with the human nature. The Logos is spoken of as *διὰ μέσου νοῦς ὁμιλήσας σαρκί*.<sup>1</sup> This view became current in both East and West; it is repeated almost in the words of Gregory by John of Damascus, and various Latin Fathers speak of Christ assuming flesh *mediante anima*.<sup>2</sup> The view of Hilary, however (d. 368), is worthy of notice, because he seems to have insisted, independently of the controversy with Apollinaris, on the reality of our Lord's human soul, thus vindicating with Athanasius and the Cappadocian school the completeness of the two natures, after the manner of Tertullian, while at the same time he anxiously endeavoured to maintain the personal unity of Christ. Hilary was in fact led by his high estimate of the nobility of the human soul to a peculiar view. He held that the soul of man is from God: the body is merely *ex aliena substantia*. The soul must necessarily suffer defilement in entering the body; therefore as the soul of Christ was specially created by the Logos, so He fashioned or constituted for it a body as its appropriate temple. The body of Christ was of heavenly origin, for it was framed by Himself: *Ipsa corporis sui origo est*.<sup>3</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. xxxv. Cp. Ep. i. ad Cleod. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 6, *ἦνωται τὸ πνεῦν σαρκὶ διὰ μέσου νοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, μεσιτεύοντος θεοῦ καθαρῶτητι καὶ σαρκὸς παχύτητι· ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν γὰρ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σαρκὸς ὁ νοῦς· νοῦς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ καθαρῶτατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦ θεοῦ. 18, νοῦς γὰρ ἐν μεταίχμιω ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς, τῆς μὲν ὡς σύνοικος, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ ὡς εἰκῶν.* Cp. Aug. *de agone Chr.*: "Invisibilis et incommutabilis veritas per spiritum animam, et per animam corpus suscipiens," etc. So *Epist.* cxi. 12; Greg. Mag. *Moral.* xviii. 20. "Dominus autem per Divinitatem lumen est: qui mediante anima in eius [Mariæ] utero fieri dignatus est per humanitatem corpus." Rufin. *in Symb.* xiii., "Filius Dei nascitur ex Virgine, non principaliter soli carni sociatus sed anima inter carnem Deumque media generatus." See other references in Petav. *de Incarn.* iv. 13. Cp. Aquin. *Summa*, p. iii. q. 6. art. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *de Trin.* x. 18. ff. "Caro illa . . . de cælis est, et homo ille de

body was in this sense heavenly (*cæleste corpus*). But Hilary is careful to point out that though the Son of God fashioned for Himself a body He took the actual substance or material of it from Mary. In this sense He took to Himself an alien substance, a "new creature" (*nova natura*).<sup>1</sup> But it was His own Divine act whereby He first united Himself with a soul of His own creation, and then by this soul animated the earthly material derived from Mary and made it a body: *ut per se sibi assumpsit ex virgine corpus, ita ex se sibi animam assumpsit*.

It remains only to notice at this point that Hilary approaches the problem of the unity of Christ's person from a purely ethical standpoint. He conceives the incarnate life as a continuous state of Divine *self-evacuation*. *In forma servi veniens evacuavit se a Dei forma*.<sup>2</sup> But *evacuatio formæ non est abolitio naturæ; quia qui se evacuat non caret sese, et qui accipit, manet*. The person is ever one and the same: *quia unus atque idem Christus sit, et demutans habitum et assumens*. The Son of God having laid aside His glory, voluntarily persisted in the state of humiliation, remaining as it were hidden (*intra se latens*) without actually laying aside His higher nature: He retained and even exercised, but concealed, the *potestas generis sui*.<sup>3</sup>

It seems an inconsistency in Hilary that he should ascribe, as he appears to do, impassibility to our Lord's human body, and even to His soul. He does, in fact,

Deo est." Cp. Greg. Nyss. *Antirrh.* liv. See generally Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. pp. 402 ff. and note 74.

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* ix. 54. Dorner, div. i. vol. ii. p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> *in Ps.* lxxviii. 25. Cp. *de Trin.* ix. 14, xi. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *de Trin.* ix. 51: "Neque enim defecerat natura, ne esset: sed in se humilitatem terrenæ nativitatis manens sibi Dei natura susceperat, generis sui potestatem in habitu assumptæ humilitatis exercens." So xi. 48.

ascribe to the body a certain *indolentia*: *virtus corporis sine sensu pœnæ vim pœnæ in se descœvientis exceptit.*<sup>1</sup> Hilary goes on to explain that the body was exempt from suffering, just as it showed itself to be exempt from ordinary laws when Christ walked on the water, or passed through closed doors. "He had a body wherewith to suffer, and He suffered; but He had not a nature capable of feeling pain (*dolendum*)."<sup>2</sup> To later theologians this kind of language naturally appeared docetic, but it is perhaps to be qualified by consideration of Hilary's favourite thesis, namely, that all Christ's acts and sufferings were the result of a free self-determination of His will. He could only suffer, so far as it was His will to suffer. This is in effect what Augustine means when he says *Turbatus est Christus, quia voluit; esurivit Jesus, verum est, sed quia voluit; . . . mortuus est Jesus, verum est, sed quia voluit; in illius potestate erat, sic vel sic affici vel non affici.*<sup>3</sup> In other words, what in our case is the result of a necessity of nature, was in the case of Christ the result of free acceptance.<sup>4</sup> "We declare," says Hilary, "that the Son of God *non ex naturæ necessitate potius, quam ex sacramento humanæ salutis passioni fuisse subditum, et voluisse se magis passioni subjici, quam coactum. . . . Passus ergo est Deus, quia se subjecit voluntarius passioni.*"<sup>4</sup>

How then did Hilary conceive the unity of our Lord's person? He seems to solve one mystery by another; to represent the Son of God as subsisting simultaneously in two states or spheres: the state of glory or majesty in

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* x. 23. Cp. 24, "Sed ad demonstrandam corporis veritatem, corporis consuetudo suscepta est." 47, "Fallitur ergo humanæ æstimationis opinio putans hunc *dolere* quod *patitur*."

<sup>2</sup> *Aug. in Joann. tract.* xlix. 18. The above is perhaps the only defence that can be offered for Hilary's language, which he may have retracted.

<sup>3</sup> Dörner, *div. i.* vol. ii. p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> *in Ps.* liii. 12. See other passages in Dörner, *div. i.* vol. ii. note 78, esp. *de Synod.* xlix., where Hil. distinguishes between *passibilitas* and *passio*.

which He was before the Incarnation; and the state of advance, progress, or return, in which He willed to subsist for the sake of man. This dual state of existence is described by Hilary as follows: *Deo itaque proprium fuit esse aliud quam manebat, nec tamen non esse quod manserat; nasci in homine Deum, nec tamen Deum esse desinere; contrahere se usque ad conceptum et cunas et infantiam, nec tamen Dei potestate decedere. Hoc non sibi sed nobis est sacramentum. Neque assumptio nostra Deo profectus est: sed contumeliæ suæ voluntas nostra profectio est, dum nec amittit ille quod Deus est, et homini acquirit ut Deus sit.*<sup>1</sup> Clearly his thought in this passage is that of a single personality occupying simultaneously two distinct spheres of consciousness. He is following the line of thought which perhaps is the only one that in some measure "appeases" our sense of mystery in regard to this subject.<sup>2</sup>

Other Western writers do not contribute to the solution of the problem which Apollinaris had raised. They content themselves with reproducing the distinctions formulated by Tertullian: thus Ambrose uses the ordinary language of the West as to the two natures (*gemina substantia*), e.g., *utrumque unus et unus in utroque*, etc., but does not seem to feel the pressure of the difficulty with which Hilary tries to grapple.<sup>3</sup> Augustine also uses the phrase *una persona geminæ substantiæ*; and speaks of the union as a "mixture": *Verbo Dei ad unitatem personæ copulatus et quodam modo commixtus est homo.*<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the following is a typical passage: *Quia omnipotens erat, fieri potuit manens quod erat. . . . Proinde quod verbum*

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* ix. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. below, p. 611.

<sup>3</sup> See passages from Ambrose in Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, § 23, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *de Trin.* iv. 30. See also an important passage, *Epist.* cxxxvii., esp. § 11.

*caro factum est, non verbum in carnem pereundo cessit, sed caro ad verbum ne ipsa periret accessit, ut quemadmodum homo est anima et caro, sic esset Christus Deus et homo. Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo: non confusione nature sed unitate personæ. . . . Ac per hoc qui erat Dei Filius factus est hominis filius, assumptione inferioris, non conversione potioris, accipiendo quod non erat, non amittendo quod erat.*<sup>1</sup> Augustine in fact adheres simply to the received theology, and finds relief for his intellect in the thought of the Divine omnipotence. Undoubtedly his interest in Christology is rather religious than purely intellectual; he delights to dwell on the significance of Christ's human example, and the humility by which He healed and subdued human pride.<sup>2</sup> The subject of the human soul in Christ is not fully developed by Augustine;<sup>3</sup> but he approves the suggestion that the Son of God created a soul for Himself, without however definitely stating his own view; and he regards the Godhead as τὸ ἡγεμονικόν in Christ: *Deus non quomodo alios sanctos regebat illum hominem sed gerebat.*<sup>4</sup>

On a general review of the Apollinarian controversy the most important points seem to be these—

(1) Church teachers had successfully vindicated the reality and completeness of Christ's human nature. They had insisted on the evidence of the Gospels, but still more emphatically perhaps on the *a priori* consideration that the true redemption of man's nature must necessarily involve the assumption of manhood in its entirety—body, soul, and spirit, with their several faculties of action, thought, and will.

<sup>1</sup> *Serm.* clxxxvi. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> See *Enchir.* 103, and the beautiful passage *Confess.* vii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See *Epist.* cxi. 12 for an anti-Apollinarian passage; cp. *de agone Chr.* xx., xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *de Trin.* xiii. 23.

(2) They had also maintained, as a matter of Church tradition and of Christian intuition, the essential unity of Christ's person: but so far they had not succeeded in explaining the conditions under which such unity was conceivable. The general tendency of the catholic writers is to allow to Christ's human nature a relative independence, but at the same time to subordinate the humanity entirely to the Godhead as its true ruling principle (*ἡγεμονικόν*). It was inevitable that attention should henceforth be devoted to the mode, condition, and effect of the union between God and man in Christ. This tendency of thought probably received an impetus from the anthropological controversies of the fifth century in the West. There Christian thought busied itself with the significance of our Lord's human example, the reality of grace, and the nature of the work of redemption,<sup>1</sup> the doctrine of God and of Christ's person being studied chiefly in the light of man's redemption. On the other hand, in the East the intellectual problem still confronted the Church, though, as we have seen, her teachers were to some extent guided in their opposition to Arius and Apollinaris by the idea of redemption, and what it involved. The two factors in Christ's person—the Divine nature and the human—had been asserted. Christ was truly God (*ἀληθῶς θεός*); the redeemer of humanity could not be less than Divine. On the other hand, He was perfectly human (*τελέως ἄνθρωπος*); fallen man needed an entire and comprehensive restoration of his nature. Christ then was Divine and human. How was the union of the two natures in His person to be conceived, and what did it imply? The controversies of the first half of the fifth century are concerned with the solution of this problem.

<sup>1</sup> Ang. *Epist.* cxi., *de gratia novi testamenti*, is an illustration of the way in which the doctrine of grace is linked to that of the Incarnation.

## § II. NESTORIANISM

1. Nestorianism had its root in the theology of Antioch, especially in that of its representative teacher, *Theodore of Mopsuestia* (350–428). The school of Antioch was chiefly interested in anthropology;<sup>1</sup> its system of scriptural exegesis was literalistic; its logical method was Aristotelian.

The error of Apollinaris had led to the vindication of the real distinctness of two complete natures in the incarnate Christ: it is this *distinctness* which is exaggerated by the Antiochene school. The Christology of Theodore starts from the conception of Christ's complete manhood; the perfection of His human experience. Christ actually struggled with human passions, and passed through a veritable conflict with temptation, in which He was continually victorious. So, remaining sinless under probation, He passed into the state of immutable virtue. The power to keep Himself free from sin He owed (1) to His sinless birth; (2) to the union of His manhood with the Divine Logos. In fact, while His birth and baptism imparted to Him a unique unction of the Spirit, the perpetual co-operation of the indwelling Logos made it morally impossible for Him to fall. But the union with the Logos was only bestowed on the manhood of Jesus by anticipation as the reward of His *foreseen* sinless virtue; it was finally consummated in the state of glory, to which the manhood was elevated.

<sup>1</sup> For Theodore's view of man as a microcosm, see Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. pp. 31 ff. Christ came to be what Adam had failed to be,—the real image of God. His humanity was therefore real and complete; He must needs be perfected through a real human experience. Theodore reproduces the general tendency of Diodore of Tarsus [d. *circa* 394], some fragments of whose writings are found in *Marius Mercator* and others. Cp. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, §§ 36, 37.

Theodore conceived three modes of union to be possible between the Logos and the manhood<sup>1</sup>—

(1) An *essential* indwelling (*ἐνοίκησις κατ' οὐσίαν*); but such a self-limitation of God seemed to him incompatible with the conditions of the Divine nature.

(2) An *effectual* indwelling (*κατ' ἐνέργειαν*); but as God is everywhere present in operation and energy, this mode of indwelling would be no special privilege of Christ.

(3) Accordingly he fell back on the idea of a *moral* indwelling (*κατ' εὐδοκίαν*)—that special indwelling which God vouchsafes to those whom He regards with complacency, and who display a moral affinity with His own character and will. Such an indwelling demands moral conditions in the subject of it; it depends on his habit or state of mind and will (*σχέσις τῆς γνώμης*). Of this type was the Divine indwelling in Christ, according to Theodore's view (cp. S. Luke iii. 22); it was in fact the same in kind, but higher in degree than the indwelling of God in His saints; for in Christ God dwelt *ὡς ἐν υἱῷ*. God assumed and adopted the man Jesus, and fitted him to partake of all the honour which the Logos (who is *φύσει υἱός*) enjoys. The man Christ shared the glory of Divine sonship, being *adopted* at His baptism, and gradually exalted so as to become the "firstborn" of creation, the head of the human race, the recipient of the homage of the universe.

In effect this view substitutes for the Incarnation the indwelling of a man by the Logos. The Logos assumed the man Jesus from the moment of His conception, and brought Him through trial and probation to perfection.

<sup>1</sup> The idea of an essential union (*ἔνωσις φυσική*, or *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*. See [Ath.] c. *Apoll.* i. 10, 12) was supposed by the Antiochenes to be discredited by its practical consequences as displayed in Apollinarianism.

Theodore seems to shrink from the conclusion to which this view tends—a dual personality in Christ. He insists on the fact that the conjunction (*συνάφεια*) between the Logos and the man is so close and indissoluble, that they may be spoken of as one person, just as man and wife are “one flesh.”<sup>1</sup> Theodore maintained that he did not teach a dual sonship: “We speak not of two sons or two lords; since the Divine Logos is essentially one God, to whom he [the man Christ] is united and partakes of His deity, so sharing the title and dignity of Son.”

2. The Christology of the Antiochene school appears in its logical and developed form in Nestorius. We must remember that it represents a reaction from the tendency either to mutilate Christ's human nature (Apollinarianism), or to minimise the actual experience of humiliation recorded in the Gospels. In any case Nestorius is the exponent of the reactionary view; he popularises the ideas of Theodore, and brings the Antiochene tendency to a point.

NESTORIUS succeeded to the see of Constantinople in 428. In that year one of his presbyters, Anastasius, preached a sermon impugning the use of the term *Theotokos* as applied to the blessed Virgin; and he was supported by Nestorius in a series of discourses.<sup>2</sup> The word, which seems to have been quite familiar for at least half a century previously,<sup>3</sup> had already been dis-

<sup>1</sup> See various passages collected by Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogm.* § 23, p. 202; also Theodore's confession of faith, in Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* i. p. 392 [Eng. tr.]; cp. a valuable note in Bright, *S. Leo on the Incarnation*, note 34.

<sup>2</sup> The sermons of Nestorius were translated by Marius Mercator; see his works, Migne *P.L.* 48, pp. 757 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Petav. *de Incarn.* v. 15, §§ 6-9. The more usual expression was that “God was born” of the B. V. M. The word had been used by Church writers from Origen downwards. See Pearson on *The Creed*, art. 3, note 36 Bright, *S. Leo*, note 3.

puted by Theodore. Following his lead, Nestorius denied that Mary was "Mother of God." He objected to the phrase mainly on the ground that it was non-scriptural. "I have learned," he said, "from Scripture that God came forth (*προελθεῖν*) from the Virgin; but never that He was born (*γεννηθῆναι*) of her." The Virgin might, he allowed, be called *χριστοτόκος*, but not *θεοτόκος*. She brought forth a man, who was accompanied by the Logos (*συμπαρελθόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Λόγου*).

Although Nestorius would not draw the inevitable inference from his own statements, Cyril holds him responsible for the logical result of his position. The rejection of the term *Theotokos* seemed inevitably to involve two consequences—

(1) If Mary be not *Theotokos*, *i.e.* the mother of one person, and that person divine, the assumption of a single human being into fellowship with the Logos is substituted for the Incarnation of God. For Nestorius denied that the two natures in Christ formed a personal unity (*ἔνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*). There was at most a union of relation (*ἔνωσις σχετική*) between the Logos and a man, parallel to that between husband and wife, or friend and friend. Nestorius would allow only a "conjunction" (*συνάφεια*) of two persons; a union by "indwelling" (*κατ' ἐνοίκησιν*); an "appropriation," or "possession" (*οἰκείωσις, σχέσις*) of a human person by the person of the Word.

Thus Mary's son was the "organ" or "vesture" employed by the Word; the "temple" in which He dwelt. The man Christ was not God (*θεός*), but God-bearer (*θεοφόρος*), or "possessor of the Godhead" (*κτήτωρ τῆς θεότητος*). "I worship," said Nestorius, "him that is borne (*τὸν φορούμενον*) for the sake of Him who bears (*διὰ τὸν φοροῦντα*); him that is visible for the sake of

Him who is hidden.”<sup>1</sup> Christ is to be worshipped because God is in Him, not because He is God.

(2) If Mary is not *Theotokos*, Christ's relation to humanity is changed. He is no longer the effectual redeemer of humanity. The Divine work is at best the adoption or elevation of a man in whom the Logos dwells, choosing him *κατὰ πρόγνωσιν*, i.e. as foreknowing what manner of man he would prove to be. To this individual man the Logos unites Himself, not personally (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*), but morally, in virtue of his merit (*κατ' ἀξίαν*). *Humanity as a whole* is not advanced in the exaltation of Christ; but *one individual* is so advanced, and is allowed to share in the worship due to the Logos (*καθ' ὁμοτιμίαν*, or *κατ' ἀθθεντίαν*).<sup>2</sup>

The view of Nestorius has its merit as well as its fatal defect. The really strong point of Nestorianism is its grasp of the necessity of attributing its due significance to the portrait of the God-man in the Gospels. The example of Christ must have real meaning for His fellow-men; His moral development must have been an actual historical process, not a mere illusion; it must have been real, not docetic. As Dorner points out, the Antiochene theologians,<sup>3</sup> and especially Theodore, were anxious to pursue the path which the Church had

<sup>1</sup> Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 9. In iii. 3 Petav. gives other Nestorian phraseology, e.g., *σχετικὴ συνάφεια, προσκύνησις κατ' ἀναφοράν, προσωπικὴ ἔνωσις, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Cyril, *ep. ad Nest.* ii. anath. 3, etc. [Boeth.] *de pers. et duab. nat.* c. 4, “Quæ est igitur facta hominis Deique coniunctio? Num ita quasi cum duo corpora sibimet apponuntur ut tantum locis juncta sint et nihil in alterum ex alterius qualitate perveniat? quem conjunctionis modum Graeci *κατὰ παράθεσιν* vocant. . . . Jam vero sequitur ut personis manentibus nullo modo a Divinitate humanitas credatur assumpta; omnino enim disjuncta sunt quæ æque personis naturisque separantur. . . . Non est igitur salvatum humanum genus,” etc.

<sup>3</sup> Already (during the Arian conflict) Eustathius of Antioch had pointed out the reality of Christ's human soul.

followed in rejecting Apollinarianism; to vindicate the completeness of Christ's human nature, and the moral freedom of His human will. But Nestorius endeavoured to explain the mystery of Christ's person logically rather than ethically. He had a clear idea of that which, speaking metaphysically, *seems* to contradict the essence of Deity. "I cannot," he said, "adore a God of three months old; a God who is dead and buried." But he failed to apprehend the ethical idea of Divine power which is guided by love and a purpose of grace,—love condescending to lay aside its glory, and to accept creaturely limitations. He spoke as if the word *Theotokos* implied the birth of *Deity*,<sup>1</sup> not the birth of a *Divine Person*. "God could not be born, *quâ* God: therefore Mary was not *Theotokos*." The Antiochene doctrine, as exhibited in the theology of Nestorius, had its roots in the past. It is distinguished from the error of Paul the Samosatene only by its more clear affirmation of the personality of the indwelling Logos. It practically represents Christ as no more than an inspired man (*ἀνθρώπος ἐνθεός*). While the manhood of Christ is set in the forefront, the Godhead is in effect reduced to the level of an inspiring and sustaining power, the catholic idea of an all-powerful Divine Redeemer being altogether obscured or withdrawn from view. Christ's humanity is exhibited as a pattern, inviting men to imitation; but is no longer the divinely endowed medium of grace, power, and life. And at this point we may notice the affinity between Nestorian and Pelagian error. Cassian in describing a certain humanitarian heresy akin to that of Nestorius which arose in Gaul early in the fifth century, points out its connection with Pelagianism. He traces

<sup>1</sup> This confusion between *God* and *Godhead* runs throughout the sermons of Nestorius; see esp. Serm. vii., *non occidit Pilatus Deitatem*. Cp. Bright, *Ch. Hist.* 313-451, p. 316.

a tie of affinity between the doctrine that Christ was a sinless man promoted for His merits to the dignity of being assumed by God, and the Pelagian view that all men could, without the aid of God, become simply by their own efforts what Christ became. The Nestorian Christ came not to effect an unnecessary redemption, but simply to inspire men to self-dependent efforts by setting before them a good example.<sup>1</sup> In point of fact there are said to have been historical connections between the followers of Nestorius and those of Pelagius, and the affinity is illustrated by the case of the monk Leporius, who, for a while, combined both forms of error, but finally recanted.<sup>2</sup> In modern times the same combination of tendencies is seen in Deism: taking an optimistic view of man's condition and capacities, Deism sees no need of redemption, or atonement for sin. The solitary merit of the Antiochene Christology is its tenacious hold of the figure of the historical Christ at a time when there was some tendency in the Church to represent the humiliation of Christ as "economic," and to assign an excessive predominance to the Divine aspect of His person. There is justice in the observation that "the Church owes it to the theologians of Antioch that its Christology did not become the development of a mere *idea* of Christ, submerging altogether the actual historical Christ."<sup>3</sup>

Before passing to the theology of Cyril, let us briefly explain the disputed term.

Its meaning is that *Mary did truly bear the person who*

<sup>1</sup> See Cassian, *de Incarn. Chr.* i. cc. 2, 3, ap. Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 12. Petav. quotes the epigram of Prosper:—

"Nestoriana lues successi Pelagianæ,  
Quæ tamen est utero prægenerata meo.  
Infelix miseræ genetrix, et filia nata,  
Prodivi ex ipso germine quod peperit," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. *Epist. cœlix.*; Cassian, *de Incarn.* i. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* ii. 327.

is very God.<sup>1</sup> She is Mother of God, *secundum humanitatem* "as touching His manhood." Out of her substance the Word fashioned for Himself a dwelling-place, and the flesh so assumed became the very body of the Word (*ἡ σὰρξ ἰδία τοῦ Λόγου*). When Nestorius insisted that "Mary did not bear God," he meant to teach what no catholic disputed, namely, that the Godhead cannot in itself be subject to human accidents like birth and death. But catholic theology spoke, as we have seen, of a twofold "generation" of the Word: He was begotten of God before the worlds; He was born in time of the Virgin His mother. Novatian, meeting a similar objection, well says: *Quis non intelligat quod impassibilis sit divinitas, passibilis vero humana fragilitas? Quis non cognoscat non illud in Christo mortuum esse quod Deus est, sed illud in illo mortuum est quod homo est? . . . Mors in Christo adversus solam materiam corporis potuit valere. Adversum divinitatem Sermonis non potuit se exercere.*<sup>2</sup>

3. What then was the Church's answer to Nestorianism? In refuting Apollinaris, theology had already anticipated the answer. Following the lead of Athanasius, the Cappadocians had insisted on the concrete unity of the God-man,—a unity resulting, as they were inclined to teach, from a kind of combination of the two natures, which excluded the idea of a dual sonship. Thus Gregory Nazianzen says: "Both that which assumed and that which was assumed, was God; two natures combining into unity (*εἰς ἓν συνδραμούσαι*), not two sons; whereof the one deified, the other was deified. O

<sup>1</sup> As a Greek writer (quoted by Petav. v. 17) says, *ἡ τοῦ προσλήμματος ὑπόστασις θεία ἦν, καὶ τὸ πρόσλημμα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐνώσεως ἐθεώθη*. Cp. Hooker, *Ecl. Pol.* v. 52, § 2, for an admirable statement. See also a valuable note of Bright, *S. Leo*, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *de Trin.* xv. See also an explanation by Vico. Lirin. *Common.* xv.

strange commixture! O wondrous mingling!"<sup>1</sup> Yet the distinction of the two natures was carefully guarded, in spite of the fact that the higher so entirely dominated, and almost absorbed, the lower. The Cappadocian Fathers were anxious to be true to each aspect of the historical portrait of Christ. It was the overpowering certainty of an actual historic redemption that inclined them to represent the unity of the natures as a process by which the manhood was blended with the Godhead. "In relation to the Antiochenes they defended a religious position; in opposition to Apollinaris, a historic position."<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the most explicit statement, before the controversy with Nestorius began, is the following by Gregory Nazianzen: "We do not," he says, "separate the manhood from the Godhead, but we teach one and the same [Christ]. . . . If anyone supposes that Mary is not mother of God (*θεοτόκον*), he is parted from the Deity; . . . if anyone introduces the idea of *two* sons, the one proceeding from God and the Father, the second coming from the human mother, and not one and the same [Son]—may he fall from the adoption promised to them that rightly believe! For the natures are two—Godhead and manhood; . . . but there are not two sons, nor two Gods."<sup>3</sup> The Athanasian view, as it may be called, takes final shape in the theology of the celebrated CYRIL, archbishop of Alexandria (412–444), a learned but passionate and ambitious prelate, who entered the field of controversy against his rival at Constantinople, "moved by interests both personal and doctrinal." There can be little doubt, however, that the uppermost

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.* xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 13. Cp. Greg. Nyssen's theory of *μεταποίησις*.

<sup>2</sup> Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogm.* i. p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* i. *ad Cled.* §§ 3, 4. (Cp. a similar, and nearly contemp. Latin statement in Ambr. *de Incarn. Dom. sacr.* vi. § 47.)

feeling in his mind was one of alarm and resentment at the religious bearings of the Nestorian view. The contest began with a correspondence between the two prelates, followed by an appeal by both to Celestine of Rome. After some hesitation, Celestine sided with Cyril—Rome thus adhering to her traditional policy of maintaining the alliance with Alexandria. Nestorius was condemned at Rome, and virtually deposed; shortly afterwards (in 430) Cyril held a synod at Alexandria, which declared Nestorius a heretic; and at the same time he published twelve anathemas, which were appended to the third letter addressed to Nestorius.

Nestorius thus finding himself at issue with Rome and Alexandria, published twelve counter-anathemas.<sup>1</sup> It is important to remember that he was largely supported in the East, notably by John of Antioch, to whom Nestorius had given satisfactory explanations as to the use of the expression *Theotokos*, and later by Theodoret,<sup>2</sup> bishop of Cyrus, whose sympathies were Antiochene, and who actually wrote a refutation of Cyril's anathemas. Meanwhile the Emperor had been pressed to call a general Council, which was accordingly summoned for 431 at Ephesus. The circumstances of the Council do not concern us here; it is enough to say that the proceedings were marked by more than ordinary violence, and conducted in a wholly indefensible manner and spirit. Celestine was represented by three legates. After a delay of sixteen days, Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus opened the sessions without waiting longer for John of Antioch and his adherents. About 159 bishops took

<sup>1</sup> See them in the Latin trans. of Marius Mercator [Migne, *P.L.* 48, pp. 909 ff.].

<sup>2</sup> Born at Antioch, *circ.* 390; bp. of Cyrus, *circ.* 420; died *circ.* 457. As to his character, etc., see Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 185-6. Cp. Gieseler, *Ecc. Hist.* i. 399 note.

part in these first proceedings, which were carried through with needless haste, and ended in the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius, as a "new Judas" (June 22, 431). A few days later (June 27) John of Antioch arrived, and was highly indignant at the course things had taken; he at once held a council of his supporters, about forty-three in number, at which Cyril and Memnon were condemned and excommunicated, but no mention was made of Nestorius. The Emperor was persuaded to confirm the sentence of both the rival synods. The secret influence, however, exercised by Cyril at Constantinople was not without effect; and the Emperor was finally prevailed on to reinstate Cyril and Memnon; Nestorius' deposition was confirmed, and he retired to a monastery. Thus the Council was brought to an end. Two points are specially worthy of remark—(1) It is a question whether Nestorius really held the opinions ascribed to him by Cyril. The historian Socrates—no unprejudiced witness—imputes nothing more to him than a needless repugnance to orthodox language, arising from ignorance.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, Nestorius allowed the use of *Theotokos* under restrictions: the Virgin might be called "mother of God," because of

<sup>1</sup> *H. E.* vii. 32: "When I came to read the books put forth by Nestorius, I found that the man was ignorant—and I will speak my mind frankly. I was not actuated by hatred to him when I described his shortcomings; nor do I mean to make light of his good points, in order to please certain persons. To me it appears that Nestorius did not follow the lead of Paul the Samosatene, or Photinus; nor did he assert at all that Christ was a mere man; but he shrinks only from the phrase [*Theotokos*] as if it were a spectre; and this is the result of his vast ignorance. For though gifted with natural eloquence, and therefore accounted learned, yet in fact he was ill-trained, and he disdained to study the works of ancient interpreters. Puffed up with pride at his own faculty of speech, he did not spend sufficient pains on the study of ancient documents." Socrates goes on to say that Nestorius did not know the old reading of 1 Jo. iv. 3, *πάν πνεῦμα ὃ λέει τὸν Ἰησοῦν, κ.τ.λ.*, which was believed to have been expunged by designing heretics. See Westcott, *ad loc.* add. note.

Him who was *united* to that which was born of her.<sup>1</sup> "The controversy more than once appeared to be in such a position that it might have been ended by a word of explanation; but an unwillingness on both sides to concede, and personal animosities, unhappily prolonged it."

(2) We notice also the great hostility excited in the East by Cyril's anathemas. It was some time before peace was restored, even after the conclusion of the Council. Some, like the devout and learned Theodoret, laboured steadily for peace, which could only be arrived at on some other basis than that of Cyril's anathemas. In 432-3 an understanding was arrived at: John of Antioch being induced to assent to the condemnation of Nestorius, and Cyril subscribing a formula, probably compiled by Theodoret, without being compelled to retract his former utterances. Many Egyptian prelates, however, remained dissatisfied with the formula, for its explicit acknowledgment of the two natures. On the whole, each party had secured an important point: the Antiochenes were satisfied with the rejection of Apollinarianism and the recognition of two natures; Cyril was content with the affirmation of the unity of the person in Christ, and the *ένωσις δύο φύσεων*.<sup>2</sup>

Nestorius, after wandering in exile, died about 440. With his death Nestorianism passed beyond the limits of the empire; its last stronghold was the school at Edessa, which was suppressed by the Emperor Zeno in 489. Its home henceforth was in Persia, where the Nestorian

<sup>1</sup> See Nest. *Serm.* iv., v. and *Ep. ad. Celest.* (ap. Migne, *P.L.* 48, p. 842f.).

<sup>2</sup> See the formula in Gieseler, *Ecl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 401 note; or Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogm.* § 24, p. 216. The most important sentences are: *ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν . . . ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. δύο γὰρ φύσεων ένωσις γέγονε: διδ ἕνα χριστὸν, ἕνα υἷον, ἕνα κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν τῆς ἀσυγχύτου ένώσεως έννοίαν ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν ἀγίαν πᾶρθενον θεοτόκον, κ.τ.λ.*

or "Chaldæan" Church established itself, and entered on a career of great missionary activity in India, Arabia, and even China and Tartary. For a long period Ctesiphon, and later Bagdad, was the seat of the Nestorian patriarchs; in the thirteenth century there are said to have been as many as twenty-five metropolitan sees in the Nestorian Church. After the destructive inroads of Tamerlane, the Church shrank to a remnant, which still maintains a precarious existence in the valleys of Kurdistan. In the year 1830 there were said to exist at least 150,000 Nestorian Christians; but their numbers have now probably been greatly reduced.<sup>1</sup>

4. We now come to the Christology of Cyril, of which it may be said at once that it is in line with the theology of Athanasius as developed by the later Nicenes. The theology of Alexandria starts in fact from the point of view opposite to that of the Antiochenes. It starts from the person of the Logos: the God-man forming a concrete unity, within which, by a process of abstraction, two distinct natures can be discerned. Christ is regarded as *ἐν ἐκ δύο τῶν ἐναντίων*; a single Divine person submitting to conditions non-natural to His Deity: *ὁ ὦν γίγνεται, καὶ ὁ ἄκτιστος κτίζεται, καὶ ὁ ἀχώρητος χωρεῖται*, says Nazianzen.<sup>2</sup> Conversely the Manhood was glorified, and even transformed by its union with the Logos: "It no longer remained within its own properties and limits; but by the right hand of God it was coexalted, and became instead of a thing subject, Christ the king; instead of a thing lowly, most high; instead of man, God (*ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου θεός*)." <sup>3</sup> This last passage is an extreme statement of the "Alexandrine"

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *Concilien*, ii. 270. As to later times, see the Reports, Transactions, etc., of the Abp. of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxviii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Nyss *c. Eunom.* v. [Migne], p. 697.

point of view, and it is obvious that the tendency of it is towards a minimising view of Christ's humanity. At anyrate it is this type of theology which attains a definite form in Cyril.

Cyril then starts from the one person of the Logos, as posited by the actual fact of Redemption. The Logos has assumed our manhood in its entirety in order to redeem it. The formula characteristic of Cyril is accordingly *μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*,—a phrase which will be examined more particularly below. The Logos appropriates the substance of manhood, the body of flesh and the reasonable soul, as an actual part of that universe which He comes to redeem; He incorporates the manhood with His own person, blending the properties of either nature, and gathering them into a single personal unity.<sup>1</sup> The manhood accordingly ceases to have any independent existence; it remains, as it were, a receptive and passive instrument, scarcely more than an attribute, of the Divine Being. The eternal person of the Word assumes every element of the humanity—"appropriates" the entire nature, giving infinite merit and worth to all its acts and sufferings by making them His own: *αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί φημεν κατ' οἰκείωσιν οἰκονομικῆν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τὰ αὐτῆς.*<sup>2</sup> This does not imply any change in the unalterable nature (*φύσις*) of the Logos, nor any confusion or commixture.<sup>3</sup> The Godhead continues in its glory and power what it was: "Though He took our nature and economically put on the form of a servant, yet He remained in His own natural Godhead and Lordship. For He has not ceased to be God, even though He was made flesh. . . . And

<sup>1</sup> *de Inc. Unig.* Migne, P.G. 75, 1244 B, *εἰς ἐν ἀμφω συλλέγων, καὶ ὡσπερ ἄλλήλοις ἀνακίρητὰς τὰ τῶν φύσεων ἰδιώματα.* Cp. 1249 D.

<sup>2</sup> *Quod unus sit Christus*, Migne, P.G. 75, 1332 D.

<sup>3</sup> *ad regin.* etc., ii. Migne, P.G. 76, 1364 A; *Quod unus*, 1292 D.

since He willingly condescended to the limitations of humanity. . . . He perforce submitted also to human birth; not that His Divine nature then took its origin, but He ever was and is, naturally and in truth, the Word proceeding from God the Father." But "He is said to have been born as touching the flesh, because He appropriated to Himself the birth of His own flesh."<sup>1</sup>

Two points demand special attention.

1. What is Cyril's conception of the "unity" of the Divine person? On this point he is not consistent. Sometimes he approaches the subject from the point of view of his own formula, *μία φύσις*. Under this aspect the "person" of the Logos is the one unchangeable Divine Being, who remains even after the Incarnation what He was before it. The manhood is thus reduced to an impersonal accident or element in the Logos, who remains what He ever was, except in being *σαρκωθείς*:<sup>2</sup> He is no longer *Λόγος ἄσαρκος*. Sometimes, on the other hand, Cyril speaks of the person of Christ as if it were a *resultant* unity. He frequently uses such phrases as *ἡ εἰς ἐνότητα συνδρομή*, or *ἐκ δύο φύσεων εἰς Χριστός*; and he frequently adduces the accepted human analogy in illustration of the personal unity of the incarnate Christ: just as man is compounded of two dissimilar substances, soul and body, yet in the result is one personal being; so, from two natures united without being confused (*ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων*), results the person of Christ.<sup>3</sup> Cyril maintains, as we have seen, that his doctrine of "one nature" does not imply any confusion or mixture of the two natures. But, in his view, if the

<sup>1</sup> *ad regin.* i. 1205 B, C.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *ep.* xlv. (*ad Succens.* ii.), Migne, *P.G.* 77, 241 A.

<sup>3</sup> *de Inc. Unig.* 1224 B; cp. 1208 D, "The mediator consisted of (*συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ*) our manhood, perfect according to the law of its own nature, and the Logos." See the whole passage; cp. *ep.* xlv. p. 233 A (very explicit).

two natures are separated, as Nestorianism separates them, no true incarnation has taken place. The distinction of the two natures is, in fact, relatively unimportant; the material point (in view of redemption) is that human nature has been really incorporated with the substance (or φύσις) of the Word, and has become, so to speak, included, by the act of incarnation, in the one person of Christ.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that Cyril's view of the unity of Christ's person is not strictly consistent, but the *point* of his anti-Nestorian teaching, though it varies in form, is identical throughout—*Christ one person, and that person Divine.*

2. What, then, is the relation of the two natures?

Both, Cyril replies, remain in their integrity, without confusion of attributes.<sup>2</sup> But though in the abstract, and for the purposes of thought or argument, the two natures in Christ can be distinguished,<sup>3</sup> the distinction is merely conceptual. *In concreto* there is but one personal subject, μία φύσις σεσαρκωμένη. In virtue of the union, the Divine nature makes itself (so to speak) bearable (οἰστόν) to the inferior nature,—a point which Cyril illustrates by reference to the bush burning but not consumed;<sup>4</sup> and the properties of the higher nature pass over to the lower,<sup>5</sup> just as the ιδιώματα of the lower are appropriated by the higher. In virtue of the

<sup>1</sup> He speaks of "God in the person of Christ" (ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ χριστοῦ), *de Inc. Unig.* 1233 c. Cp. Dörner, *div. ii. vol. i. pp. 56 f.* Harnack, *Dogm. ii. 332.*

<sup>2</sup> There is no absorption of the manhood into the Divine nature. See *Quod unus*, 1292 d.

<sup>3</sup> *ep. ad Eulog.* xlii. 225 B, ὁ μὲν λόγος καὶ ἡ θεωρία οἶδε τὴν διαφορὰν. Cp. *de Inc. Unig.* 1221 B, θεωρεῖ μὲν τινα φύσεων διαφορὰν ὁ νοῦς ταῦτόν γὰρ οὐκ οὐκ θεότης τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότης· εἰσδέχεται δὲ ὄμου ταῖς περὶ τούτων ἐννοίας καὶ τὴν ἀμφὸν εἰς ἐνότητα συνδρομήν.

<sup>4</sup> *Quod unus*, 1293 A.

<sup>5</sup> *de Inc. Unig.* 1249 A. The Logos was wont τὰ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως κοινωποιεῖν τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι.

*communicatio idiomatum*, the Logos can be said to suffer, hunger, thirst, learn, pray; while, on the other hand, the manhood can be adored, and the body called "divine" (*θεῖον σῶμα*).<sup>1</sup> Mary also can be rightly styled *Theotokos*. But this interchange of properties finds its practical limit in the Divine properties of the Logos, who remains *ἀτρεπτος, ἀπαθής, ἔξω τοῦ παθεῖν καθὼς νοεῖται θεός*.<sup>2</sup> It is just at this point that Cyril involves himself in contradictions, by insisting too rigidly on the metaphysical, as against the ethical, conception of the Divine nature. "How," he asks, "can the same person at once suffer and not suffer? Only by suffering in His own flesh, and not in the nature of Godhead. Indeed, wholly ineffable is the account of these things, and no mind can attain to ideas so subtle and exalted; yet, following reasonings which tend to right belief, and viewing the plan of what is fit, we neither alienate Him from being said to suffer, . . . nor do we affirm that the things pertaining to the flesh have been wrought upon His Divine and supreme nature; but He may be conceived as suffering in His own flesh, albeit not suffering in His Godhead after some such mode as this. . . . As iron in contact with the onset of fire gives it admission and travails with the flame, and if it chance to be struck by aught, the iron bears the brunt, while the nature of the fire remains uninjured; even so may you form an idea in regard of the Son being said to suffer in the flesh, and not in His Godhead."<sup>3</sup> Here, in spite of his admissions elsewhere, Cyril simply falls back on an emphatic declaration that neither nature in any wise parted with its own properties. That which was proper to each was possible

<sup>1</sup> *de Inc. Unig.* 1228 A, and *passim*. Cp. *adv. Nest.* ii. Migne, P. G. 76, p. 96 A.

<sup>2</sup> *Quod unus*, 1337 D. Cp. 1362 B, C (concluding summary, very explicit).

<sup>3</sup> *Quod unus*, 1357 C, D.

for each: consequently Christ ἀπαθῶς ἔπαθεν. The Deity remained impassible, though the human nature suffered; the same person was at once exempt from human infirmity and subject to it. "Cyril apologises for this metaphor," Dr. Bruce very fairly observes. "Well he might; for the metaphor fails to do justice either to the nature of God, or to the nature of suffering. Of course the Divine nature cannot suffer as the body suffers; but there is a moral suffering of which God is capable because He is love."<sup>1</sup>

And this brings us to another inconsistency in Cyril's Christology.

The humanity, as he repeatedly insists, is perfect. In assuming it, the Son of God really submitted to the limitations of creaturely existence. In the physical sphere, says Cyril, "He economically suffered the limitations of manhood to prevail over Him."<sup>2</sup> He submitted to ordinary laws of human development and growth. But it is noticeable that in the intellectual sphere Cyril admits only the semblance of limitation. *Real* ignorance, *real* growth in knowledge, appeared to him to be incompatible with the ἔνωσις of the two natures. It was impossible to conceive the Logos as possessed of knowledge of which the incarnate person was ignorant. The supposed "advance" in Christ's knowledge as man was only the graduated manifestation of a wisdom already complete and all-embracing; a manifestation which kept pace with the bodily growth. Thus Christ is described as "usefully pretending not to know the day of judgment"; or as speaking "economic-

<sup>1</sup> *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 58, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> ἡφίει δὴ οὖν οἰκονομικῶς τοῖς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος μέτροις ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ κρατεῖν. *Quod unus*, 1332 B. By "economy" Cyril seems to mean self-subjection to limitations non-natural to Godhead, e.g. the law of growth.

ally" in professing ignorance.<sup>1</sup> While in stature there was *real* growth, in knowledge and wisdom there was only *apparent* growth. This inconsistency<sup>2</sup> seems to be due to the preconceptions with which Cyril approached the subject of the Incarnation. Both he and his Antiochene opponents assumed that, given an incarnation of God, a true human experience was impossible. The error of both is "over-confident dogmatism as to the conditions and possibilities of the Incarnation."<sup>3</sup> Athanasius had made some tentative suggestions,<sup>4</sup> but Cyril is bolder, and puts forward a theory which betrays him not only into inconsistency with himself, but into an unworthy conception of our Lord's character, as if He could actually feign an ignorance that was not real.<sup>5</sup>

It is sufficiently clear however that the point of Cyril's contention against Nestorius is this: that the Church teaches a *condescension of God, not the mere exaltation of a man*. Cyril's difficulties and contradictory statements result from his effort to explain the mystery of a real Divine condescension, without the aid of a

<sup>1</sup> The passages bearing on our Lord's knowledge as man are collected by Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, note A (pp. 366 ff.). See the same work, pp. 50-58, for a useful discussion.

<sup>2</sup> A much later writer, belonging to the mystic school of Latin scholasticism, Richard of S. Victor, raises the question naturally suggested by the Cyrilline view: "Placet tibi," he asks Hugo in the dialogue *de Emmanuele*, lib. ii. c. xviii., "ut dicatur in sapientia profecisse secundum falsitatem, et etate quidem secundum veritatem? . . . Dic ntrum tibi placeat unam eandemque dictionem in una et eadem positione, juxta historicum sensum ad diversas acceptiones accommodare."

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.* p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> Theodoret, *Reprehensio* xii. *capp. Cyril. on anath. 4*, says: "If He knows the day, and from a desire to hide it says He knows not, see to what a blasphemy the inference leads; ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια ψεύδεται." Cyril's answer is: "The ignorance was not that of the Logos; but of the form of the servant (μορφή δούλου), which only knew at that time so much as the indwelling Deity revealed." This is an unobjectionable statement as compared with Cyril's other expressions. On the whole subject, see below, pp. 298 f.

truly ethical conception of God. His central thought is that of the *power* of the Logos to appropriate human nature and reveal Himself under the limitations it imposes. "It was *not impossible* (ἀμήχανον) to the gracious God to make Himself endurable to the limitations of humanity."<sup>1</sup> He regards the Incarnation too exclusively as an act or movement towards man of Divine power,—a movement single and complete from the first; he does not contemplate it as a *continuous* effort of self-abasing love, which waits on human development, and tempers itself (to use Hilary's expression) to the capacities of the assumed manhood. The fact is that Cyril is dominated by physical ideas.<sup>2</sup> He regards the person of the Word as appropriating human nature by a single definite act or process (ἔνωσις φυσική). In his view the indissolubleness of the ἔνωσις depends on its being a Divine act of power, rather than a continuous ethical process in which the Divine and human alike took part, each according to its true law,—the Divine by free appropriation of the human; the human by free moral adherence and submission to the Divine. Thus Cyril failed to find a place in his view of Christ's person for the element of truth which Nestorius was anxious to maintain, namely, the ethical significance of Christ's manhood. Consequently "not an ethical, but primarily a physical Christology, was the result of his inquiries; for, according to his representations, the In-

<sup>1</sup> *Quod unus*, 1293 A.

<sup>2</sup> It is significant that Cyril usually employs neuter expressions (e.g., δύο πράγματα, ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον) to denote the two natures (Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 71*). Theodoret, in reply to Cyril's third anathema, makes the objection that a φυσική ἔνωσις implies physical necessity, whereas the *kenosis* is an act of free moral condescension. ἡ γὰρ φύσις ἀναγκαστικὸν τι ἐστὶ καὶ ἀβούλητον χρῆμα . . . εἰ τοίνυν φυσική γέγορε . . . ἡ καθ' ἔνωσιν σύνοδος, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς βιαζόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ φιλανθρωπία κεκρημένος, ὁ θεὸς λόγος συνήφθη τῇ τοῦ δούλου μορφῇ, κ.τ.λ. (Bruce, *op. cit.* p. 52.)

carnation was, strictly speaking, accomplished (*i.e.* consummated) as soon as the Logos had appropriated the human, and made it an actual modification of Himself,—so soon as the human became physically insubstantiated with the Divine. From that time onwards, the human aspect pursued no longer even a relatively independent course, although the Logos, during His mundane existence, was mindful of, and regulated His self-representation according to, human laws.”<sup>1</sup> Both Cyril and Nestorius seem to have ethical interests at heart, but both are hampered in their treatment of the Incarnation by their metaphysical conception of Deity. The result is that while Cyril dwells too exclusively on the Incarnation as a *physical fact*, Nestorius exaggerates the reality of the *moral process or discipline* by which the manhood of the Logos was “made perfect.” The two views were really complementary. Cyril started from the Divine side, insisting on the unity of the person, and looking at the Divine fact in its completeness and entirety; the Antiochenes started from the human side, and looked at the Incarnation as a *status exinanitionis*,—a process tending towards consummation. Cyril’s thought is dominated by the theology of S. John; the Christology of the Antiochene school may be said to recall the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, reproducing it, however, in a distorted form.

It must be admitted that there is in Cyril a very strong vein of monophysitism, though perhaps it is less pronounced than in Gregory of Nyssa. Practically the Redeemer’s manhood ceases to have independent significance; it is transformed and “deified” to a point which makes it only nominally “consubstantial” with ours. In his language Cyril is obviously in some sense monophysite, for he insists that the Logos after the Incarnation ever

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 73.*

remained what He had been before, *μία φύσις*, in spite of the fact that he strenuously denies the imperfection of the manhood or its confusion with the Godhead. But he is so dominated by the exclusive idea of the Incarnation as a Divine redemptive act, that his mode of expression is physical, and his illustrations even "bear a *chemical* character."<sup>1</sup> He regards as an act of simple power, what is after all a supreme display of *love*; and he underrates that element of moral co-operation on the part of man which is an essential condition of his redemption. There is, in fact, a docetic element in Cyril, in spite of his energetic protests against docetism.<sup>2</sup> But on the other hand he cannot be fairly accused of ignoring the historical Christ of the Gospels.<sup>3</sup> Rather it is an unhistorical analysis of the person of Christ which offends both his historical and religious instincts.<sup>4</sup> He looks on Christ not merely as the example or type of holy manhood, but as a Divine gift to man,—a Divine Being, *mighty to save*, who has actually entered into vital union with our race. In his general point of view Cyril is far more true than the Antiochenes to the religious consciousness of Christendom. Christian tradition is on his side.

The letters to *Nestorius*<sup>5</sup> and to *John of Antioch*, which have ecumenical sanction, call for some brief notice.

1. The main point on which Cyril lays stress is the *unity and continuity* of the Redeemer's person. The Logos (*ἡ τοῦ Λόγου φύσις*) took to Himself a body of flesh

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., *de Inc. Unig.* 1196 c (where he uses the expression *παρεμία καὶ ἐναργής οἰκονομία* of the Incarnation), and the page following.

<sup>3</sup> See *de Inc. Unig.* 1215; *ad regin.* ii. 1384 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Seeberg, *Lehrbuch*, i. 208. Cp. Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. pp. 60, 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* ii. and *Ep.* iii. to Nestorius are published separately by P. E. Pusey; in Migne's ed. they are numbered 4 and 17 respectively. The letter to John of Antioch is no. 39 in Migne (*P.G.* 77). See Pusey's preface. *N.B.*—The references are to Pusey's edition of *The three epistles* (Oxford, 1884).

animated by a reasonable soul, uniting it hypostatically to Himself (*Ep.* p. 6). Here the personal union (*ἡ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσις, ἔνωσις ὑποστατική*) is opposed to a union *κατὰ θέλησιν μόνην ἢ εὐδοκίαν*, which would imply the assumption merely of a person or individual man (*πρόσληψις προσώπου μόνου*).

2. *The general character of the Incarnation*: it was an act of loving condescension undertaken "for us and for our salvation" (*Err.* i. p. 6; ii. p. 18); it involved the "endurance" (*ὑπομείναι*) of a human birth (i. p. 6); a voluntary self-exinanition (*καθεῖς ἑαυτὸν εἰς κένωσιν*, ii. p. 18; *ἐκούσιον κένωσιν*, p. 28). Cyril so far views the Divine act ethically, as a free and voluntary movement of Divine pity towards man.

3. *The distinction of the two natures is preserved* (i. p. 6). There was no confusion of the manhood with the Godhead, but the Logos "appropriated" (*οἰκειούμενος*, i. p. 6; ii. p. 24), and made His own, all the ordinary accidents and attributes of a true humanity, without undergoing any change in His own Divine nature (*μεμενηκὸς ὅπερ ἦν θεός . . . ἀτρεπτος γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος παντελῶς ὁ αὐτὸς αἰετὸν μένων*, *Ep.* ii. p. 20); He remained *ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι* (*Ep.* i. p. 8; cp. 7). While actually lying in the manger "He was filling the whole creation as God" (*Ep.* ii. p. 20). Both natures are perfect and entire, distinct and unconfused (*Ep.* iii. p. 48).

4. *The one person of Christ results from the conjunction of the two natures* (i. 6, *ἀποτελεσασῶν [τῶν φύσεων] τὸν ἕνα Κύριον καὶ Χριστόν*), Christ is *ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἰς*. The union (*ἔνωσις*) is no mere "conjunction" (*συνάφεια*) such as in virtue of worth or dignity a man might have with God (ii. p. 22); nor is it a mere "juxtaposition" (*παράθεσις*) of two persons; nor a mere relative or accidental "participation" (*μέθεξις σχετική*), like that of those who are morally united to God. Cyril specially rejects *συνάφεια*

(the Nestorian term) as "inadequate to express the nature of the union" (*ibid.*). The union is *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, or, as Cyril elsewhere expresses it, *ἔνωσις φυσική* (ii. p. 36), *i.e.* real, and resulting in one indivisible person or *φύσις*.<sup>1</sup>

5. *The communicatio idiomatum.* The unity of the person makes it possible to ascribe human accidents, *e.g.* birth, death, suffering, to the Logos (i. p. 6 f.), and Divine properties to the flesh (*ὅτι μὴ ἀλλότριον τοῦ Λόγου τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ*, i. p. 8; *σὰρξ ἰδία τοῦ Λόγου*, ii. p. 26). Catholic worship is not devotion paid to a man together with the Logos (i. p. 8), but is addressed to the one person who has made manhood His own. Thus, too, the blessed Virgin may be called *Theotokos* (i. p. 10), as being the mother of the sacred humanity which the Logos deigned to assume. Further, the one eternal person of the Son not only gives infinite worth and efficacy to the sufferings and actions of the assumed manhood, but also imparts to the very flesh itself a vitalising power. He who is the Life indeed (ii. p. 24) has made the flesh His own, and endued it with a sanctifying and quickening power. What we partake of in the Eucharist is not ordinary flesh, but the flesh assumed by Him who is the Life, our very God and Saviour (ii. p. 26).

6. *Positive teaching of the anathemas.*

(1) Christ is *θεὸς κατ' ἀλήθειαν*, and Mary is *θεοτόκος*.

(2) The Logos is united to the human nature *personally* (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*).

(3) The union of the two natures excludes any duality of persons (*ὑποστάσεις*) united merely by a moral "con-

<sup>1</sup> On the phrase *φυσική ἔνωσις*, see Petav. *de Incarn.* iii. 4. In this connection the word implies (1) that the union is *real* (cp. *κατ' ἀλήθειαν* in *anath.* 1), as opposed to the simulated union of Nestorius—a union merely of grace and favour. (2) *personal*—the result being a single person: "unus aliquis existit, non aggregatione sola, neque consensione voluntatum." (3) The union is that of man's *φύσις*, not of a human *person*, to the *φύσις* of the Logos.

junction" (*συναφεία*) dependent on the power or choice of the Logos, or the worth of the person exalted. The union consists in "a concurrence into unity of nature" (*σύννοδος ἢ καθ' ἔνωσιν φυσικὴν*).

(4) The utterances of Christ in Scripture are not to be allotted some to the Godhead, some to the manhood, but all to the one person of the Word.

(5) Christ is not merely *θεοφόρος ἄνθρωπος*, *Deum ferens homo*, but verily God.

(6) The Word is not "God" or "Lord of Christ," but the self-same person is truly God and man.

(7) Christ is not merely a man in-wrought (*ἐνηργησθαι*) by the Logos, or invested with the glory of the only-begotten, as if he were another than He.

(8) The adoration of Christ is not the "co-worship" or "co-glorification" of a man; it is an undivided act of homage to Emmanuel.

(9) Christ does not use the Divine power as an endowment derived from another, but the Spirit is His own.

(10) The very Word of God Himself became our *High Priest* and *the Apostle of our confession*; nor had He need to offer sacrifice for Himself, but for us alone.

(11) The flesh of the Lord is life-giving, as being the own flesh of the Logos, who is mighty to quicken all things. It is not the flesh of one who is merely joined to the Logos in virtue of moral worth, or is merely the subject of Divine indwelling.<sup>1</sup>

(12) The very Word of God suffered, was crucified, and tasted death, and was made the first-born from the dead, being Himself as God both Life and Giver of Life.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Quod unus*, 1360 c, d.

<sup>2</sup> See the comments of Petav. *de Incarn.* vi. 17 on the anathemas of Nestorius and Cyril. On anath. 2 he explains *καθ' ὑπόστασιν* as meaning in this place a "real union," not a mere union of relation (*ἔνωσις σχετικὴ*) *καθ' ὑπόστασιν* is equivalent to *vere et substantive*.

NOTE.—*The phrase μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου σαρκαωμένη.*

Cyril's own statements may be illustrated by the following passage from the *Ep. i. ad Succensum* [Migne, *P.G.* 77, *Ep.* xlv.], quoted by Petavius (iv. 6):—

μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν οὐ διαιροῦμεν τὰς φύσεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲ εἰς δύο τέμνομεν υἱοὺς τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀμέριστον, ἀλλ' ἕνα φαμέν υἱὸν καὶ, ὡς οἱ πατέρες εἰρήκασι, μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Λόγου σαρκαωμένην.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be observed—(1) That the expression was ascribed to Athanasius (Jo. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 6). This, however, is expressly denied by Leontius, who declares that Cyril was the first orthodox writer who employed the phrase; it was frequently used, he says, by Apollinaris, and had brought upon Cyril himself the charge of being an Apollinarian. The question whether Athanasius really used the expression is one of some perplexity, as Petavius admits (iv. 6, §§ 5–8).<sup>2</sup> Athanasius does use the phrase *οὐσία τοῦ Λόγου*, a fact which Newman considers some corroboration of Cyril's *ὡς οἱ πατέρες εἰρήκασι*.

(2) The expression is qualified by the use both of *πρόσωπον* and *ὑπόστασις*: e.g. *Ep. ad Nest.* iii. ἐνὶ τοιγαροῦν προσώπῳ τὰς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις πάσας ἀναθετόν φωνάς, ὑποστάσει μὲν τῆ τοῦ Λόγου σαρκαωμένη. Cp. *adv. Nest.* ii. p. 93 D.

It is also illustrated by the image frequently employed by Cyril, of the soul and body united in a single human personality. It is clear, too, from the context that the intention of the phrase is to exclude the Nestorian idea of a dual sonship.

(3) The explanations of the phrase are mainly two—

(a) Some hold that Cyril simply uses the word *φύσις*

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *P.G.* vol. lxxvii. p. 232 D.

<sup>2</sup> On the tendency to ascribe writings of Apollinaris to Athanasius, see Loofs, *Dogmengesch.* § 85, 5. Apoll. most probably used the full phrase of Cyril; *ibid.* § 35, 2.

as equivalent to *ὑπόστασις*. The passage *adv. Nest.* ii. p. 93 D has *μία ὑπόστασις ἢ τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη. ἢ φύσις τοῦ λόγου* would accordingly mean "the person of the Word." Thus Cyril himself, in defending his second anathema against Theodoret says, *ἢ τοῦ Λόγου φύσις ἦγουν ἢ ὑπόστασις ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Λόγος, κ.τ.λ.*<sup>1</sup>

(b) Others maintain that Cyril's *φύσις* means "nature," and that he is not so much insisting on the singleness of *Christ's* person, as on the actual union of *Deity* with *manhood*: *οὐ γὰρ εἶπε τοῦ χριστοῦ μίαν φύσιν σεσαρκωμένην, ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην, τὴν ἄλλην φύσιν δηλῶν* (Leont. ap. Petav. iv. 7, 4). This seems to be favoured by Cyril's own words in his *second letter to Succensus* (*Ep.* xlvi. Migne, *P.G.* 77, p. 244 A). In this letter Cyril lays great stress on the word *σεσαρκωμένη* as definitely intended to express the assumption of a complete manhood.

Combining these somewhat divergent statements, it would appear that by *ἢ φύσις τοῦ λόγου* Cyril meant "the Divine nature as it subsists in the person of the Logos."<sup>2</sup> The expression thus guards against the notion that any other person of the Blessed Trinity became incarnate; while *σεσαρκωμένη* is intended to express the duality of the natures. It was precisely this last word which Eutyches omitted.

What Cyril wished to maintain was—

(i.) The inseparable conjunction of the two natures. They are for ever *ἀδιαίρετοι ἐν τῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσει*. *Cp. Ep.* ii. *ad Succens.* [Migne, *Ep.* xlvi. p. 245].

(ii.) The impersonality and dependence of the man-

<sup>1</sup> ap. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 11; Theod. *Repr.* xii. *capp.* [ed. Schulze, vol. v. p. 13].

<sup>2</sup> So Damasc. concludes (iii. 11): *ὥστε τὸ εἰπεῖν φύσιν τοῦ Λόγου οὐτε τὴν ὑπόστασιν μόνην σημαίνει οὐτε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει ὀλικῶς θεωρουμένην.*

hood, which the Word uses as His instrument,<sup>1</sup> absolutely dependent on Himself.

(iii.) The unity and continuity of the person in Christ.

The following passage from Dr. Newman's *Athanasian treatises* perhaps expresses Cyril's real meaning. When the Word became flesh, "all that He ever had continued to be His; what He took on Himself was only an addition. There was no change; in His Incarnation He did but put on a garment. That garment was not *He*, or, as Athanasius speaks, *αὐτός*, or, as the next century worded, 'His person.' That *αὐτός* was, as it had ever been, one and the same with His divinity, *οὐσία*, or *φύσις*; it was this *φύσις*, as one with His person, which took to Itself a manhood. He had no other person than He had had from the beginning; His manhood had no personality of its own; it was a second *φύσις*, but not a second person; it never existed till it was His; for its integrity and completeness it depended on Him, the Divine Word. It was one with Him; and *through*, and *in* Him, the Divine Word, it was one with the Divine nature; it was but indirectly united to it, for the medium of union was the person of the Word. And being thus without personality of its own, His human nature was relatively to Himself. . . . α *περὶ αὐτόν*, α *περιβολή*, α *συμβεβηκός*, α 'something else besides His substance,' an *ὄργανον*. Such was His human nature; it might be called an additional attribute."<sup>2</sup>

The real fault of Cyril's phrase *μία φύσις* is its vagueness. He follows Athanasius in expressing the absolute *dependence* of the manhood on the Logos by calling the Divine Logos alone *φύσις*.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious how readily

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *adv. Nest.* ii. p. 96 A.

<sup>2</sup> Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, vol. ii. pp. 426 f. [ed. 2]. Cp. *Ath. Orat. c. Arian*, ii. 45, iii. 34, etc. Petav. *de Incarn.* iii. 4, §§ 15, 16.

<sup>3</sup> So Ath. distinguishes between *φύσις* and *σάρξ*, *Orat.* iii. 84 "In

the monophysites might appeal to Cyril's authority in support of their view that *φύσις* was identical with *ὑπόστασις*. Cyril's theology is correct, but his terminology confused: "his fault was principally that of tenaciously clinging to the vagueness of expression and thought which prevailed at an earlier period, without its defectiveness being felt—treating [the earlier terminology] as though it were perfect and satisfactory; and setting himself in opposition to those who demanded that the unity should be more accurately defined, and the *rationale* of it more distinctly exhibited."<sup>1</sup> Cyril's formula, in fact, marks his failure to do justice to the Antiochene position as represented by men like Theodoret. The theologians of Antioch in their recoil from Apollinarianism had made the attempt to analyse the "primitive and immediate intuition" of the unity of Christ's person; to recognise and do justice to both the elements which entered into the problem. Cyril thought it enough to state the paradox (*e.g.* the Son of God *ἀπαθῶς ἔπαθεν*), and to lay stress on its incomprehensibility,<sup>2</sup> without contributing in any appreciable degree to the solution of the problem. In view, however, of the pantheistic tendencies of the time, the work of Chalcedon was not less essential than that of Ephesus to the preservation of Christian faith.

comparison of the Divine Person who had taken flesh, what He had taken was not so much a *nature*, though it was strictly a nature, as the substance of a manhood which was not substantive." *Ath. Treatises*, ii. p. 327.

<sup>1</sup> Dörner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 57. Cp. pp. 109, 110.

<sup>2</sup> The religious consciousness of the Church was content merely with a strong and definite statement of the mystery, and no more: *σωτηρῆ προσκυνησθω τὸ ἀρρητον*. Harnack, ii. 331. Dörner refers to *Hom. pasch.* xvii. as an instance of Cyril's tendency to speak of the problem as an absolute mystery or miracle: *πέρα λόγου τὸ θαῦμα*, he says. [Migne, P.G. lxxvii. p. 781 A.]

## § III. EUTYCHIANISM

Many of Cyril's adherents were dissatisfied with the compromise which was effected in 433 between the Antiochenes and Cyril. The formula accepted had stated the doctrine of the *διαφορά τῶν φύσεων* in terms too decisive to be acceptable to many of the Egyptian bishops.<sup>1</sup> The monophysite tendency in a pronounced form reappeared after Cyril's death (444); its main representatives being Cyril's successor Dioscurus and the archimandrite Eutyches, head of a monastery in Constantinople.

1. There can be no doubt that *Dioscurus* at least was principally actuated by motives of policy; he not only represented the traditional hatred of Alexandria for "New Rome," but probably aimed at a kind of papal dominion over the East. EUTYCHES represented the Alexandrine theology at Constantinople. He was an aged monk of unbalanced convictions and strong anti-Nestorian zeal, who clung to the Cyrilline formula *μία φύσις μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν*. He seems to have renewed the charge of Nestorianism against those who, like his own bishop Flavian, adhered to the formula of union agreed upon in 433. Consequently in 448 he was accused of heresy by Eusebius of Dorylaeum, before a synod held at Constantinople. After some display of reluctance he was induced to make the statement, *ὁμολογῶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶ*. He illustrated his proposition by the simile used by Gregory of Nyssa,—that of a drop of vinegar absorbed in the ocean; further, he maintained that the body of the Redeemer was not "consubstantial" with ours.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cyril in his letter to *Eulogius* (*Ep.* xliv., Migne, *P.O.* 77) shows his consciousness of this dissatisfaction, and offers explanations.

<sup>2</sup> See Flavian's letter to Leo, *Leo. Ep.* xxii. See also *Ep.* xxvi. It would seem that Eutyches was induced to withdraw the last proposition.

Condemned by the council, Eutyches appealed to Leo of Rome,<sup>1</sup> who ultimately, after some hesitation, on receipt of an authentic statement of the case from Flavian, and an urgent appeal for a decisive statement, addressed to him the celebrated *Tome* (*Ep.* xxviii.).

Meanwhile Dioscurus, aware of his opportunity, had induced Theodosius to summon a council at Ephesus (449); at which 135 prelates attended, and Leo himself was represented by three legates. The result of the synod was a foregone conclusion. After proceedings of incredible violence, Eutyches was declared orthodox by all but a small minority of those present, and was restored to the position of which he had been deprived; Flavian, Ibas of Edessa, Eusebius, Theodoret, and Domnus of Antioch were deposed. Flavian actually died as the result of the violence suffered by him, and Anatolius, an adherent of the Alexandrian primate, succeeded to the vacant see. No new dogmatic formula was issued by the council, but the "faith of the Fathers" of Nicæa and Ephesus was confirmed. The unscrupulous boldness and resolution of Dioscurus had triumphed, "the Church of the East lay at the feet of the Alexandrian patriarch, and he had achieved all with the Emperor's assent."<sup>2</sup>

Such was the disorderly "Latrocinium" of Ephesus.<sup>3</sup> The situation, however, was rapidly changed by the death of Theodosius in 450. He was succeeded by Marcian and Pulcheria, who were resolved to summon a new council at Chalcedon, 451. Leo's one aim since the

<sup>1</sup> *Leo. Ep.* xxi. Eutyches appends a passage attributed to Julius of Rome, but afterwards shown to be by Apollinaris, denying the duality of natures in Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, ii. 362. Harnack denies that the Synod deserves the name "Robber-Synod"; it represents, he thinks, "the tradition of contemporary piety."

<sup>3</sup> So Leo calls it, *Ep.* xcvi. Cp. Loofs, *Dogm.* § 38, 1; and see Bright, *S. Leo*, note 139, for a fuller account of the circumstances.

Latrocinium had been to annul its proceedings, and secure the holding of a council in Italy.<sup>1</sup> But he was very unwilling that a council should be held in the East, and even went so far as to maintain that the necessity for a Synod had passed; that it would, in short, be "inopportune."<sup>2</sup> But the Emperor remained firm, and the council was accordingly held at Chalcedon in October 451. Possibly as many as 630 bishops attended, including proxies—the largest number ever yet assembled. Leo claimed precedence, and exercised his right through his four legates; he also took it for granted that his *Tome*, which obtained no hearing at Ephesus, would be regarded as decisive.<sup>3</sup>

The number of the council's sessions is variously reckoned, but was probably fifteen at least; the proceedings were very tumultuous; the assembled prelates repudiated Dioscurus as eagerly as they had followed his lead at Ephesus. He was deposed, and the *Tome* was accepted as expressing "the faith of the fathers and apostles." "Peter," cried the bishops, "has spoken by Leo." All except thirteen Egyptian prelates<sup>4</sup> signed the *Tome*.

The general result of the Council was—

- (1) The condemnation and banishment of Dioscurus.
- (2) The acceptance of Leo's *Tome* and of Cyril's *Epistles to Nestorius* as a standard of orthodox belief.
- (3) The drawing up of a new definition, in spite of the protests of the Roman legates.

2. It is important to form an exact idea of the error which the Church excluded by the *Definition* of the Council of Chalcedon. The error of Eutyches really sprang from the same root as that of Nestorius, *i.e.* inability to conceive of "nature" apart from "personality."

<sup>1</sup> See *Epp.* xliv., liv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* lxxxiii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* xciii. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> These thirteen implored the Council not to insist on their subscription to the *Tome* before a new archbishop was appointed. See Bright, *Ch. Hist.* p. 407 f., and canon 30 of the Council, ap. Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 519.

Nestorius supposed that a dual nature must imply a dual personality; Eutyches, in repudiating the idea of a dual personality, clung to the idea of only a single nature. It has often been pointed out<sup>1</sup> that Eutyches in appealing to Cyril's formula, *μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*, omitted the last word, on which Cyril himself had insisted as supplying a proper safeguard of the real humanity of Christ; he quite overlooked Cyril's clear teaching as to the *διαφορὰ τῶν φύσεων*, an expression actually adopted in the formulary of Chalcedon. What Eutyches in effect maintained was either an absorption of the human nature into the Divine, or a fusion (*σύγχυσις*) of the two natures; so at least his meaning was interpreted by Theodoret.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly his reluctant admission before the synod of Constantinople that Christ was *ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν* as touching His manhood, was practically valueless. What he denied was the reality and permanence of our Lord's humanity. Thus though it was unjust to charge Eutyches with reviving the Apollinarian or Valentinian view<sup>3</sup> of Christ's humanity as if Deity had converted itself into flesh, yet it is true that in tendency Eutyches belongs to the docetic school of heresy,<sup>4</sup> since he does practically deny the real assumption of our manhood by the Son of God. At the best, his idea must have been that the effect of the *ἔνωσις* was not merely an exaltation or glorification of our humanity, but an actual transmutation of it.<sup>5</sup> The fact is that Eutyches had evidently no clear idea as to the constitution of Christ's person. "He did not pretend to comprehend the mystery of the Incarnation,

<sup>1</sup> e.g., Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 15, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> In his dialogue, *Eranistes*. See Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>3</sup> So Flavian, *Leon. Epp.* xxii.

<sup>4</sup> Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 15, § 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Dörner, *div. ii. vol. i.* pp. 83, 84, and note 19 (p. 404), and Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, pp. 60, 61.

but rather gloried in proclaiming its incomprehensibility." He was the victim of an exaggerated reverence. The Deity in Christ seemed so entirely to overshadow the human nature that the latter shrank into nothingness, or rather vanished altogether; and even if the humanity were acknowledged to exist in fact after its assumption by the Word, it could not be reverently thought of as consubstantial with ours.<sup>1</sup>

3. Leo's famous letter to Flavian exhibits all the characteristics of an understanding practical, strong, and sagacious, but unversed in the subtle distinctions which occupied the Greek mind, and incapable of contributing more to the solution of the problem than a clear antithetic statement of its factors. It is virtually a reproduction of current Western theology in terms already adopted and fixed by Tertullian. It exhibits the uniform tone and tendency of the Roman Church; its tenacious hold upon the faith; its practical rather than speculative interest in theology. Leo "betrays his dogmatic *naïveté* in maintaining that the twelve clauses of the Apostles' Creed sufficed for the refutation of the Eutychian as of other heresies."<sup>2</sup>

In the same spirit he begins his letter to Flavian by referring to three clauses of the Roman creed as destructive of "the engines of almost all heretics," the clauses which state the *nativitas divina* and *nativitas temporalis* of the Son. This reference to the symbol of his own Church is consistent with the papal tone of Leo throughout the whole controversy. He speaks as if he were a supreme arbiter, referred to by the Emperor and the Church alike

<sup>1</sup> According to Eutyches, Christ's body was not *σῶμα ἀνθρώπου*, though it might be called *σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον*. The essence (*οὐσία*) of manhood ceased to exist in the Word made flesh.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* xxxi. 4, "Siquidem ipsa catholici symboli brevis et perfecta confessio, quæ duodecim apostolorum totidem est signata sententiis, tam instructa sit munitione cælesti ut omnes hæreticorum opiniones solo *ipsius* possint gladio detruncari." (Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogm.* i. p. 220.)

for a final decision on the point of faith. Flavian is to be instructed as to the orthodox view.<sup>1</sup> Leo anticipates that the decision of the Ephesine Council will merely be a supplementary endorsement of the *Tome*, *ut pleniore iudicio omnis possit error aboleri*.<sup>2</sup>

The following points are characteristic in the teaching of the *Tome* :—

(a) The duality of the natures is asserted. Christ is both God and Man; both natures remain what they were, *salva proprietate (ιδιότης) utriusque naturæ* (c. 3). This thesis, it should be noticed, is expressed and developed in terms derived from Tertullian (*natura, substantia*, etc.), and other Western Fathers, e.g. Ambrose, Hilary, and Augustine.

(b) The two natures unite in one person, and each fulfils its proper functions in the incarnate life; the two act in reciprocal correlation, each according to its own proper law. *Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est; Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente quod carnis est. Unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit injuriis*, etc. Leo seems to regard the personality as the result, or sum-total, of the union of two natures; the person is the centre of consciousness and action in a Being who is both God and man.<sup>3</sup> From the unity of the person follows the *communicatio idiomatum* (c. 5).

(c) Leo's interest is mainly soteriological. The final cause of the Incarnation was man's redemption (c. 3); the restoration of fallen humanity demanded a mediator between God and man, at once Divine and human, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Ep.* xxvii. (to Flavian), "Rescribimus . . . ut fraternitatem tuam, quid de tota causa constitui debeat, *instruamus*."

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* xxxiii. 2. Cp. Harnack, ii. p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> Leo does not throw light on the problem of Christ's personality—to which nature it belongs, or whether it is distinct from both; nor does he explain how the unity of person is compatible with duality of nature.

passible and impassible, mortal and immortal. The motive was pity: the Redeemer's work was *inclinatio miserationis, non defectio potestatis*. Leo seems to minimise the *κένωσις*, insisting after the manner of Cyril that the Son of God, in taking human nature, *a paterna gloria non recessit* (c. 4). It may be urged, however, that other passages in his writings define his meaning more exactly: he simply means that the Divine Son did not cease to be very God.<sup>1</sup> The *forma servi* did not detract from the *forma Dei*; the condescension of God did not change or impair His nature. This ethical view of the Incarnation is an important element in Leo's Christology; but it may fairly be urged that it is somewhat unduly restricted.<sup>2</sup> The free course of infinite love is of course limited by other necessary perfections of Deity; but Leo, like Cyril, seems somewhat over-confident in determining *a priori* the conditions of the mystery.

(d) The special point of value in Leo's Christology is his insistence on the *permanence* of Christ's manhood. Our human nature, assumed by the Word, remains complete in its integrity,<sup>3</sup> fulfilling its appropriate functions; in its exaltation, mankind as a whole is advanced to its true destiny. To deny the reality of the manhood is to fall under the condemnation of 1 John iv. 2 and 3 (reading *omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum*), and implies a docetic denial of the reality of the sufferings "undertaken for the salvation of the world."

(e) We may observe also that Leo is imbued with the thought that the true faith is a *via media* between conflicting errors. He states with great clearness and precision the two sides of the antithesis involved in a fact like the Incarnation. But there is no attempt at a

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Bright, note 150.

<sup>2</sup> See Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 88; cp. Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, pp. 64, 65.

<sup>3</sup> "Caro naturam nostri generis non relinquit" e. 4.

solution of problems, nor any definite statement as to the relation between the two natures, or the conditions and consequences of their union in the one person of the Word. This omission is particularly noticeable in relation to the question of Christ's human knowledge, which had specially engaged Cyril's attention. In fact, the exact relation between the Godhead and the Manhood at different stages of the incarnate life, and the reciprocal influence of each on the other, was not a subject which concerned Leo; he was simply intent on guarding the integrity of either nature, as a necessary condition of true redemption. Christ must be *totus in suis* as the Redeemer; *totus in nostris*, because it was our nature which He had created originally, and which needed renewal (c. 3).

4. From Leo's *Tome* we pass to the *Definition of Chalcedon*, with which it evidently stands in close relation. Some of the terms of the *Definition* appear, in fact, to condense the teaching of Leo, e.g. the four words, ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαπέτως, ἀχωρίστως, while its main thesis—the distinctness and perfection of the two natures—seems to expand the Leonine phrases *salva proprietate utriusque nature*; *totus in suis*, *totus in nostris*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Definition* appears to be the revised form of a previous document which had been drawn up with the express purpose of meeting the views of the Egyptian element in the council. The Egyptian adherents of Dioscurus, in fact, formed a party which it was dangerous to offend or ignore. Dioscurus had been deposed for having denied the two natures of Christ; accordingly in the new formula was inserted the phrase ἐκ δύο φύσεων, which on the one hand secured the duality of natures, yet on the other could be adopted without scruple by the monophysite or Eutychian party.<sup>2</sup> Naturally the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 63. Loofs, § 38, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The *Definition* seems also to have omitted the title θεοτόκος.

formula was strongly objected to by the Roman legates and the Orientals; and a commission was appointed to revise it. The choice lay between following Dioscurus or Leo; between making concessions to the obstinate Egyptian party, and embodying in the decree the most salient propositions of the *Tome*. The result was that the equivocal phrase *ἐκ δύο φύσεων* was altered into *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*, and thus the permanence of Christ's manhood, as Leo had taught it, was finally secured.<sup>1</sup>

The *Definition* begins by ratifying the symbols of Nicæa and Constantinople; it then states the two forms of corruption which the faith has suffered at the hands of (1) those who deny to the Virgin the title *Theotokos*; (2) those who introduce a confusion or mixture of the two natures, representing the nature of the manhood and the Godhead as one (*μίαν φύσιν*), and so ascribing passibility to the Divine nature. On account of these, the *Definition* endorses the letters of Cyril to Nestorius and John of Antioch; and also the *Tome* of Leo, "inasmuch as it accords with the confession of the great Peter, and is a common pillar against the heterodox."

Next, the *Definition* condemns those who teach a dual sonship; or the passibility of the Son's Divine nature; or the confusion of the two natures; or a non-human origin of Christ's body; or the existence of two natures before, but of only one after, the union. The positive confession of faith comes last, and is in effect an expansion of the second article of the creed: *and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord*. "We teach and confess," says the formula, "one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, *τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι, τέλειον*

<sup>1</sup> On the part played by the Emperor and the State authorities, see Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 98 ff. note 25. Cp. Harnack, ii. 372. It was in the fifth session of the Council that the *Definition* was adopted and declared authoritative.

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα . . . ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστόν, Ἰόν, Κύριον μονογενῆ, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν<sup>1</sup> ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον, κ.τ.λ."

Here is stated (1) the unity of our Lord's Divine person, (2) the reality and permanence of each nature, (3) the relationship of the two natures. They are united without confusion or intermingling (*ἀσυγχύτως*); without alteration or change (*ἀτρέπτως*) of their distinctive attributes; without any division of person (*ἀδιαιρέτως*), or any subsequent severance of the two natures united (*ἀχωρίστως*). "His two natures have knit themselves the one to the other, and are in that nearness as incapable of confusion as of distraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference between them. Flesh is not become God, but doth still continue flesh, although it be now the flesh of God."<sup>2</sup> The historical importance of the *Definition* may be

<sup>1</sup> The present Greek text has *ἐκ δύο φύσεων*, but the old Latin trans. *in duabus naturis*. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. p. 451 note 3, shows convincingly that the original reading was *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*. Probably *ἐκ δύο φύσεων* was a later deliberate alteration, intended to favour monophysite tendencies (so Gieseler, Neander, Harnack). Routh (*Opusc.* ii. 119) thinks both expressions were originally used in the formula. Cp. Dorner, *div.* ii. 1, note 26. Petav. *de Incarn.* iii. 5, §§ 3, 4. Obs. the point of *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν* is that it secures what Leo insisted on, viz. the permanence of our Lord's manhood. *In integra veri hominis perfecta que natura verus natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris* (*Ep. ad Flav.* iii.). The phrase "in two natures" was like saying "two natures exist under the Incarnation," or "He is, at this moment, man as well as God" (Bright, *S. Leo*, note 35). Petavius points out that Catholics confess both expressions (*de Incarn.* i. 14, § 8), and quotes Maximus as saying, "Christ is never more separated from the natures in which He exists, but abides ever *ἐν αἰραῖς ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἐστιν*" (*de Incarn.* iii. 5, § 7).

<sup>2</sup> Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* v. 53, § 2 (quoting Cyril).

gathered from a comparison of it with the *Tome* of Leo. It practically involved the acceptance by the Oriental Church of a Western type of Christology,<sup>1</sup> which supplied an element undeveloped in the teaching of Cyril. Indeed, the Alexandrian school generally was impatient of any scientific distinctions that seemed to contradict the completeness of the union between the human and Divine natures in Christ's person.<sup>2</sup> Even earlier Church teachers had been disinclined to distinguish precisely between the Divine and human in the incarnate Christ; "for, by so doing, they would have believed themselves to be detracting in some measure from the marvellous greatness of the final result."<sup>3</sup> The fact is that prior to the Council of Chalcedon the tendency was to regard the Divine nature and the human rather from the side of their *homogeneity*; to shrink from positing distinctions within the one person of the Divine Redeemer. But the problem raised by Apollinaris compelled the Church to examine more closely the very question of the *distinctions* which hitherto had been practically left on one side.

From this point of view we can estimate the real value of the Chalcedonian *Definition*. It guards as a fundamental and necessary fact the distinction between the Divine and human natures, and thus protects the foundations of Christianity against "an anti-ethical theory of a physical character—against pantheism." Hitherto the union of the two natures had been regarded in a manner somewhat mystical and unreflective. The

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogm.* i. 222; Loofs, *Dogm.* § 38, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thus even to Athanasius was attributed the phrase *μία φύσις τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*. The Cappadocian school had, as we have seen, exaggerated the idea of the union into that of "mixture" (*μίξις, κράσις, κ.τ.λ.*). Greg. Nyss. had used the simile of the drop of vinegar absorbed in the ocean. Cp. above, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 106.*

monophysitism of Eutyches and his followers was dangerous because it posited such a union without doing full justice to the distinction between the two elements, human and Divine. It is probable that this pantheistic tendency was to some extent corrected in the West by the deep anthropological questions involved in the Pelagian controversy and by the spiritual experience of men like Augustine, to whom sin and grace were supremely important realities. There is a certain tendency even in Cyril to speak of sin as if it were a disease of humanity, a foreign usurping power to be expelled by the redemptive might of the Logos, rather than as personal guilt. The school of Antioch, as we have seen, had endeavoured to do justice to the ethical conditions and requirements involved in the Incarnation; the reality of human freedom, and the necessity of man's co-operation in the work of his deliverance.<sup>1</sup> Thus in spite of the fact that the *Definition* does little more than state precisely the two sides of the Christological problem, it is of great value as recognising and guarding the figure of the historical Christ of the Gospels, so protecting the reality and finality of the act whereby the Son of God "laid hold" of human nature in order to redeem it.<sup>2</sup> The permanence and perfection of Christ's manhood; the reality of His brotherhood with men in suffering and temptation; the fulfilment of man's ideal destiny in His person,—all these necessary conditions of a true redemption are secured by the assertion of His "consubstantiality" with us.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 74*. Aug. expresses the thought, "ipsam humanam justitiam operationi Dei tribuendam esse . . . quamvis non fiat sine hominis voluntate" (*de Spir. et litt. vii.*).

<sup>2</sup> Heb. ii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> It is important to notice the history of the phrase, *συνυπόστατος*. It may be traced back to Tert. *adv. Prax.* xxvii.; Cyril in many passages protests against any admixture or confusion of the natures (*e.g. adv.*

On the other hand, there is a weakness in the formula which perhaps was inevitable under the circumstances of its compilation. That which to writers like Augustine presents itself as an act of Divine *grace*,—the assumption of human nature by God,—is regarded by the Orientals, and even by Leo himself, mainly as a miracle of Divine *power*. The Incarnation is a union of strength with weakness; of majesty with lowliness. “The majesty of the Son of God,” says Leo, “when clothing itself with the lowliness of a servant, neither feared diminution, nor needed increase; and *by the sole power of Godhead* could effect that operation of its own mercy which it was bestowing on the restoration of man, so as to rescue from the yoke of a dreadful tyrant the creature formed after God’s image.”<sup>1</sup> Not, indeed, that redemption was a mere unethical display of omnipotence;<sup>2</sup> Leo, at least, is fully alive to its significance as an act of wise and pitying love; but the manner in which the human and Divine natures are united is regarded by the Chalcedonian Fathers almost as a physical process (cp. the phrase *ἔνωσις φυσικῆ*), wherein the Divine nature assumes human nature as its vesture or instrument. In fact the distinction between the two natures is quasi-physical; they are conceived as two independent *φύσεις*, whereof the higher acts through and in the lower. Further, the Council may be said to have failed to recognise the *ethical* aspect of Christ’s humanity as the unique archetype of manhood,—a point which had held such a prominent place in the thought of earlier writers like Irenæus and

*Nest.* v. 4), any conversion or change (*τροπή, ἀλλοίωσις*). Cp. *Ep. ad Nest.* ii. (Pusey, p. 20). The catholic writers are very careful in their use of language on this point, and observe current philosophical distinctions, e.g. allowing *κράσις* or *μίξις*, but declining *σύγχυσις*. See a note in Harnack, ii. 359.

<sup>1</sup> *Serm.* xxviii. 3 (tr. Bright).

<sup>2</sup> See *Serm.* lxiii. *de pass. Dom.* xii. 1.

Athanasius. "The image of the person of Christ in its totality must have receded very far into the background as compared with the interest in maintaining the distinctions, and yet at no period was there a greater necessity for keeping firm hold on it than now, when the duality of natures and their infinite distinction had been definitely posited."<sup>1</sup>

We are not altogether unprepared for the reaction which followed Chalcedon,—a reaction of which Monophysitism, Monothelitism, Adoptianism are three successive stages.

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 118. Cp. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 66.

## PART VII

## MONOPHYSITISM

### § I. The Monophysite and Monothelite struggle.

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## § I. MONOPHYSITISM

The history of the century following the Council of Chalcedon is extremely perplexing, and full of distressing and disgraceful incidents. Eutychianism still held its ground among the fanatical monks of Egypt and Palestine. Passionately adhering to the theology of Cyril, and embittered by the defeat which the Alexandrine dogmatics seemed to have suffered at Chalcedon, the Eutychian party became a source of violent disturbance, and even danger to the empire. Palestine, Egypt, and Syria were their strongholds, whereas Rome tended more and more to become the centre of orthodoxy. Indeed, the monophysite struggles form a kind of transition period, in which the process of dogmatic development passes from the East to the West.

After Chalcedon, the adherents of Cyril and Eutyches became known as *μονοφυσῖται*, conceding one composite nature in Christ, but denying the two natures, on the ground that the doctrine implied a Nestorian duality of persons in Christ.<sup>1</sup> There were many causes tending to the persistence of the monophysite view. The proceedings of the Council of 451 had been marked by such unseemly passion and violence, that it commanded little moral respect; further, the opponents of the Chalcedonian theology were, for the most part, superior in attainments and ability to the orthodox; it is also possible that the growing cultus of the Virgin, under the name of *Theotokos*, assisted, and to some extent popularised, the monophysite tendency. Finally, the Eastern jealousy of the West must be taken into account, and perhaps also the growth of a desire to assert the

<sup>1</sup> The name *Acephali* frequently applied to the monophysites originated in a local schism at Alexandria after the issue of the *Henoticon* (482). See Gieseler, *E.H.* ii. 92; Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 277; Petav. *de. Incarn.* i. 16. § 9.

independence of national Churches, as against the increasing influence of the Byzantine patriarchate.

In the dreary history of the conflict, the following important epochs may be distinguished:—

1. The period from the death of Marcian to the accession of Justinian (457–527). The fearful outbreak of monophysite violence at Alexandria, in which Proterius the patriarch perished (457), necessarily led to imperial interference. The resolute efforts of the Emperor Leo restored a brief interval of peace to the Alexandrine Church; but after his death (474) the usurper Basiliscus, who successfully invaded the throne of Zeno, and held it for two years, actively favoured the monophysites, restored the banished monophysite prelates Timothy Aelurus and Peter Fullo to their respective sees, and went so far as to issue an encyclical letter condemning the decisions of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo.<sup>1</sup> The effect, however, of this high-handed action was neutralised by the energy of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople. On his restoration to power, Zeno, at the advice of Acacius, issued the so-called *Henoticon*, or symbol of union (482), with the immediate object of allaying the disorders at Alexandria, though the document was intended to be used as a standard for other Churches also.<sup>2</sup> This document ignored the *Definition* of Chalcedon, by observing strict silence on the question

<sup>1</sup> The historians note that this is the first instance of an imperial document dealing with doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> See it ap. Gieseler, *E.H.* vol. ii. p. 92 note 14. It acknowledges only the creed of Nicæa, confirmed at Constantinople and accepted at Ephesus; anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches; adopts the anathemas of Cyril; and finally states Christ's consubstantiality with the Father and with us, and the entire oneness of His person, ἐνὸς γὰρ εἶναι φάμεν τὰ θεῶματα καὶ τὰ πάθη, reprobatng those who "divide," or "confuse," or "introduce the notion of a fantasy," and anathematizing all who now, or at any other time, think or thought anything to the contrary, either at Chalcedon or in any other synod whatever.

whether there were two natures, or one alone, in the incarnate Christ. It condemned both Nestorianism and Eutychianism, but obviously was intended to shelve the point in dispute. In any case, nothing could be more disastrous than the effect of this unfortunate step on the Emperor's part; the number of contending parties increased from two to four, the moderates on both sides being now abandoned by the extremists. At the head of the dyophysite defenders of the Chalcedonian *Definition* stood Felix of Rome. He even took the unexampled step of condemning and deposing Acacius for his leniency towards the monophysite Peter Mongus, who had subscribed the *Henoticon*, and was consequently confirmed in the see of Alexandria. Acacius received the intimation of his deposition with contempt; and the result was a schism of thirty-five years' duration (484-519) between East and West, communion being restored only in the reign of Justin. It is at this period that the doctrinal break-up of monophysitism fairly begins, the controversy turning upon questions relating to the nature of Christ's body, in view of the *ἔνωσις φυσική*. The *Henoticon* continued to be the test generally prescribed during the disturbed reign of Anastasius (491-518), and the schism between Rome and Constantinople continued.

The most prominent monophysite of this period was the fanatical *Severus*, who had formerly been a heathen, had studied the law, and had devoted particular attention to the philosophy of Aristotle. He embraced Christianity, and became a monk at Alexandria, but was expelled in 510 as a turbulent monophysite. Thence he went with a band of monks to Constantinople, and endeavoured to rouse popular feeling against the bishop Macedonius, who was a strict Chalcedonian. The attempt of Severus to introduce the theopaschite addition of the words *ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς* to the *Trishagion* led to a violent

tumult in the city. The protests of Macedonius were in vain; he was deposed, while Severus, on the other hand, was raised (513) to the throne of Antioch in place of Flavian, who had been falsely charged with Nestorianism, and deposed. The elevation of Severus to the vacant see marks the point at which monophysitism became prevalent in the East. On the accession of Justin, however (518), he was deprived, and took refuge at Alexandria, where he founded one of the numerous sects into which the monophysite party rapidly broke up. The restoration of communion between Constantinople and Rome soon reversed the drift of events, and the confession of Chalcedon became once more the acknowledged faith of the empire, except in Egypt.

2. Justinian (527-565), whose imperial policy absolutely required the pacification of the Church, was inclined to insist on the Chalcedonian decree as the sole standard of orthodoxy, a course in which he was encouraged by the theological tendencies of the time, as represented by the learned monk *Leontius* of Byzantium (*circa* 485-543), the first example of a scholastic theologian, who by diligent use of the logical distinctions of Aristotle was enabled to effect a reconciliation between the theology of Cyril and the language of Chalcedon. But the efforts of Justinian were thwarted by the intrigues of the court, and specially of the Empress Theodora, who was at heart a monophysite. She induced the Emperor to favour monophysitism, and in fact Justinian inclined more and more decidedly towards his wife's opinions. Matters reached a crisis in the affair of the "three chapters." Justinian was led to intervene in the matter of the Origenistic dispute which had agitated Palestine during the earlier years of his reign. Certain of Origen's opinions were condemned, first in a letter from the Emperor himself, afterwards in a synod held at Constan-

tinople (543). The condemnation was apparently regarded by many as an anti-monophysite demonstration.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Justinian was pressed by the Origenistic monk, Theodore Ascidas, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, to condemn by edict three teachers most odious to the monophysite party, namely, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the reputed founder of Nestorianism ; Theodoret, who had so strenuously opposed Cyril ; and Ibas, bishop of Edessa, who had written a letter to a Persian bishop, Maris, complaining of the Cyrilline faction in Edessa, this last document having been pronounced orthodox at Chalcedon. After long and violent dispute an imperial edict condemning the "three chapters" was subscribed by almost all the prelates of the East ; but in the West it was obstinately resisted. The Pope Vigilius was summoned to Constantinople (547), and ultimately gave way, but was soon induced by the pressure of the Western bishops to qualify his assent<sup>2</sup> to the condemnation. His attempts to satisfy both Westerns and Orientals completely failed, and ultimately he made a humiliating submission to the decisions of the fifth General Council held at Constantinople in May 553, at which the "three chapters" were condemned, and an anathema pronounced against all who should defend them by any appeal to the authority of the council of Chalcedon.<sup>3</sup> In the tenth anathema of the council the Antiochene formula was sanctioned : "If anyone refuse to acknowledge that He who was crucified in the flesh, our Lord Jesus Christ, is very God and Lord of glory, and One of the Holy Trinity, be he anathema."<sup>4</sup>

Justinian himself towards the close of his life endeav-

<sup>1</sup> As to expressions in Origen of monophysite tendency, see Redepenning, *Orig. de Princip.* p. 194 note.

<sup>2</sup> In the document known as his *Judicatum*, Gieseler, ii. 101 note.

<sup>3</sup> See Labbe and Coss., *Concil.* vi. pp. 214 ff. Cp. Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 18, §13.

<sup>4</sup> See next page, and cp. Labbe and Coss., *op. cit.* vii. p. 211 ; Gieseler, *E.H.* ii. p. 103 note 22.

oured to establish by decree as a catholic belief the view of the *Aphthartodocetæ* which he had himself adopted; the resistance of the orthodox was, however, rendered unnecessary by the Emperor's death in 565, after which event monophysitism found its stronghold in Syria (the Syrian Jacobites) and Egypt, where an excited nationalist feeling did much to keep alive the repugnance to the Council of Chalcedon. But for the most part monophysitism passed beyond the borders of the empire, and became an organised heresy in Armenia and Abyssinia.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Different types of monophysitism.

i. *Theopaschitism*. Peter the Fuller, the usurping bishop of Antioch, and a violent opponent of the Chalcedonian theology, introduced into the *Trishagion* the favourite monophysite formula "God crucified": ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. The formula as it stood was not only an innovation, but dogmatically objectionable, although in the sense that "One of the Trinity was crucified," it ultimately met with toleration as a useful barrier against Nestorianism. A determined effort to introduce equivalent language at Constantinople was made by John Maxentius and some Scythian monks (*circa* 519), and it found favour among the laity; but the Pope Hormisdas regarded the formula as heretical, in spite of the fact that it was defended by theologians of repute, such as the African divines Fulgentius and Ferrandus. In the year 533 the statement *unum crucifixum esse ex sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate* was sanctioned by Justinian, acting in agreement with the successor of Hormisdas, John II. Finally, it was approved by the Council of Constantinople in 553.<sup>2</sup> Thus theopaschite language was so

<sup>1</sup> For the later history, see Pressel in *Real-Encykl.* vol. ix. *s.v.* "Monophysiten"; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 545 ff.; Dornier, *div. ii.* vol. i. note 36.

<sup>2</sup> See the tenth anathema, quoted above, p. 117.

far sanctioned by the Church, and the action of the Council may be regarded as the counterpart to the decision of Ephesus which had ratified the use of *Theotokos*. Practically, then, while the addition to the *Trishagion* was disallowed, the confession that "One of the Trinity suffered" was admitted into the language of orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup> But we should observe that the admission had a decided influence on current conceptions of the Trinity. The necessary consequence of the Church's recognition of the phrase was a modification of the entire idea of personality as applied to the Godhead. The distinctness of the three blessed Persons was overpressed by some, partly through anxiety to escape from the conclusion that the Godhead could suffer; partly also as the result of the practical identification of *φύσις* and *ὑπόστασις* in relation to Christology. It was urged that three *φύσεις* might be fairly regarded as identical with three *ὑποστάσεις*. In the monophysites John Philoponus (*circa.* 530) and John Ascunages tritheistic tendencies displayed themselves.<sup>2</sup>

ii. A second type of monophysitism is exhibited by those who, like Severus, most closely approached to the Christology of Cyril. These rejected the Chalcedonian decree as an innovation, but were quite ready to acknowledge the theoretic distinction between the two natures of Christ. Severus, indeed, adheres closely to the position of Cyril, recognising the distinctness of the two natures, but laying chief stress on the union (*ἀσύγχυτος ἔνωσις*) and its consequences, especially the "one energy" or operation of Christ's will (*μία καινή θεανδρική ἐνέργεια*).<sup>3</sup> To him the Chalcedonian decree appeared to imply a dual

<sup>1</sup> The considerations in its favour are stated, with authorities, by Petav. *de Incarn.* v. 2, §§ 6-9.

<sup>2</sup> See Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. note 30. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doc.* § 96. Philoponus distinctly identifies *φύσις* and *ὑπόστασις*. Leontius traces his error to the influence of Aristotle (*de Sectis*, act. v. § 6).

<sup>3</sup> This expression was borrowed from the writings of ps.-Dion. Areopag.

personality and dual will. But though Severus disliked the express recognition of two natures as set forth in Leo's letter and the formula of Chalcedon, he approximated very closely to orthodox writers like Leontius in his general position. It would seem that there was little more than a difference of terminology between them.<sup>1</sup> Thus Severus insisted strongly on the theoretic distinctness of the two natures, and the permanence of the characteristic attributes of each after the union; he laid stress on the language of the Gospels as to Christ's human infirmities—hunger, thirst, weariness, etc.—as proving that the body of Christ was of the same creaturely nature as ours, capable of suffering and corruptible (*φθαρτόν*). Hence the followers of Severus were nicknamed *Φθαρτολάτραι* by their opponents.

Later monophysites, e.g. the deacon Themistius of Alexandria, extended the same line of thought to the subject of Christ's human soul, and taught that it was in all respects similar to ours, and therefore limited in knowledge. The Themistians, or *Ἀγνοηταί*, as they were called, met with strenuous opposition, were finally excommunicated, and became a separate sect.

iii. An opposite type of monophysitism is that of Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus. The tendency of the Julianists, reasoning logically from the *ἔνωσις φυσική*, was to deny that Christ's humanity was consubstantial with ours. His body being inseparably united to the Logos, was from the moment of its creation endued with the Divine attributes; it was sinless, imperishable, and incorruptible, not, indeed, by a process of entire transmutation of the human nature into the Divine, but by a

<sup>1</sup> So Harnack, ii. pp. 385. "Even between Severus and Leontius there is no trace of a *theological* difference. The difference lies merely in the degree of willingness to conform to the Chalcedonian formula, and to interpret Leo's letter *in bonam partem*," etc.

heightening of its natural attributes. Whatever capacity for suffering Christ possessed was the result of a conscious exertion of His will; in itself His body was exempt from ordinary human experience. This view was dictated no doubt by a desire to emphasise the condescending love of the Logos, who yielded up His human body to a real experience of suffering; it also naturally commended itself to many ordinary Christians as tending to glorify Christ, and was even adopted by Justinian before his death. The Severians called the Julianists *Ἀφθαρτοδοκῆται* or *Φαντασιασταί*. The same line of thought was exaggerated by an extreme party, who, not content with asserting the incorruptibility of Christ's body, declared that from the moment of its assumption by the Logos it was uncreated, so that even as man Christ could be called God and Creator. This idea involved in effect a *transmutation* of the human into the Divine nature; its adherents were called *Ἀκτιστῆται*, or, from the name of the founder, Gaianists (Gaianus, a follower of Julian, and sometime bishop of Alexandria). They ridiculed their opponents as *Κτιστολάτραι*; but their own views were developed to an extreme point by the *Adiaphorites*,<sup>1</sup> who went so far as to deny all distinction between the manhood and the Godhead in Christ, a position which ultimately led some of its Syrian and Egyptian adherents to a kind of pantheistic mysticism. Thus about the close of the fifth century, the abbot Stephen Barsudaili of Edessa seems to have taught, on the basis of 1 Cor. xv. 28, the actual identity in essence of the Divine and human; the consubstantiality of the creature with the Creator.<sup>2</sup> He apparently

<sup>1</sup> Their founder was Stephen Niobes, an Alexandrian sophist.

<sup>2</sup> See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* iv. 275 ff. It was related that on the walls of his cell were found written the words, "All creatures are of the same essence with God."

taught a doctrine of universal restoration; all existence having proceeded by an original emanation from God was destined finally to return into God.

These exaggerated deductions from the mystery of the *ἔνωσις* seem indeed to be due to the tendency to dwell exclusively on the thought of Divine redemption. Christ is the *Λόγος ἔνσαρκος*; accordingly His human infirmities (so it was argued) cannot be the natural consequences of ordinary human nature. His sufferings must mean the voluntary acceptance (*κατὰ χάριν*) of conditions non-natural to human nature after its assumption by Deity. The Julianists argued that since the Logos came to set human nature free from corruption (*φθορά*), His body could at no time have been subject to it. In this general idea these later monophysites were no doubt akin to earlier Fathers of the Church. Verbally Julian seems to have allowed that Christ's humanity was consubstantial with ours; but the body assumed by the second Adam was sinless, and therefore incorruptible; it was *at once* lifted into the conditions of the Divine life. And here lies the point of the Church's objection to these and other kindred monophysite theories. Their tendency is to represent as an immediate physical effect of Divine power what the New Testament regards as the necessary result of a continuous ethical process.<sup>1</sup> They exaggerated a fact which their opponents acknowledged in common with themselves, namely, that the human nature of Christ was, in virtue of its union with the Logos, "many ways above the reach of our capacities

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 104. The monophysite view "represents the process [of the Incarnation] as advancing with a physical rapidity, so that either the Divine nature, being converted into human, ceases to exist, . . . or at the first contact of the Divine with the human, the latter is transmuted into the former. But a true Incarnation of God is incompatible with either of the just-mentioned alternatives."

exalted."<sup>1</sup> They overlooked the mystery of the gradual advancement of Christ's humanity; His willingness to merit by obedience that which was already His by right; His assumption of human nature *in its weakness* that it might pass over into indestructible strength.<sup>2</sup> In fact, "the very cause of His taking upon Him our nature was to change it, to better the quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which He took, nor to infuse into it the natural forces and properties of His Deity."<sup>3</sup>

4. The most able and prominent defender of the Chalcedonian theology was the learned monk *Leontius* (circ. 485-543). Apparently he was a Byzantine by birth, and at one time an advocate by profession; then he became a monk of S. Saba, and was probably known to some as "Leontius of Jerusalem." Of his authentic works the most important are the *de Sectis*, which gives a full account of different phases of the monophysite error, and the philosophical tract *adv. Nestorianos et Eutychianos*.<sup>4</sup> The main importance of Leontius' work is that he first gives to the Chalcedonian decree a systematic philosophic treatment, applying to it the categories of Aristotelian logic and metaphysic—*οὐσία, γένος, εἶδος, ἄτομον, κ.τ.λ.*<sup>5</sup> Leontius maintains, in agreement with

<sup>1</sup> See Hooker's admirable statement, *Ecl. Pol.* v. 54. 9.

<sup>2</sup> S. Leo. *Serm. in Res.* ii. 6: "Impassibilis passibilem substantiam suam fecit: non ut virtus deficeret in infirmitate, sed ut infirmitas in incorruptibilem posset transire virtutem." Cp. *in Res.* i. 4: "Resurrectio enim Domini non finis carnis sed commutatio fuit, nec virtutis augmento consumpta substantia est. Qualitas transiit, non natura defecit; et factum est corpus impassibile quod potuit crucifigi; factum est immortale quod potuit occidi; factum est incorruptibile quod potuit vulnerari."

<sup>3</sup> Hooker, v. 54. 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Migne, *P.G.* 86. Cp. *Bibl. vet. patrum*, Lugd. vol. ix. p. 660 ff. For an account of Leontius, see Gass in *Real-Encykl.* xix. 780. Cp. Harnack, ii. p. 381 ff. Moeller, *Hist. of the Church*, 1-600 A.D., p. 413.

<sup>5</sup> The doctrine of Leontius is examined by Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz*

his monophysite opponents, that there is no such thing as a φύσις ἀνυπόστατος. The essence or nature never actually exists save in an individual form (ἄτομον); consequently the acceptance of two natures would seem inevitably to lead to the Nestorian view. But Leontius escapes from this conclusion by maintaining that, though there is no φύσις ἀνυπόστατος, there may be a φύσις ἐνυπόστατος, i.e. a nature which has its *hypostasis* in another.<sup>1</sup> So the human nature of the Redeemer was not without hypostasis, but became hypostatic in the person of the Logos. This is illustrated by the simile of the individual man, compounded of soul and body; and the lighted torch, which displays a kind of close relationship or unity between two distinct and independent substances.<sup>2</sup> In this doctrine of *enhypostasia* Leontius maintains the orthodox distinction between nature and person, and teaches also that human nature might in a sense exist as a distinct substance (φύσις or οὐσία) without independent personality of its own.<sup>3</sup>

(in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, bd. iii.), esp. pp. 65 ff. According to Loofs, Leontius' idea of φύσις or οὐσία corresponds to Aristotle's δευτέρα οὐσία; his idea of ὑπόστασις to A.'s πρώτη οὐσία (Arist. *Categ.* 5, §§ 1, 2). "As in Aristotle the genus and the διαφορά, which constitute the δευτέρα οὐσία, are individualised by the εἶναι ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, so in Leontius the human nature in Christ is individualised through the εἶναι ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει τοῦ λόγου, the ὑποστῆναι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ" (Loofs, p. 68).

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρεῖται. See Mai, *Script. vet. nov. coll.* vol. vii. pp. 52-54; Leont. *adv. Nest. et Eutych.* lib. i. (Migne, P.G. No. 86, 1277 D ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *adv. Nest. et Eutych.* 1304 B, C. Leontius explains that an ἕνωσις φύσεων (ἐρεροειδῶν) may take one of two forms. It may be (1) a mixture or confusion of natures, producing an altogether new εἶδος, or (2) a conjunction, resulting in a numerical unity in which each nature preserves its integrity (the two things τὸ διάφορον σώζοντα τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐνόητος). In this case there is an interchange of attributes (ἀντιδόσις ἰδιωμάτων), but each φύσις remains distinct. The illustration of the lighted torch halts, however, when it is asked which of the two substances, wood or fire, is τὸ ἐνυπόστατον.

<sup>3</sup> Leontius illustrates his idea by a reference to the qualities (ποιότητες καὶ τε οὐσιώδεις καὶ ἐπουσιώδεις) in an object, e.g. colour in a body, or

At a later period it was definitely taught that Christ's humanity was *μὴ ἰδιοῦπόστατον*, and eventually an explicit theory of fusion or absorption in the sphere of the *person* was adopted, akin to the monophysite theory of the *natures*. In the seventh century Maximus describes the person of Christ as *μία ὑπόστασις σύνθετος*;<sup>1</sup> and John Damascene develops the doctrine of Athanasius and Cyril, that the manhood of Christ, since it had no independent personality, was an *accident* (*συμβεβηκός*) of the Divine person who assumed it. The theology of Leontius on this point is in fact completely formulated by his successors. The following passage of a later writer states his doctrine succinctly: *ἡ μὲν θεία αὐτοῦ φύσις, ἰδιοῦπόστατος· ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπινὴ οὔτε ἀνυπόστατος, οὔτε ἰδιοῦπόστατος, ἀλλ' ἐνυπόστατος, ὡς ἐν τῇ θείᾳ ὑποστάσῃ.*<sup>2</sup> This amounts to saying that Christ's human nature was so incorporated with the person of the Logos as to possess personality in Him. The Divine person was the substance in which the human nature had its subsistence. So far the element of truth contained in Apollinarianism meets with its recognition.

[NOTE.—The work *de persona et duabus naturis*, ascribed on very insufficient grounds to Boethius,<sup>3</sup> is worthy of special mention in connection with the monophysite con-

knowledge in a rational soul. A quality, he says, is neither an accident nor a substance. An independent *φύσις* is related to an *ὑπόστασις* as qualities to a substance (*adv. N. et E.* 1277 D). Here again the simile fails, for *ποιότητες* cannot subsist independently of the object to which they belong, whereas *ex hypothesi* human nature can subsist apart from personality (e.g. that of Christ). Leontius is no doubt following Aristotle; see *Categ.* 8.

<sup>1</sup> Maxim. *de duab. naturis*, 3. See also Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 3; cp. generally Petav. *de Incarn.* iii. 12, § 4; iii. 4, §§ 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Euthymius Zigabenus (d. *circ.* 1118) ap. Petav. *de Incarn.* iii. 13. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Boethius, b. *circ.* 470 at Rome, d. 525. His translations from Aristotle and Porphyry did much to stimulate the study of Greek logic and metaphysic in the West. The work *de pers. et duab. nat.* is contained in Migne, P.L. No. 63, pp. 1333 ff.

troversy. It is important as being a systematic attempt to fix precisely the significance of the Latin terms employed in connection with the subject: *persona*, which is defined as *rationabilis naturæ individua substantia* (cc. 3, 4); and *natura*, as *cujuslibet substantiæ specificata proprietas*. There is also a careful explanation of *essentia* (οὐσία), *subsistentia* (οὐσίωσις), *substantia* (ὑπόστασις), *persona* (πρόσωπον).<sup>1</sup> In c. 5 the writer points out that the errors both of Nestorius and Eutyches spring from the same source—an idea that *nature* implies personality. Thus *Nestorius recte tenens duplicem in Christo esse naturam sacrilege confitetur duas esse personas; Eutyches vero recte credens unam esse personam impie credit unam quoque esse naturam*. In c. 6 and 7 it is explained in what sense Catholics admit the two phrases ἐκ δύο φύσεων and ἐν δύο φύσεσιν. The first of these is equivocal, and needs precise elucidation. The catholic belief is not that there was a confusion or mixture of natures whereby a third new nature was produced; rather Christ is to be acknowledged *in utrisque, quia manent utraq̄ue; ex utrisque vero, quia utrarumque adunatione manentium una persona fit Christi*. Two natures cannot become one nature, unless either (1) one of the two is converted into the other, or (2) both are blended together so as to produce a new third thing. In the same way Leontius maintains that Christ cannot be correctly called μία φύσις, because φύσις is either (a) common to an entire species (εἶδος), or (b) applicable to one individual member of a species, as partaking in its common attributes. But there is no species or class of Christs (εἶδος Χριστῶν). How, then,

<sup>1</sup> Thus, the writer explains, man is οὐσία, quoniam est; οὐσίωσις quoniam in nullo subjecto est (he has independent subsistence—is not a mere attribute or quality of something else); ὑπόστασις, quoniam subest ceteris quæ subsistentiæ non sunt (he is the subject of qualities or attributes); πρόσωπον, quoniam est rationabile individuum (c. 3).

can He be described as *μία φύσις*? *One nature* could only be the result of a mixture (*σύγχυσις*) by which *ἐξ ἑτεροειδῶν ἑτεροειδῆς ἀποτετελέσται.*<sup>1</sup>

5. The "ethical complement" of monophysitism is monothelitism, which may be regarded as "an attempt to effect some kind of solution of the vital unity of Christ's person, which had been so seriously proposed by monophysitism, on the basis of the now firmly-established doctrine of the two natures."<sup>2</sup>

The history of the controversy makes it plain that political considerations largely determined its course. About the time of Heraclius' succession (610), the empire was threatened by the hostile movements of the Persians and afterwards of the Saracens. It was imperatively necessary to secure unity within the empire,<sup>3</sup> and it was probably with the aim of conciliating the numerous monophysite sects that Heraclius, at the advice of Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, opened communications with some leading members of the heretical party (622), suggesting as a basis of reconciliation the thesis that our Lord, though possessed of two natures, yet had only one will and operation (*μία θεανδρική ἐνέργεια*). At a synod held in Alexandria, the newly-appointed patriarch Cyrus effected the reunion of the Theodosian sect of monophysites with the Church, on the basis of the *μία θεανδρική ἐνέργεια.*<sup>4</sup> This was regarded naturally

<sup>1</sup> *adv. Nest. et Eutych.* [Migne, *P.G.* 86, p. 1292 B].

<sup>2</sup> Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. p. 156; *cp.* p. 199. The name *μονοθεληται* seems to occur first in Joh. Damasc.

<sup>3</sup> The danger was specially great in Egypt, where the monophysite movement had assumed a nationalistic, patriotic character. This is clearly pointed out by Pressel in *Real-Encykl.* s.v. "Monotheliten" (ix. p. 752). *Cp.* Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> For the symbol of union of 633, see Hefele, *l.c.* pp. 126-128. The seventh article described Christ thus: *τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἐνεργούντα τὰ θεοπρεπή καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μία θεανδρική ἐνέργεια, κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Διονύσιον, κ.τ.λ.*

enough as a monophysite triumph. The active opposition to the Emperor's policy was led by the monk Sophronius, who was present at Alexandria while the discussion was proceeding, and who in the next year (634) became patriarch of Jerusalem.

Alarmed at Sophronius' elevation, Sergius wrote to Honorius of Rome, whose reply practically endorsed the opinions of his correspondent: the question of the dual operation was trifling and fit only for grammarians; "we confess," said the Pope, "one will of our Lord Jesus Christ." In a later epistle Honorius quoted the expression of Leo, *agit utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est*. Honorius was apparently desirous to shelve the question; for himself he was not opposed to either mode of expression, "one energy" or "two energies."<sup>1</sup> As disturbances continued, Heraclius issued (638) an edict composed by Sergius, called the *ἐκθέσις* or *Exposition of Faith*.<sup>2</sup> This document simply prohibited the use of the expressions "one" or "two operations." It was, in fact, an attempt to "put an end to differences by concealing them," and it roused intense indignation both in East and West, partly as being false in doctrine, partly as an unwarrantable intrusion of the State into matters beyond its province. The Pope (John iv.) repudiated it, and the learned monk Maximus roused the Churches of Africa against it. The vehement opposition of the Roman bishops John iv. and his successor Theodore, to the *Ecthesis*, caused the Emperor Constans II. to issue a stern mandate (the *Typos*) peremptorily enjoining silence as to the disputed point

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 147. "Anxiety to maintain peace, want of clearness, complaisance towards Constantinople" were the reasons why the Pope chose to follow this course. Cp. Harnack, ii. 401 note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Gieseler, *E.H.* vol. ii. p. 174 note 6. Cp. Robertson, *Hist. of Chr. Church*, vol. ii. pp. 425 f.

(648).<sup>1</sup> But in the very next year Pope Martin I. held a synod in the Lateran at Rome which condemned both the *Ecthesis* and the *Typos*, and anathematised the doctrine of one will, as inconsistent with the decree of Chalcedon.<sup>2</sup> Martin, who gave fresh provocation to the court by the tone he assumed in communicating the decisions of the Roman synod, was some years later (653) carried off to Constantinople, and after much suffering died in exile (655). Maximus also was seized, imprisoned, and treated with such barbarity that he ultimately succumbed to his sufferings (662). The two following Popes, Eugenius and Vitalian, lived on peaceable terms with the Emperor; but in 677 Adeodatus excommunicated the Greek patriarch, and a new schism was the result. The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, son and successor of Constans, now found himself obliged to adopt a changed policy. He made overtures to the Pope, Agatho (678-682),<sup>3</sup> who, after holding a synod at Rome, wrote a letter which was designed to serve the same kind of purpose as Leo's celebrated *Tome*, by giving an authoritative decision on the point of controversy. In 680 a synod was held at Constantinople (the Sixth General Council), attended by nearly 200 bishops. Agatho's letter<sup>4</sup> confirming the doctrine of two wills was read; Sergius, Cyrus, and Honorius were condemned,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gieseler, *l.c.* note 9.

<sup>2</sup> The action of the Pope was probably intended to be an energetic assertion of the independence of the Roman see. The addition which the council made to the Chalcedonian *Definition*, and its canons, are given by Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. pp. 199 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Agatho succeeded Donus while the Emperor's letter was on its way to Rome.

<sup>4</sup> *ap.* Gieseler, *l.c.* 176 note.

<sup>5</sup> As to the case of Honorius, see the literature mentioned by Gieseler, *l.c.* 177, or Robertson, ii. 438; *cp.* Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. note 33.* Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 21. 11 defends Honorius on the ground that "*duas voluntates haud absolute denegavit, sed tantummodo contrarias, cuiusmodi in nobis ex corrupto naturæ statu reperiuntur.*"

and together with them Macarius of Antioch, who at the Council pertinaciously defended the monothelite view. The definition of the Sixth Council declares on the basis of Scripture (S. John vi. 38) that Christ possesses δύο φυσικά θελήματα οὐχ ὑπενάντια . . . ἀλλ' ἐπόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ θέλημα, καὶ μὴ ἀντίπιπτον ἢ ἀντιπαλαῖον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ θείῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πανσθενεῖ θελήματι.<sup>1</sup> "For just as His flesh is, and is said to be, the flesh of the Word, so also His human will is, and is said to be, proper to the Word. . . . Just as His holy and spotless ensouled flesh was deified, yet not annihilated, so also His human will, though deified, was not annihilated." The definition ends with a quotation from Leo's *Tome* (*agit utraque*, etc., c. iv.): ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρα μορφή μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε, κ.τ.λ. Thus peace was restored within the empire. The subsequent history of monothelitism among the Maronites of Syria, until the date of their submission to the Latin Church, is not of special dogmatic interest.

6. As a doctrine monothelitism owes much to the mystical writings of pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, which probably first appeared in Egypt during the fifth century, and exercised a wide and profound influence on Christian speculation. The writer may have been connected with the school of the Platonist Proclus. Certainly in their highly transcendental conception of God, his works embody the spirit of Neo-platonism, and are even marked by the pantheistic tendency which seems to lie at the root of monophysitism. The writer found favour in the Church, partly owing to his mystical tone which fell in with prevailing habits of thought, partly owing to his exaltation of monachism.<sup>2</sup> From him was borrowed the

<sup>1</sup> See the definition in Gieseler, *H.E.* ii. 176 note.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of works relating to Dion. Areop., see Harnack, *D.G.* ii

phrase *θεανδρική ἐνέργεια* which became the watchword of the monothelite party, and corresponded closely to the *μία φύσις σύνθετος* of the monophysites. In the *fourth epistle* (to the monk Caius) we find the statement, "Not as God did He perform what was Divine, not as man what was human; but inasmuch as God had become man, He exhibited a kind of new activity, the Divine-human."<sup>1</sup> This expression, apparently first brought into notice by Severus, seemed to describe accurately the composite activity of a composite nature. God having become man in Christ there resulted a new form of will-energy, the Divine-human. The phrase repeated in a new shape a doctrine which had probably been traditional in the school of Antioch, and closely corresponded with the teaching of Cyril himself. It admitted of a catholic sense as denoting—not the *unity* of Christ's energy as if it proceeded from one composite nature,—but the *harmonious activity* of two perfect natures closely associated, acting each *cum communionem alterius* (Leo, *Ep. ad Flav. iv.*). Those actions, for instance, which our Lord performed through the body as an instrument, *e.g.* healing with the touch of His hand, might be correctly described as *theandric*; indeed, so far as there is an "association always" of the natures in Christ, all His actions may be described as *theandric*.<sup>2</sup>

But the monothelites made a significant alteration in the phrase of the Areopagite, substituting *μίαν* for *καὶνὴν*,<sup>3</sup> arguing, doubtless, from the monophysite *μία*

p. 423 note 2; Loofs, *Dogmengesch.* § 42. Cp. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 303, 304; Bigg, *Neoplatonism*, chap. xxv.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Areop. *Opera* [ed. Corderius], vol. ii. p. 75: *καὶνὴν τινα τῆν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῶν πεπολιτευμένον*. On the relation of this doctrine to the Areopagite's entire view of the Incarnation, see Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. pp. 161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Petav. *de Incarn.* viii. 10, esp. § 7.

<sup>3</sup> This alteration is imputed to Cyrus of Alexandria. See Petav. viii. 10, § 3.

φύσιν σύνθετος. The monothelites, in fact, believed in *one operation* as in *one nature*. They did not mean by the phrase to imply *harmonious* co-operation of two natures, but the *single* operation of one who is God-man.<sup>1</sup>

We can distinguish more than one type of monotheistic belief among those who refused to draw the necessary inference from the Chalcedonian doctrine. Some, like Theodore of Pharan, whose name is known only in connection with this controversy, regarded the human soul and body of Christ as merely the passive, impersonal organ of the Divine Logos; the only *ἐνέργεια* being that of the dominant Godhead. Others, of whom Honorius may be taken as the example, were more careful to distinguish between (1) the operation (*ἐνέργεια*) of will—volition, and (2) the *effect* of the volition—the completed act of will. Honorius seems to allow that there was in Christ a duality of operations, each nature acting in its own way; but dominating and controlling the natures was the Divine person with His one will. "Instead of one *operation*," he says, "we ought to acknowledge one *operator*; instead of *two operations*, we ought rather to proclaim *two natures* in the one person of the only begotten, both fulfilling (*operantes*) their proper functions."<sup>2</sup> Honorius evidently attempts to draw a distinction between the two natures which "operate," each according to its own law (cp. Leo's *agit utraque forma quod proprium est*), and the one personality who alone "wills."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petav. *de Incarn.* viii. 10, § 10: "Proinde vox illa non unitatem actionis velut ex una perfectæ naturæ composita significat (ut stulte nugati sunt hæretici) sed ἐνεργειῶν ἀμφοτέρων summam et arcetissimam copulationem, salva utriusque proprietate ac naturali differentia." Cp. can. 15 of the first Lateran synod, 649 [Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. p. 202].

<sup>2</sup> ap. Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. p. 177 note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The view of Honorius was not very different from that of Sophronius; both of them admit that the two natures are active, and fulfil definite

The point, however, which appears to be common to these two classes of monothelites is the view that will belongs, not to the nature, but to the personality (*θελήματα* are *ὑποστατικά*, not *φυσικά*). Thus Pyrrhus, the successor of Sergius, in his disputation with Maximus, insisted that if Christ was one, He could have but one will, for it was impossible that there should be two wills coexistent in the same person (*πρόσωπον*) without contrariety.<sup>1</sup> Probably this theory was intended to exclude all such possibility of sin in Christ as might arise from the conflict of a higher with a lower will.

We also meet subsequently with an intermediate doctrine, that of a *composite* will. Some monothelites were so far convinced by the authority of patristic statements adduced by their opponents, as to allow the independent operation of the two natures, and so far, of two natural wills. But the very unity of the wills might be regarded as a kind of higher will (*ἐκ τῶν δύο φυσικῶν θελημάτων ἓν τι σύνθετον*). This, then, was an advance on the idea that the humanity was simply a passive organ of the Deity. It conceived the result of the dual volition as a single *theandric* operation. In the earlier stages of the *ἔνωσις*, the human will might even be conceived as passing through a process of discipline, gradually accustoming itself, as it were, to perfect correspondence with the Divine will. This idea of the self-determination of the human will (*γνώμη βουλευτική, γνώμη τῶν ἀντικειμένων κριτική*) might easily lead to a Nestorian view of Christ's person; it seems, however, to have resulted from the inability of the monophysite mind to conceive of two natures coexisting without dual personality.<sup>2</sup>

functions; both assign *will* to the personality of the Logos. Cp. Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. pp. 166 ff.*

<sup>1</sup> Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 19. 5, 6; i. 21. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. note 43.*

7. The opponents of monothelitism took, as the foundation of their reasoning, the Chalcedonian *Definition*. The phrase, "perfect as touching His humanity," must imply the complete perfection of human nature; and since free self-determining movement (*κίνησις αὐτεξούσιος*) is the most distinctive thing in human nature, Christ must have possessed it.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise His manhood is deficient (*ἀτελής, ἐλλείψης*).

Such is the general argument of the acute and learned *Maximus* in his *Disputation with Pyrrhus*. The reality of Christ's human will not only follows from the admission of the perfection of His manhood, but is essentially implied in the idea of rational being. Further, the idea of *contrariety* is excluded in the case of a sinless being; the human "freedom" of Christ was that true freedom which belongs to sinless humanity; in Him the two wills are parallel, and never come into collision, but ever choose that which is Divine. *Anastasius*,<sup>2</sup> the pupil of *Maximus*, who suffered cruelly in defence of his opinions (d. 666), developed his master's teaching on its ethical side. To deny Christ a human will would not only lower His humanity to the level of an irrational creature, it would virtually make true human virtue impossible for Him; it would empty His example of value, and render impossible that true human obedience which was the declared purpose of His coming.<sup>3</sup>

The merit of *Maximus* was that he treated Christology in close connection with anthropology. As in the case

<sup>1</sup> That will is an element in nature seemed to follow from the conception of nature as something living and active, not passive and motionless. Cp. [Boeth.] *de persona et duab. nat.* 1: "Natura est vel quod facere, vel quod pati possit. . . . Natura est motus principium, secundum se non per accidens." Cp. *Maxim. Disp.* pp. 162, 163.

<sup>2</sup> See some writings of *Anastasius* (the presbyter) in *Mai, Scrip. vet. nov. coll.* vii. pp. 195 ff. Cp. *Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 188.*

<sup>3</sup> *S. John* vi. 38.

of universal human nature, so in that of Christ, the Divine operated according to the law and constitution of the human. The Logos who formed the personality in Christ operated through the natures, but allowed each to work in its own appropriate way, in harmonious conjunction with the other. By a deeper analysis of the strictly human element in Christ, Maximus anticipates the distinction more clearly stated by Hooker: "As man's will, so the will of Christ hath two several kinds of operation, the one natural or necessary, whereby it desireth simply whatsoever is good in itself, and shunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, because the eye of understanding judgeth them good to that end which we simply desire."<sup>1</sup>

While Maximus reasons from the perfection of Christ's human nature as posited by the *Definition* of Chalcedon, and insists that will is an essential element of a complete nature,<sup>2</sup> *Agatho*, in his letter, lays special stress on the scriptural passages which establish the truth of the dual will in Christ. He discredits the idea that will belongs to the personality by a reference to the Blessed Trinity, in which the Three *Persons* are yet one in will.<sup>3</sup> But he passes on to a recital of the passages in the Gospels, which attest the presence in Christ of two wills, making special reference to S. Mt. xxvi. 39, S. Lk. xxii. 42; S. Jo. v. 30, vi. 38; and to passages which describe our Lord's obedience, S. Lk. ii. 51;

<sup>1</sup> *Ecc. Pol.* v. 48, § 9. Cp. Maxim. *Disp. cum Pyrrho* [*Opera*, ed. Combefis, vol. ii. p. 166].

<sup>2</sup> *Disp. c. Pyrrh.* p. 191: ἡ γὰρ ἐνέργεια, φυσικὴ οὐσα, φύσεως ὑπάρχει συστατικὴ καὶ ἐμφυτοῦ χαρακτήρ.

<sup>3</sup> This argument is borrowed from Maximus, *Disp.* p. 161. (See *Agatho's* letter described and partly quoted in Gieseler, *H.E.* ii. p. 176 note.) It is expressly repeated by Jo. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 14. For a criticism, see Dorner, *Z.c.* pp. 194, 195.

Phil. ii. 8. To these he adds two Old Testament passages, Ps. xl. 9, liv. 6. Finally, Agatho represents the whole body of those who supported the Chalcedonian decree, in arguing from the existence of the two natures in Christ to a duality of wills and operations. "The Church," he says, "acknowledges Christ as *ex duabus et in duabus existentem naturis . . . consequenter itaque duas etiam naturales voluntates in eo et duas naturales operationes esse confitetur et prædicat.*" He does not, however, say anything respecting the mode in which the two wills operate. The decree of the Sixth Council goes somewhat further, and declares that the two wills coexist *ἀδιαπέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμερίστως, ἀσυγχύτως.*

With two remarks we may leave the study of this difficult and perplexing controversy.

1. We notice the prominence of the word *φύσις* throughout the disputes of the fifth and sixth centuries. The word in itself testifies to the universality of the belief that the God-man stood in an essential relation to the whole human race. It was man's *nature* which He had assumed in its completeness and totality, with all its endowments and faculties; in order that He might renew it after the image of God. This thought,—a precious heritage from the Church of the past,—reappears towards the close of the monothelite struggle, and indicates the deeper interest that underlay an apparently sterile and unprofitable controversy. It is expressed in a somewhat original form by a writer to whom allusion has already been made, Anastasius the presbyter. "The Word of God having visited us for the purpose of renewing Adam, created for Himself such a soul as He had imparted from Himself to Adam by means of the original inbreathing, a soul fashioned *after the image and likeness* of the Word of God, as the Scripture declares,—yea, wholly subsisting (*ὑπάρχουσαν*) after His image; after His likeness having its sub-

sistence (*ὑπαρξιν*), after His image determining (*διαγράψουσαν*) its volition, after His image its operation; a soul pure, spotless, ineffable, sinless; a soul having no need of any essential re-creation, like the body and all that pertains to it; requiring no alteration or refashioning of its proper parts and elements (*μελῶν*); not possessing any volition that needed to be quenched, nor any operation that required to be arrested. For how should such a soul require essential re-creation—that soul which came forth from God, which subsisted in the image and likeness of God, above all, the soul of the Word, which was utterly free from defilement? For the soul of Adam had its origin from God (*ἐκθεον*) by means of the in-breathing; but the soul of Emmanuel had a substantial existence (*οὐσίωσιν*), Divine (*ἐνθεον*), and . . . equal with God (*ὀμόθεον*); from Him, and through Him, and with Him, and in Him, by personal incorporation (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν συσσωμως*), having its subsistence in the undefiled womb which received God."<sup>1</sup> Here reappears the thought of a Redeemer, essentially Divine,—exhibiting in His assumed humanity the type after which mankind was to be renewed; the Creator Himself becomes the author of a new creation, as a true member of our race, but also its eternal archetype and head.

2. It should also be noticed that the tendency of the time was to overpress the subordination of Christ's human will; to withdraw from it the *αὐτεξούσιον* which Maximus regarded as an integral element of true humanity, and rather to insist on its *ὑπεξούσιον*, its perfect subjection to the Divine will.<sup>2</sup> So far the

<sup>1</sup> Anast. ap. Mai, *Pat. vet. nov. coll.* vii. p. 199. Cp. Jo. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 14 (p. 229 D).

<sup>2</sup> Jo. Damasc. *institut. elem.* c. x. [*Opera*, ed. Lequien, vol. i. p. 520]. For a much later statement, cp. Petav. *de Incarn.* v. 12, § 6: "Siquidem vel adoptivi filii sunt ii qui spiritu Dei aguntur (Rom. viii. 14): quanto propius excellentiusque naturam ac mentem propriam Deus ipse modera-

Deity in Christ is still regarded as entirely predominant; the Church substantially adheres to the doctrine of the *unus operator*, if not of the *una voluntas*.<sup>1</sup> This practical assertion of the omnipotence of the Logos determined the general course of Christology during the Middle Ages. The Adoptianist reaction, however, may perhaps be viewed as an early attempt to secure due recognition for the human element in the Redeemer.

## § II. THE LATER THEOLOGY OF THE GREEK CHURCH

1. The theology of the Greek Church, now formulated and developed to its highest point, finds an exponent in JOHN OF DAMASCUS (d. about 760), whose task it was to summarise and exhibit in exact phraseology the results of the dogmatic activity of the preceding ages. To him faith appears to be an "easy assent"<sup>2</sup> to the doctrine of the Triune God, the dogmas of the Church, and the utterances of the Fathers. His chief work, *περὶ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*, exercised a great influence on the thought of the Western Church. The third book treats of Christology in general, but devotes special attention to the question of the two wills or operations. The following are the most distinctive points of John's theology.

(1) The writer is an adherent of Chalcedon, and a dyothelite. Christ is at once perfect God and perfect man, possessing all that belongs to the Father *πλήν τῆς ἀγεννησίας*, and all that belongs to the first Adam, save sin. He has a body and a reasonable, intellectual soul;

batur, impulsuque suo quam vellet in partem flectebat? In quod intuens Apostolus dixit *caput Christi* Deum, quæ vox *capitis τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ* respondet," etc. So Bp. Pearson speaks of Christ's "directed will" (*On the Creed*, art. 3, p. 284).

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *de orth. fid.* iv. 11 (Lequien, i. 263 E) *πίστις δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπολυπραγμώνητος συγκατάθεσις.*

and corresponding to His two natures all the natural attributes of each,—two natural modes of volition (*θελήσεις*), a human and Divine, two natural operations, two principles of free choice (*αὐτεξουσία*), the human and Divine, and even a double wisdom and knowledge,<sup>1</sup> human and Divine.

Then follows a strong statement: *ὁμοούσιος γὰρ ὢν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, αὐτεξουσίως θέλει καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ὡς θεός· ὁμοούσιος δὲ ὢν καὶ ἡμῖν, αὐτεξουσίως θέλει καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τὰ θαύματα, αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παθήματα.*<sup>2</sup> Here, then, is a consistent evolution of the Chalcedonian theology, especially in the ascription to Christ of a dual will, on the ground that will belongs to the perfection of either nature, of human nature equally with Divine.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere the human will is described as in all respects subject to the Divine.<sup>4</sup>

(2) John follows Leontius, whom he mentions by name, in teaching the union of the two natures in one *hypostasis*. No nature is *ἀνυπόστατος*, but two natures may have a common *ὑπόστασις*. So Christ's humanity has no independent subsistence. It becomes "enhypos-tatised" in the Logos: *αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ὑπόστασις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐγένετο τῇ σαρκὶ ὑπόστασις* (c. xi.), *οὐ γὰρ προϋποστάση καθ' ἑαυτὴν σαρκὶ ἠνώθη ὁ λόγος* (c. ii.).<sup>5</sup> The one *hypostasis* embraces (*περιεκτικὴ ἐστὶ*) the two natures. In this view the distinctive theology of Cyril and his school is recognised.

(3) The relation of the two natures is next described,

<sup>1</sup> See iii. 19—a remarkable passage describing the reflective self-consciousness of Christ's human *νοῦς*; cp. iv. 1 (Dorner, *l.c.* note 45).

<sup>2</sup> *de orth. fid.* iii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> This is argued at length in c. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See c. 15 (p. 235 D).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. especially cc. 3, 6, and 9. In general the logical conceptions and language of Leontius reappear in John's treatment of the *hypostasis*.

From the unity of the hypostasis<sup>1</sup> in Christ follows the *ἀντίδοσις ιδιωμάτων* and the *περιχώρησις*. The doctrine of the *περιχώρησις* "permeation" of the human by the Divine nature may be traced to Maximus.<sup>2</sup> The phrase is intended to express that intimate union between the two natures in virtue of which there was an *ἀντίδοσις ιδιωμάτων*, a reciprocal interchange of properties: *ἐκατέρας φύσεως ἀντιδιδούσης τῇ ἑτέρα τὰ ἴδια διὰ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν*.<sup>3</sup> In theory indeed the permeation is mutual, the Divine nature in some way being affected and pervaded by the human. "The human nature," we may think, in some mysterious way "penetrated and pervaded the Divine in all those moral and religious departments in which the two natures are akin."<sup>4</sup> But in point of fact it was the fixed idea of later Greek theology that the Divine so entirely dominated the human element that the *περιχώρησις* was necessarily one-sided. So it is expressly stated in ch. 7, "Though we declare that the natures of the Lord permeate each other, yet we know that the permeation issues from the Divine nature; for this penetrates through all things according as it wills and permeates them, while nothing can permeate it; it imparts to the human nature of its own glories, remaining itself impassible and without part in the passions of the humanity." Thus the Deity in Christ "appropriates" (*οἰκειοῦται*) all that belongs to humanity; the One person is the author of all action in either nature;<sup>5</sup> and the *ἀντίδοσις* resolves itself into a mere *ἀντίδοσις ὀνομάτων*. "For Christ (who is both together)

<sup>1</sup> John teaches that Christ has a *composite personality* (*σύνθετος ὁπρόστασις*). "The hypostasis of the Logos, formerly simple, became composite" (*σύνθετον ἐκ δύο τελείων φύσεων*), c. 7; cp. bk. iv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Dörner, *div. ii. vol. i. note 41.*

<sup>3</sup> c. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Milligan, *The Ascension, etc.* p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> c. 3.

is *spoken of* as God and man, created and uncreated, passible and impassible; and when on the one part He is called 'Son of God' and 'God,' He receives all the attributes of the nature conjoined with Himself, the humanity; He may be called 'God passible' and 'Lord of glory crucified.' . . . We are able to *say* concerning Christ, 'This is our God who appeared on earth and conversed with men'; and conversely, 'This man is increate, impassible, and incomprehensible (*ἀπερίγραπτος*).'"<sup>1</sup>

It is then the human nature only which is affected by the union; the human nature which is inconceivably exalted, and lifted into the conditions of the Divine life in virtue of its assumption by the Logos. On the part of the Logos there is an *οἰκείωσις* of human nature; but of the human nature there is a *θέωσις*.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly as man Christ is omniscient; He is enriched by the Logos with entire and comprehensive Divine knowledge. Only by a mental abstraction can the manhood of Christ be described as ignorant or dependent (*δούλη*). Just as the flesh of Christ was endued with life-giving power in consequence of the union, so the soul of Christ was filled with perfect knowledge of the future.<sup>3</sup> John distinctly denies that Christ could really *advance* in wisdom or knowledge. He only "advanced" in the sense that there was a progressive manifestation of omniscience which kept pace with His bodily growth.<sup>4</sup> Similarly His human will shared in the omnipotence of the Logos. His prayer in S. Mt. xxvi. 39 was only intended to teach us, for τὸ ἡμέτερον οἰκειούμενος πρόσωπον ταῦτα προσηύξατο.<sup>5</sup> In taking our manhood the Word in fact "assumed the rôle" of manhood. In virtue of its union

<sup>1</sup> c. 4.<sup>2</sup> c. 17.<sup>3</sup> c. 21.<sup>4</sup> c. 22. He says that to teach any real advance is practically to assert with Nestorius a mere *σχετικὴ ἐνωσις* or *ψιλὴ ἐνοίκησις*.<sup>5</sup> c. 24. See also 25 on the two modes of *οἰκείωσις*.

with Deity the manhood is the proper subject of adoration.<sup>1</sup> The word *Theotokos* is spoken of as "the title which comprehends the entire mystery of the economy."<sup>2</sup>

(4) John devotes special attention to the subject of the two wills and operations in Christ. Although his view of the union in one aspect reduces the humanity to the position of a mere organ or instrument of the Logos,<sup>3</sup> yet he admits that there is a co-operation of the two natures. The one person of the Word wills and operates *ἡνωμένως*, i.e. He acts and wills in each nature, *μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας*.<sup>4</sup> The two wills and operations, though conjoined, are numerically distinct, although the human will shares in the deification of the human nature.<sup>5</sup> The joint operation of the two wills may be described as *θεανδρική ἐνέργεια* in the sense that Christ's "human operation was deified and shared in the Divine operation; and His Divine operation shared in the human." But, says John, "this mode of speech is a periphrasis whereby two things are comprehended in one phrase"; and he illustrates his meaning by the accepted simile of the heated iron,<sup>6</sup> which both cuts and burns. Cutting and burning are distinct operations (*ἐνέργειαι*) and belong to different substances (*φύσεις*), but in actual effect they are one. "So also in speaking of Christ's *theandric operation*, we understand a dual operation of His two natures, the Divine operation of His Deity, the human operation of His manhood."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bk. iv. 2, *προσκυνεῖται μὲν προσκυνήσει μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*; op. iii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. iii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> c. 19, p. 243 c; cp. *de duab. vol.* 42, where the human will "ministers" to the Divine. See also Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 214*.

<sup>4</sup> c. 14. (This is Leo's *agit utraque forma*, etc.) <sup>5</sup> c. 15, p. 232 A.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Maxim. *de duab. vol.* [ed. Combefis, vol. ii.], p. 102.

<sup>7</sup> See the whole of c. 19, esp. the conclusion.

But the Logos alone controls by His will the operation of the humanity which "was moved in accordance with its constitution (*φύσις*) at the will of the Logos." Practically, therefore, the human nature loses its independence (*αὐτεξούσιον*); the Logos "allowing it economically to suffer and to fulfil its proper functions, in order that by means of its actual works the reality of the nature might be ensured." Thus in the last resort there is one determinant will (*θέλημα γνωμικόν*), that of the One person in His Divine nature.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, it must be admitted that the Greek Christology in this, its definitive form, while retaining the dyophysitic formulæ which practically originated in the West (Leo's *Tome*), retained a monophysitic element. The spirit of Cyril dominates the entire system of the Damascene, viewed on its religious side; so far as formulæ could secure it, the doctrine of Christ's perfect humanity was accepted by the Eastern Church. But the Cyrilline, and hitherto never quite forgotten, thought of the Incarnation as a supreme act of loving condescension on the part of God practically disappears, or, to speak more accurately, the possibility of such a condescension is explained away on the basis of a quasi-physical treatment of the mystery.<sup>2</sup> It is fair, perhaps, to say of the result, "The Chalcedonian *Definition* is victorious, but Apollinaris is not overcome."<sup>3</sup> For though he intended to assert the independence and completeness of the humanity, ascribing to it freedom as

<sup>1</sup> c. 15 (235 D); ep. c. 18 [p. 241 C]. "The human will followed and was subject to His [Divine] will, not being self-determined (*κινούμενον γνώμη ἰδίᾳ*), but willing those things which the Divine will willed."

<sup>2</sup> Notice the "self-cancelling" passage quoted by Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, p. 73: τὸ ἀταπεινωτὸν αὐτοῦ ὕψος ἀταπεινώτως ταπεινώσας, συγκαταβαίνει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις συγκατάβασιν ἄφραστον τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτον (*de orth. fid.* iii. vol. i. p. 203 D).

<sup>3</sup> Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogm.* i. p. 234. Cp. Harnack, ii. 411 note; Loofs, § 43, 2.

a constant element in human nature and a necessary condition of human virtue,<sup>1</sup> John yet "takes away with one hand what he gives with the other." It would seem as if his reasonings were based on a defective idea of personality, and an excessive confidence in the doctrine of the *enhypostasia* which he had learned from Leontius. In the form it had now reached it is clear that this doctrine did not do justice to the highest element in the humanity which the Logos had assumed—the freedom of the human will.

"It is evident enough," says Dorner, "that the Christological result thus arrived at by the ancient Church, whatever may have been the extent of its traditional influence even down to recent times, was far from bringing the matter to a close. The human nature of Christ was curtailed in that, after the manner of Apollinaris, the head of the Divine *hypostasis* was set upon the trunk of human nature, and the unity of the person thus preserved at the cost of the humanity. . . . [John] overlooked the circumstance that the Christian doctrine of the second Adam implies that the true idea of man was not realised at the first creation, but solely at the second creation." Indeed, in order to understand the relation in which Christ's humanity stands on the one hand to the Logos, on the other to mankind at large, "we must start with the conception of man which Christianity is at once capable of realising and requires to be realised, and which was first actually realised in the person of Christ. But the idea of humanity revealed and embodied in Christ does not require us to separate between it and God; and as this necessarily reacts upon the conception of God, the distinction between God and humanity will need to be otherwise defined than it was when the natural Adamitic humanity was taken as a

<sup>1</sup> *de divad.* vol. 19 [p. 538 c], τὸ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ ἀπεριήσυστατικόν.

starting-point in estimating the nature even of Christ's humanity."<sup>1</sup>

[NOTE.—*The Doctrine of Christ's Human Will in John Damascene.*

It should be noticed that John follows Maximus in making some precise distinctions on this subject. In *de orth. fid.* iii. 14, he distinguishes between "will" (τὸ θέλειν) and "determination" (γνώμη). Thus θέλειν, θέλησις, θελητικὴ δύναμις, θέλημα φυσικόν, κ.τ.λ. are set over against θελητόν, θέλημα γνωμικόν. Christ possesses the human faculty of willing (θέλησις) or self-determination (αὐτεξουσιότης). But this verbal admission is qualified by the statement that in Christ there can be no ἐναντιότης γνώμης: for speaking strictly Christ has no γνώμη or προαίρεσις, which would imply a want of perfect knowledge, whereas He knew all things and needed no consideration (σκέψις) or deliberation; He was free from all hesitancy or doubt (cp. *de duab.* vol. 28, p. 544 D). But although in Christ there were two volitional natures directed towards one and the same object, the θέλημα γνωμικόν or "determining will" belonged only to the Logos. The human will, nominally αὐτεξουσίου, was yet without freedom over against the Divine will; the Logos determined both the form and matter of its volitions. So in *de duab.* vol. 40, John explains that the Word took a human nature and not a human personality: ἵν' ἡ φυσικὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος θέλησις μὴ κατ' οἰκείου ὑποστατικόν καὶ γνωμικόν θέλημα πολιτεύσῃ ἐναντίως τοῦ θείου θελήματος, ἀλλ' αὐτεξουσίως κατὰ πάντα ὑπήκοος γένηται, κ.τ.λ. In effect, therefore, the "freedom" of Christ's human will is reduced to a natural psychical impulse of volition. It is purely passive in relation to the will of the Logos. Cp. Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. pp. 213–215.

<sup>1</sup> *Person of Christ*, *div. ii.* vol. i. pp. 220 ff.

In relation to the "dual operation" in Christ, the following distinctions are made—(1) *ἐνέργεια*, the active and essential operation or movement, of a particular nature: (2) *ἐνεργητικόν*, the nature from which such operation proceeds: (3) *ἐνέργημα*, the accomplished effect of the operation (*ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς δυνάμεως*): (4) *ὁ ἐνεργῶν*, the person or *hypostasis* operating. Of these (1) and (3) are interchangeable, like *κτίσμα* and *κτίσις*.

Each nature has its appropriate operation. Human life itself is an *ἐνέργεια*, whether regarded as a process of growth, or an expenditure of force, or a continuous movement of self-determining will. Such an *ἐνέργεια* Christ possessed as man, and He displayed it in conjunction with the *ἐνέργεια* of His Deity. Thus the miracle of multiplying the loaves was an operation of His Deity; the actual breaking of bread was an operation of His humanity. But the total result (*ἀποτέλεσμα*), though both natures co-operated in producing it, displayed a single operation, and that Divine. For though it is impossible in the abstract that there should be *one operation* of two diverse natures, yet we may speak of Christ's operation as one, because of the unity of the person who wills and acts both *θεικῶς* and *ἀνθρωπίνως*. See *de orth. fid.* iii. 15, esp. pp. 231 c–232 c. It is clear on the whole that in the last instance John regards the humanity as a mere organ of the Logos. The "free obedience" is in reality no more than an obedience pre-determined by the controlling will of the Logos.]

2. In the Eastern Church the period which followed the publication of John Damascene's great work was in some respects analogous to the age of scholasticism in the West. The tendency to systematisation, and the dialectical treatment of the received theology, found late representatives in such writers as the monk Euthymius Zigabenus (d. *circ.* 1118), author of the *Dogmatic Panoply*

of the *Orthodox Faith*; Theophylact (d. 1107), archbishop of the Bulgarians, who devoted himself mainly to scriptural exegesis; Nicetas of Chonæ (d. *circa*. 1206), author of a *Thesaurus of Orthodoxy*; and Nicolas, bishop of Methone,<sup>1</sup> whose principal work was a polemic against the Neoplatonist Proclus. For our present purpose it must suffice merely to mention these names. The fact is that any true intellectual progress was impossible in an age when freedom was stifled by political and spiritual despotism.<sup>2</sup> Further, the decay and corruption of the Eastern Church was unfavourable to originality in speculation and to depth of spiritual insight. Futile and arid controversies arose from time to time, in regard to the doctrines of the Trinity and of the two natures in Christ; but there was a general neglect of practical Christianity, and among the unlearned and ignorant a prevalence of gross and barbarous superstition. It was not to be wondered at that from the seventh century onwards reactionary movements appeared both within and without the Church. Such was the heresy of the Paulicians, a strange revival of Manichæism, which in the first instance appears to have been an attempt to revive apostolical Christianity;<sup>3</sup> such also was the iconoclastic movement of the eighth century, which though it was not the result of any deep conviction, or any widespread desire of reform, yet betrayed an element of religious discontent with the prevailing tendencies of Christian worship.

On the other hand, the immense influence of the Areopagite, which had already affected the doctrinal controversies of the Church, is to be traced in the

<sup>1</sup> His date is uncertain, but probably falls in the twelfth century. Cp. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 146.

<sup>2</sup> See Gieseler, *E. H.* iii. pp. 484-489, the notes.

<sup>3</sup> On the Paulicians, see *The Key of Truth*, edited by F. C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1898), esp. *Introd.* pp. xxxv. ff.

mystical and contemplative theology of the seventh and following centuries. The writings of Dionysius had transferred to the later Greek Church elements of Platonistic thought which penetrated deeply into the Oriental mind, and became the basis of later mysticism in the West also. To the Areopagite is due the conception of theology as affirmative (*καταφατικός*) and negative (*ἀποφατικός*). The object of the cataphatic theology was God regarded as knowable, active, and self-communicating; the apophatic theology laid stress on the impenetrable mystery which surrounded the Divine Being,— His absolute transcendence and incommunicable essence. This habit of thought discovered a deep significance in the symbolism and worship of the Church. The whole constitution of the Church, with its hierarchy, its rites, its dogmas, appeared to be symbolic of spiritual and heavenly truths, veiled beneath earthly forms. Thus a lofty spiritual idealism was blended with the whole practical system of worship; and while, on the one hand, the multiplication of "mysteries" and rites tended in the case of the ignorant masses to a low materialistic conception of religion, the more contemplative minds, on the other hand, aimed at soaring above all that was sensuous and material to a direct intuition of heavenly realities, and an immediate contact with Deity itself. Herein reappears the element of individualism which had characterised Neoplatonic mysticism.

In *Maximus* this mystical theology already found a typical representative as early as the seventh century; in him, however, it is combined with a genius for dialectic and an entire devotion to the received theology. To Maximus the mystery of the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ was the symbol and pledge of an essential affinity between God and man; a necessary correspondence between Divine revelation and human

faculties. "The grace of the Holy Spirit," he says "neither produces wisdom in the saints without a mind to receive it; nor knowledge without the receptive faculty of reason; nor faith without a rational mental persuasion of things future and hitherto evident to none; nor gifts of healing without a natural humanity of character (*φιλανθρωπία*); nor any other gift without a habit and faculty receptive of each."<sup>1</sup> But the end of all such communication between God and man is an immediate mystical contact or union of the soul with Deity—a union which is the effect of love. Love is to be accounted the highest good, because by it man embraces and is possessed by God. An element, however, of pantheism, or at least of docetism, is discernible in the idea of Maximus that the Logos continually becomes incarnate in believers, in so far as human life is taken up into union with Christ and penetrated by His Divine life. The fulness of the Godhead which dwelt in Christ by nature (*κατ' οὐσίαν*) is communicable to Christians by grace,<sup>2</sup> and the deification of man is the fulfilment of his true destiny.<sup>3</sup>

Enough has been said to illustrate the tendency of Maximus. His system appears to assign little or no significance to the actual humanity of Christ, except as the firstfruits of a universal exaltation of man into the conditions of the Divine life.<sup>4</sup> But the mystical ideas of Maximus are tempered by a strong vein of ethical zeal, and he is saved from the pantheistic denial of distinctions between the Divine and human nature by a practical sense of the restrictions and imperfections of man's earthly condition.

<sup>1</sup> *Quæst. in Scrip.* lix. [ed Combefis, vol. i. p. 200]. The reference is given by Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. v. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*, vol. i. p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 517.

<sup>4</sup> Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. pp. 228-236; Neander, *l.c.* pp. 236-242.

Considering the powerful influence of the monastic ideal in the Greek Church, it is not surprising to find that the monasteries were the favourite seats of this mystical theology. In the cells of the monks, religion naturally assumed the form of mystic quietism. The exhortations of the Areopagite fell on congenial soil in many a laura of the East. The *Hesychasts* (Quietists), a school of contemplative mystics which sprang up among the monks of Athos in the fourteenth century, regarded themselves as spiritual descendants of "the divine Dionysius"; renouncing the hope of an immediate knowledge of the Divine essence which is for ever incommunicable, they endeavoured by a system of intense and motionless abstraction to attain to some perception of the uncreated but communicable Divine light which shone upon our Lord in the Transfiguration. This Divine light, according to the Hesychasts, was the *activity* of God as distinguished from His *essence* (the *ἐνέργεια* contrasted with the *οὐσία* of God). A controversy arose about the year 1337, which, though not of long duration, engaged the attention of several synods,<sup>1</sup> the Hesychasts being defended by *Nicolas Cabasilas*, bishop of Thessalonica (*circa* 1350), who may be described as the last of the Greek mystics. The real point in dispute between him and his opponents turned on the distinction assumed by the apophatic theology between the *essence* and the *activity* or operation of God. Cabasilas adhered to the distinction, and endeavoured to show its bearing on Christology; the communicable properties of the Divine nature, which were the efficient cause of Christian perfection, resided, as he supposed, in the person of Christ. Thus from his conception of the Divine nature, which after all was non-essential to his main purpose, Cabasilas passed to sacramental and mystical theology. The distinctive

<sup>1</sup> Gieseler. *E.H.* iv. p. 267.

feature of his teaching is a quasi-physical view of the holy Eucharist as a means of appropriating the deified humanity of Christ. "Not the Logos in Himself, but the Logos in union with human nature—His Divine-human substance, in which the human is superhuman and commingled with the Divine—is the vital essence which, when received into our organism, ennobles it and transforms it into its own substance."<sup>1</sup> Happily the "hesychastic" idea of Cabasilas gives way to the instincts of practical piety; to him Christ is a being in whom the essence of God, the supreme good, the eternal love, necessarily communicates itself to man; indeed, not only was the human race created with a view to its union with the God-man; He on His side was predestined for humanity, foreordained to exhibit the pattern of sinless manhood.<sup>2</sup>

At this point our brief survey of later Greek theology naturally ends. The two tendencies we have been considering, the dialectical and the mystical, bore comparatively little fruit in the Greek Church, which was already in its decline and verging to decay; in the West, scholastic theology was the massive and imposing product of an intellect which had newly awakened to a sense of its capacities.

### § III. ADOPTIANISM IN THE LATIN CHURCH

The so-called Adoptianist controversy which engaged the attention of the Churches of Spain and France towards the close of the eighth century, is not without peculiar interest for the student of dogmatics, but its exact origin is somewhat difficult to trace. Hitherto the relations between East and West had brought Constantinople into contact or collision mainly with the

<sup>1</sup> Dörner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 246.

Roman pontiffs. The Western Church as a whole remained comparatively unaffected by the controversies which raged so fiercely in the East during the fifth and sixth centuries, and indeed the clergy of the West were as a body too deficient in theological culture to take active part or interest in questions so deep and subtle as those in dispute. But there seem to have been special causes why the Church of Spain should be the centre of a new movement in Christological thought. For Adoptianism was a fresh phase of the old controversy between the theology of Antioch (Nestorius) and Alexandria (Cyril); it was the outcome of a long-standing tradition, and was certainly intended by its authors to be only a continuation, or development, of the dyophysitism which was finally sanctioned at Chalcedon. Probably the necessary task of defending Christianity against Mohammedan objections in a country which was by this time to a large extent under the dominion of the Saracens, determined in some degree the form under which the doctrine of Christ's person was taught. And it is fairly certain that the controversy about the three chapters (544-553) had revived the views of the Antiochene school, which, through the medium of translations from the writings of Theodore the Mopsuestene, became widely known in the West.<sup>1</sup>

1. The phrase "adoption" as applied to the person of Christ was already familiar in Spain. A council of Toledo, indeed, had in 675 declared Christ to be Son of God by nature, not by adoption.<sup>2</sup> But probably this was specially aimed at Arianising views of Christ; and since the word was not unfrequently used in the liturgies of the Church, had been employed by Western Fathers, and was quite capable of orthodox interpretation, the

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* iii. 253; Loofs, *Dogmengesch.* § 57.

<sup>2</sup> Conc. Tol. xi. See Labbe and Coss. *Concil.* vii. p. 558.

use of it was revived by Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, and was defended by him when called in question with needless vehemence (*circa*. 780). It is possible that, having been already engaged in conflict with a form of neo-Sabellian error,<sup>1</sup> he had been led to distinguish somewhat too emphatically the two natures in Christ; but he does not seem to have been skilled in controversy, and he soon sought for aid from his friend Felix, bishop of Urgella, an acute and gifted theologian, who must be regarded as the real representative and champion of the new opinions.

The expression *Christus Filius Dei adoptivus*, which Elipandus had defended, perhaps from an exaggerated idea of its importance, is systematically employed by Felix, reasoning on the basis of the Chalcedonian distinction between the two natures in Christ. The dispute appeared to turn on a mere phrase, but really was soon seen to involve a profound difference of view between the disputants. Felix denied that the expression *Son of God* was applicable in its strict or natural sense to Christ as man. Christ, he said, could only be called *natura* or *genere Filius Dei* as Divine; as human, He was *adoptivus Filius*. Felix thus introduced into Christology a formal distinction between natural or proper and adoptive sonship. In fact, together with the Spanish prelates who followed him, he was influenced by several considerations which it will be worth while to notice.

(1) They considered that a distinction between two modes of sonship in Christ was implied in the duality of

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Migetius; see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* v. p. 216 ff. Possibly also the doctrines of Priscillianism were still rife in Spain. The Priscillianists were a sect of heretics who in the fourth century revived a system of Manichean dualism. They seem to have represented Christ docetically as *innascibilis*, incapable of true human birth, and to have denied the distinction between His Divine and human natures. See Neander, v. pp. 491-502.

natures. For the nature assumed by the Word was human nature in its entirety; according to a traditional phrase in Western theology, the Incarnation was held to be *assumptio hominis* (rather than *humane nature*). What was meant by *homo*? Certainly not a mere impersonal *thing*, but a complete and personal human being, for "that the manhood was *personal* they were convinced, although they held that it was constituted such by the Divine *Ego* which really and truly lent itself, as it were, to the Son of man in the act of assumption; and that this *Ego* became the veritable property of the humanity."<sup>1</sup> The Adoptianists, however, expressly denied that they taught a double personality; they wished rather to declare that one and the same person was in two aspects a Son, in virtue of His relation to two different natures. The Son of man as a created being must be of another substance than the Son of God; a created being cannot, it was urged, be by nature Son of God. Clearly the view of Felix arose from his anxiety to preserve the necessary and eternal distinction of the natures. "You," he says to his opponents, "so blend the natures into a singleness of person as to imply that there is no difference between God and man, the Word and the flesh, the Creator and the creature, Him who assumes and that which is assumed."<sup>2</sup> The Adoptianist view, on the contrary, was, to use their own statement, as follows:—"We believe that the Divine Son of God, begotten from all eternity of the Father, not by adoption but by birth, not by grace but by nature—that He when *made of a woman, made under the law*, was Son of God not by origin (*genere*) but by adoption, not by nature but by grace."<sup>3</sup>

(2) The Adoptianists also appealed to the authority

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Alcuin, c. *Felic.* iii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Episc. Hisp. etc.* . 2 [Alcuini *Opera*, ed. Froben, ii. p. 568].

of Scripture and the Fathers. They pointed to passages which seemed to imply Christ's inferiority, as man, to the Father; which represented Him "as anointed," or an "advocate for men," or a servant, or as advancing in bodily growth, knowledge, and wisdom; or which described God as the "head" of Christ, or "in Christ," or "greater" than Christ. They also laid stress on any texts which seemed to class Christ with men, as the *firstborn among brethren*, or as sharing with them the dependence of creaturely life.<sup>1</sup> Further, they were able to point to the traditional language of the Spanish liturgy, in which Christ was referred to as *adoptivus homo* and His incarnation as *adoptio carnis*;<sup>2</sup> finally, they claimed the support of various Western Fathers.<sup>3</sup> It may be fairly allowed that the word "adoption" as synonymous with "assumption" had been occasionally employed in the West with an orthodox intention.

(3) But a more powerful argument was based on the general relationship existing between Christ and the human race. "We are brethren of Christ," said the Adoptianists: "He is *primogenitus in multis fratribus* (Rom. viii. 29), the brother of God's adopted sons. How can we be brethren save only in virtue of His adoption of the flesh, whereby He deigned to have many brethren? We are *adoptivi cum adoptivo, servi cum servo, Christi cum Christo*." Christ as man is the acknowledged head of humanity, which can attain no higher destiny than to be adopted by God; beyond this nothing more is possible than a total transmutation, or annihilation, of

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep. Episc.* 9. They refer specially to S. Jo. xiv. 28; S. Lk. i. 80; Heb. ii. 17, v. 5; Rom. viii. 29, besides various O.T. passages.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Episc.* 8 cites the different passages from the Mozarabic liturgy. Cp. Gieseler, *E.H.* ii. p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Hil. *de Trin.* ii. 29: "Ita potestatis dignitas non amittitur dum carnis humilitas adoptatur" (a later reading is *adoratur*). Cp. *in Ps.* cxvii. 8. The quotations from Augustine in *Ep. Episc.* 6 are irrelevant.

human nature. Accordingly in the Incarnation "the Son of God so united to Himself in the singleness of His personality a man, from the very moment of His conception, that the Son of God actually became Son of man, not by change of His own nature, but by an act of condescension; likewise also the Son of man became Son of God, not by any conversion of substance, but [by being constituted] a true Son in the Son of God."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the man Christ is only *nuncupative Deus*;<sup>2</sup> and though He is pre-eminent among His human brethren, He is on a level with them in regard to election, adoption, grace, and the name and condition of a servant. Felix allowed indeed that all was an act of gracious condescension on the part of the Word, who desired to be deified and to attain to the name of God through the grace of adoption in fellowship with His chosen ones. But in general he applied the notion of adoption to Christ in the same sense that it is applied by Scripture to Christians; only so, he thought, could there be true fellowship between the Son, and the sons, of God; only so could their redemption be ensured. And to such lengths was this idea of Christ's consubstantiality with mankind pressed, that He was declared to have taken human nature in the state to which the Fall had reduced it, in its defilement and filthiness; He was partaker of the *old man*, subject to the law of sin, and needing the new birth in baptism.<sup>3</sup> It would seem that these strong expressions relate to the external condition of mortal humanity — its weakness, frailty, and mortality, and

<sup>1</sup> Alcuin, *c. Felic.* v. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 2 (an important passage).

<sup>3</sup> See Alcuin, *c. Felic.* vii. 8: "Dicis enim eundem sacræ historiæ interpretem hæc reponere verba *Et Jesus erat indutus vestimentis sordidis* (Zech. iii. 3) utique ex transgressione de carne peccati sordidus, quam induere dignatus est: unde et pannis involutus et scissuris humani generis, dum in se illa suscepit, inspicitur donec radio crucis innocentis tunica texeretur," etc. Cp. ii. 13, 16.

are not intended to impute inherited sinfulness to our Lord.<sup>1</sup>

(4) In what then did the actual "adoption" consist? when did it take place?

Felix answered this question by consistently carrying out his idea that Christ was the firstborn among brethren; he distinguished between a natural or fleshly and a spiritual birth of the Saviour. His *natural* birth as man was the nativity at Bethlehem; He underwent His second or spiritual birth in order to become the *adopted* Son of God. The initial stage of this second birth took place at the baptism in Jordan; it was consummated in the moment of the resurrection,<sup>2</sup> to which the second psalm refers in the words *Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te.*

The Adoptianist view has now been described. It is to be noticed that their opponents in the controversy<sup>3</sup> did not charge them with actually teaching a dual personality; they only insisted that this would be the logical result of a dual sonship. As a fact, the Adoptianists were not Nestorians; they accepted the term *Theotokos*, they protested against the idea of a dual personality in Christ,<sup>4</sup> and they declined the old Antiochene view that Christ owed His Divine exaltation to His sinless virtue. They were not concerned to revive an old dispute, but rather made an attempt to solve the problem involved in the Chalcedonian theology: that of the relation of Christ's one personality to the two

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 258.* In Alcuin, *c. Felic. i. 15*, Felix speaks of Christ as "per omnia similis factus nobis, excepta lege peccati." Bruce (*Humil. of Christ*, pp. 248 ff.) seems not to judge Felix quite fairly in comparing him to E. Irving.

<sup>2</sup> Alcuin, *c. Felic. ii. 16.*

<sup>3</sup> Besides Alcuin, Agobard, abp. of Lyons (779-840), and Paulinus of Aquileia (d. 802) wrote against Felix.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Episc. 10.*

natures. Recognising the term "Son" as an accepted expression of the Redeemer's personal unity, they thought that the dual nature implied at least a *dual aspect* of the personality. One and the same *ego* was common to both natures—raising them to personality and fulfilling the true idea of each; the *ego* of the Son of God was also the true *ego* of the Son of man. In this way "they deemed themselves by one and the same principle to have established both the completeness of Christ's humanity and its union with the Son of God at the inmost centre of its being, and yet at the same time a place remained for that process of adoption by which the human nature became assimilated to the Divine."<sup>1</sup>

2. The general course of the controversy was as follows: Elipandus and Felix were opposed by two Spanish clergy, Beatus and Etherius. The dispute enlarged its area; it passed from Spain to France, and soon attracted the attention of Charlemagne. A synod, summoned by the Emperor, met at Ratisbon in 792, at which Felix was invited to explain his opinions. He attended, and was induced to recant, but on his return to Spain after a period of detention at Rome, he reaffirmed his error. Adoptianism was again condemned at the Synod of Frankfort (794); it was at this point that the devout and gentle Alcuin of York took public part in the dispute. After long and patient efforts, his influence prevailed. Felix made his submission, possibly not quite in good faith, at the Synod of Aix la Chapelle (799). Elipandus, however, resisted all Alcuin's overtures; within the area of Moorish domination he continued safely to proclaim the Adoptianist tenets.<sup>2</sup>

The controversy was indeed a conflict between two

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. note 51* (p. 439).

<sup>2</sup> Gieseler, *E.H. ii. 279 ff.* Cp. Hundeshagen in *Real-Encykl. s.v.* "Adoptianismus."

types of thought. Adoptianism represents in a measure the Christology of the West as coloured by the ideas characteristic of Augustine, the conceptions of freewill, predestination, and grace. Alcuin inherits the mystical habit of mind which had been traditional in the East. Wonderful indeed had been the influence of this type of thought. It had allied itself equally with the philosophical speculation of the time, and with the superstitions of the vulgar. "Plato and Aristotle," says Harnack, "were its evangelists, while on the other hand every celebration of the Eucharist, every relic, was a silent missionary on its behalf."<sup>1</sup> Alcuin represents the mystical tendency in conflict with rationalism. "Never think," he says to Felix, "that by human reasoning you can investigate the nativity of the Word of God; for by no human possibility ought you to measure the omnipotence of Deity. He who is the law of all natures is subject to no law of any other natures; He, the incomprehensible, will never be comprehended by the petty surmises of human conjecture. . . . You ask, *What else than a servant could be born of a handmaid?* . . . Surely the mystery of this nativity, this union between God and man, is higher than the framing of the entire creation. Allow therefore that God is able to achieve something which human infirmity cannot comprehend; nor let us by our ratiocination impose limits to the power of eternal majesty, seeing He is all-powerful and can do all things."<sup>2</sup> Here we have the older Greek standpoint,—the deep and reverent sense of an ineffable mystery in the Incarnation, in the union between God and man. Felix represents the opposite type of mind; the keen logical sense which insists on distinctions; the practical instinct which discerns the ethical importance of Christ's human life and example. Adoptianism is, in

<sup>1</sup> *Dogmengesch.* ii. p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *c. Felic.* iii. 2 and 3.

fact, a revival in a new form of the opposition between Antioch and Alexandria.

Alcuin, following the lead of the prevalent Christology, insists principally on the logical consequences of Adoptionism.<sup>1</sup> Ultimately it implies the independence and juxtaposition of two personal beings, moving in parallel lines, but never really united. The unity of the person in Christ is sacrificed; the true idea of an incarnation is lost. For the Incarnation is no mere self-abasement of God to the level of a creature; it is essentially the exaltation of man.<sup>2</sup> But Alcuin contributes little that is positive to the solution of the problem which Adoptionism raised. He falls back on the power of God. "Why do we attempt," he exclaims, "with perverse temerity to force the omnipotence of God within the limits of our necessity? He is not bound by the law of our mortality; *all things whatsoever He wills the Lord doeth in heaven and in earth*; and if He has willed to beget for Himself a true Son, born from a virgin's womb, who has ventured to say He could not do so?"<sup>3</sup> But after all, this appeal to Divine power is unsatisfying, and the tendency of Alcuin's view is to reduce the human nature in Christ to a mere predicate of the higher nature, or an element in the person, of the Divine Son. On its positive side, Adoptionism is a protest against any dissipation of the human nature; but Alcuin's only reply is a kind of *transubstantiation-theory* of Christ's person. *In assumptione carnis a Deo*, he boldly declares, *persona perit hominis, non natura*.<sup>4</sup> And this theory of the *extinction* of the human personality was apparently for a

<sup>1</sup> *c. Felic.* i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 4: "Non enim minoratio fuit divinitatis in assumptione humanitatis, sed humanitatis exaltatio in participatione divinitatis."

<sup>3</sup> *Libell. adv. hæc. Fel.* 13 [*Op.* j. p. 763].

<sup>4</sup> *c. Felic.* ii. 12; cp. Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. note 53.*

time the received doctrine of the Western Church.<sup>1</sup> It is very significant as appearing to allow that personality is a necessary element in the perfection of a human nature. It is also a tacit recognition of the danger to which the received theology was exposed: the danger of reducing Christ's humanity to a mere appendage of His person, the mere organ for a theophany.<sup>2</sup> Thus in Alcuin's treatment of the personality of Christ we see the lingering trace of a monophysitic mode of thought; and the same tendency is illustrated in the reception given to the doctrine of Paschasius Radbertus as to the transubstantiation of the species in the Eucharist.<sup>3</sup> Adoptianism was, in a word, the close of a prolonged series of efforts to uproot monophysitism; nevertheless it only served to show how deeply that conception of Christ's person had moulded the thought even of those who most earnestly repudiated it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See passages in Dorner, *l.c.* The question *Utrum Filius Dei assumpserit personam* is discussed by Aquinas (*Summa*, pars. iii, qu. 4, art. 2). He says (ad 3): "Quod *consumptio* ibi non importat destructionem alicujus quod prius fuerat, sed impeditorem ejus quod aliter esse posset. Si enim humana natura non esset assumpta a divina persona, natura humana propriam personalitatem haberet; et pro tanto *dicitur persona consumpsisse personam*, licet improprie; quia persona divina sua unione impedit ne natura humana propriam personalitatem haberet."

<sup>2</sup> Elipandus did in fact accuse his opponents of docetism or Euty-chianism.

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. de corp. et sang. Domini*, written about 830. It is significant that he starts with the thesis of Alcuin, the omnipotence of God. Thus in c. i.: "*Omnis quaecunque voluit Dominus fecit in caelo et terra. Et quia voluit, licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt.*"

<sup>4</sup> Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 268.*

**PART VIII**

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION IN THE SCHOLASTIC PERIOD

### § I. General characteristics.

The system of Scotus Erigena and its subsequent influence.

### § II. Sketch of the scholastic age.

(1) First period: to the end of the twelfth century.

(2) Second period: the thirteenth century.

(3) Third period: decline of scholasticism.

### § III. Christological thought in the scholastic age.

The questions in dispute.

i. The doctrine of the Atonement: survey of patristic opinion prior to Anselm.

The *Cur Deus Homo?* analysis and criticism.

Abelard, Peter Lombard, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus.

ii. The effects of the Incarnation on the Godhead.

Nihilianism of Peter Lombard.

iii. The question *Utrum Christus venisset si Adam non peccasset*. Rupert of Deutz and others.

iv. The effects on Christ's human nature of its union with Deity.

The teaching of Thomas Aquinas, and of Duns Scotus.

## § I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Adoptianist controversy brings us to the threshold of the Middle Ages, the period in which was developed a new Christian and theological culture among the Germanic nations. For it may be justly maintained that in the eighth century the Church virtually entered into a new inheritance—the awakening powers, moral and intellectual, of the Teutonic peoples. To them she transmitted, as a heritage from the older world, the accumulated treasures of early Christian thought and toil,—the canon of Scripture, the decisions of the early Councils, the immense mass of patristic literature, and specially the writings of Augustine. Nor should it be forgotten that the spirit of Neoplatonism had already penetrated deep into the thought of the Church, owing mainly to the influence of the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, while the logical system of Aristotle had been transmitted to the West through the medium of translations made by Boethius. The contemplative tendency of Neoplatonism fostered the growth of mysticism; the dialectical method of Aristotle largely determined the form and direction of scholastic speculation; the authority of the Church and the influence of Augustine tended to prescribe the limits within which intellect must be content to move. Accordingly, the age which is now to be surveyed is not one of production or dogmatic development, but rather a period in which current beliefs receive a purely intellectual treatment; in which the faith is regarded mainly as an object of knowledge, engaging the powers of the reflective understanding. The task of the new age is, in a word, that of bringing the doctrinal tradition of the Church into harmony with reason; of reconciling the culture and philosophy of the age with the temper of faith.

In some respects the pontificate of Gregory I. (d. 604) may be said to have inaugurated a new epoch. As being the last of the great Latin Fathers and the first of the mediæval popes, Gregory naturally forms a link between two periods of history; nor can we overlook the importance of his work in reviving and organising the Christianity of the Anglo-Saxon race. The centuries which intervened between his death and that of Scotus Erigena formed a period of transition; the controversies of the time were merely the continuation or completion of earlier struggles; theological energy was mainly absorbed in systematising the results of the past, and thought was busied in learning its newly-discovered powers and measuring the extent of its heritage. During this period the Church entered into a close alliance with the general education of the age; Charlemagne, with the assistance of Alcuin and others, endeavoured by the foundation of the cloister schools to raise the standard of learning and to revive the spirit of religion. The prominence of dialectic in the curriculum of these schools is significant; by continuous exercise and discipline the Western mind was gradually trained to feel confidence in its powers; but as yet there were very few who could be called independent thinkers.<sup>1</sup> The two most celebrated theologians of the ninth century are Alcuin (d. 804) and JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA (d. *circa* 877).<sup>2</sup> Of the former something has been said already;

<sup>1</sup> During the Carovingian period schools were established of various kinds—palatine, monastic, cathedral, and parochial. The course of instruction in the liberal arts embraced the *trivium* (grammar, dialectic, rhetoric), and the *quadrivium* (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music). But as logic and dialectic attracted the keenest interest, the term *Doctor Scholasticus* came to mean one occupied in teaching logic or philosophy.

<sup>2</sup> It would seem that Scotus received his training in the Irish Church, which from the seventh century onwards was a main source of religious life, theological learning, and missionary enterprise to the Western Church.

it is necessary, however, for our purpose to give some account of Erigena.

The main characteristic of Scotus Erigena is his remarkable attempt to fuse Christian beliefs with Neoplatonic thought. The foundation of his system seems to be the Platonism of the Areopagite, whose works Scotus translated into Latin. In his abstract and negative conception of God, Scotus at once displays the influence of the pseudo-Dionysius and his affinity to the later theology of the East. He may, indeed, be accounted a connecting link between the East and the West; he hands on the traditions of the apophatic or mystical theology which he had inherited from writers like Maximus and John Damascene. Scotus then to a great extent follows the lead of the Areopagite, and of the more mystical writers of the East, such as the two Gregories of Nazianzus and Nyssa (whose names, strangely enough, he appears to confuse), but he inaugurates a new period in his characteristic declaration that the true philosophy is identical with true religion. This was a needful reassertion of the rights of human reason; and Scotus went so far as to maintain that, in the event of a collision between reason and authority, the former was to be preferred: *omnis auctoritas quæ vera ratione non approbatur infirma esse videtur*.<sup>1</sup> His rationalism, however, was not unqualified, for he did not deny the necessity of revelation: *nisi ipsa lux mentium nobis revelaverit, nostræ ratiocinationis studium ad eam revelandam nihil proficiet*. But he regarded authority (by which term he seems to mean the teaching of the Fathers) as useful only for corroboration of the results achieved by reason. Accordingly, although these opinions of Scotus were not generally adopted, he may be regarded with some justice as the earliest founder of scholasticism, if understood

<sup>1</sup> *de div. nat.* i. 69 [Migne, *P.L.* 122, p. 513]; cp. ii. 31 (p. 601).

broadly as a systematic effort to co-ordinate reason and faith.

In his famous work, *de divisione naturæ*, Scotus investigates the whole sphere of being, for in the term nature he comprehends at once God, matter, and the ideas or essences of things which are both created and creative. In Scotus' view, which may be described as monistic, God is the supreme and only substance of all things: *ipse omnium essentia est qui solus vere est.*<sup>1</sup> But in reality God is exalted above all predicates; He transcends all categories—all being, all knowledge, all utterance; in Him contradictories are both true, for He transcends the sphere in which the law of contradiction is valid.<sup>2</sup> Hence the Trinity is a mere name; for God's being is incognisable both by men and angels. The Father is a name denoting the *essentia*, the Son the *sapientia*, the Holy Spirit the *vita, Dei.*<sup>3</sup> There appears, in the system of Scotus, to be no recognition of objective distinctions within the Deity corresponding to the names *Father, Son, Spirit.*

Such is Scotus' conception of God; it is however his description of the creative process that gives him occasion for a definite theory of Christology. God is the source of the natures which at once are created and create, *i.e.* those ideas or archetypes (*primordiales causæ*) which constitute the intelligible world. These "ideas" are contained in the Word, or Wisdom, or Only-begotten of God. In Him they eternally exist, although they are "created" *ex nihilo*; for "creation" as applied to these ideas signifies merely that there was a time when they

<sup>1</sup> *de div. nat.* i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This conception of deity is qualified by an idea derived mainly from Gregory of Nyssa—that the human soul is triune, and therefore an image of the Divine nature. Cp. ii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> i. 13, 16.

had not manifestation.<sup>1</sup> The Word is the *mundus intelligibilis*<sup>2</sup>—the home of the ideas; and creation means that eternal act or process wherein God passes through the primordial causes or *principia* into the sensible world of visible and invisible creatures (the nature created and not creating).<sup>3</sup> God is Himself the substance of all finite things; creation means simply the self-revelation of the eternal nature; and just as the eternal procession of God from Himself originates the complex multiplicity of visible phenomena, which are so many theophanies—so many different aspects of the one omnipresent God, so the goal of creation is the return into unity. The “nature neither creating nor created” is God Himself, regarded as the supreme ultimate unity into which all things return.

Two things are remarkable in Scotus’ doctrine of creation: (1) it is frankly pantheistic in statement and tendency. “God is in all things as their essential substance.” “All that is good and beautiful and lovely in creatures is Himself.”<sup>4</sup> He loves and contemplates Himself in His creatures. Every creature is therefore a theophany, but in a special degree *man*, since he is the image of God and the end of His creative operation.<sup>5</sup> The world of phenomena is that sphere in which the eternal ideas of the Divine mind find their manifestation. *Non duo a se ipsis distantia debemus intelligere Deum et creaturam sed unum et idipsum.*<sup>6</sup> Scotus however is not strictly speaking a pantheist; he does not worship nature as God. His belief in the essential unknowableness of God distinguishes his view from that of ordinary pantheism. “For him nature is God indeed, but God is more than

<sup>1</sup> iii. 15. Creation *ex nihilo* means that the ideas proceeded from the ineffable nature of the Word which transcends being.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 16, v. 23.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 25.

<sup>4</sup> l. 74 and 76.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 20.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 17 (p. 678).

nature."<sup>1</sup> Scotus is in fact more of a mystic than a pantheist; but there can be no doubt that later thinkers, such as Amalric of Bena and David of Dinanto, misunderstood and misused his teaching. (2) Again, the system of Scotus assigns a high dignity to man; man is made in the Divine image; he is the microcosm of creation, comprehending the universe of things in his constitution;<sup>2</sup> having a mind like that of God, all-pervading and all-embracing, so that his nature is inscrutable even to himself.<sup>3</sup> Further, man, being a creature rational and spiritual, is the end and aim of God's self-manifestation; the highest and most perfect theophany; an end in himself.<sup>4</sup> Here we have a basis in nature for the possibility of a Divine incarnation.

What, then, is the significance of Christ in the system of Scotus?

He stands in close relation to the world as the *mundus intelligibilis*, the sum of the ideas or causes which find visible embodiment in the created universe. But the Incarnation was necessary in order to uphold the universe in being; the effects would be nothing apart from the descent into them of the "primordial causes"; they would become extinct, and causality itself would perish.<sup>5</sup> The universe, apart from Him who is its life, must pass into nothingness. It accordingly follows that the Incarnation is an act coeternal with the process of creation; or rather, it is a mere symbol, an allegory, of the essential relation between cause and effect. Thus Scotus contemplates the Incarnation *ideally* as an ex-

<sup>1</sup> I quote from a paper on the *de div. naturæ* by Mr. C. C. J. Webb to which I am much indebted.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> i. 7, 8, ii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> v. 25 (p. 912): "Si Dei sapientia in effectus causarum quæ in æternaliter vivunt non descenderet, causarum ratio periret; pereuntibus enim causarum effectibus nulla causa remaneret." Cp. Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. p. 291.

pression of the necessary dependence of the universe on the Logos (cp. Col. i. 16, 17); while, at the same time, he views it *historically*, as the actual assumption in time of a complete human nature by Deity itself. From this point of view Christ is the ideal embodiment of the human race, in whose person the restoration of humanity to its original unity begins. In His birth Christ abolishes those distinctions of sex which resulted from the Fall; in rising again He began to annul the difference between the visible world and paradise; in His ascension, the difference between earth and heaven. For the end of His work is a complete restoration of the universe. In assuming the nature of man, He restores the whole of creation to unity with itself and God;<sup>1</sup> and if the goal for humanity is its exaltation in Christ and conversion into Deity,<sup>2</sup> the goal for the universe at large is a return into God and into the primordial causes; a passage from multiplicity and division into unity and simplicity; from the state of movement and change into that of immutability and repose. In God, "the nature which neither creates nor is created"—the source of existence and its goal—all things find their rest: *omnia quieta erunt et unum individuum atque immutabile manebunt.*<sup>3</sup> God will be all in all.

Christ then is to Scotus rather the symbol of a necessary Divine operation or process, than a historical person: a symbol of the immanence of the eternal and infinite in the transitory and finite; of the essential dependence of effects on their causes. But in Christ existence is regarded not so much in its eternal

<sup>1</sup> ii. 6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> v. 25 (p. 911): "Hoc enim proprium caput ecclesie sibi ipsi reservavit, ut non solum ejus humanitas particeps deitatis, verum etiam ipsa deitas, postquam ascendit ad Patrem, fieret."

<sup>3</sup> ii. 2 (p. 527).

emanation from God, as in its eternal return to God. The Incarnation of the Word and His redemptive work are the allegory or symbol, under which the Godward movement of creation is to be conceived. What in one aspect, that of creation, is contemplated as *division* and *process*, is in another aspect, that of redemption, *reunion* and *return*. Consistently enough, Scotus revived the Origenistic idea of the restitution of all things. The universality of redemption excluded the idea of any limitation of the benefits of salvation.<sup>1</sup>

The system of Scotus gave considerable impetus to the pantheistic tendencies which came to maturity some centuries later. But he himself was unjustly charged with the heresies which sheltered themselves under the authority of his name. The free speculative mysticism which he derived from the teachers whom he most venerated, was held in restraint by the instincts of deep Christian piety which he had imbibed in the Irish monasteries. Though he himself regarded Christianity mainly as a system of cosmical philosophy, he did not incur serious suspicion, at least in his own day. On the contrary, he was called to take part as a champion of orthodoxy in contemporary controversies. It was only in 1209 that his principal work was condemned by the University of Paris—a condemnation repeated by Honorius III. in 1225, when the *de divisione naturæ* was found to be in circulation among some of the numerous pantheistic sects.

The importance of Scotus Erigena may be gathered from the fact that scholasticism in its stricter sense is a systematic continuation of Erigena's attempt to unite philosophy and theology, though its general course follows a direction very different from that in which his thought travelled. It was the task of the scholastic age

<sup>1</sup> v. 26, 27.

to exalt faith into a science, to rationalise Christian dogma. And we may notice that this was the aim not of a few prominent individuals like Anselm, but of a continuous series of thinkers, employing a fixed method, and starting from the basis of the Church's acknowledged teaching. "No Christian," says Anselm, the father of scholasticism, "ought to contend that what the Catholic Church believes and professes is not true; but he ought, by holding the same faith without wavering, by loving it, and living conformably to it in humility to the utmost of his power, to inquire how it is true."<sup>1</sup> The result in general was a rigorous definition and formulation of dogma, the method of dialectic being gradually extended even to the highest mysteries of the faith. At first the influence of Plato predominated, but gradually yielded to the authority of Aristotle, as the tendency to systematisation became more strongly developed. During the polemical period of Christian theology, when scientific statements of doctrine were being slowly elaborated, Plato had been the constant ally of the Church, Aristotle had for the most part served the purposes of heresy.<sup>2</sup> It was not until the twelfth century that the moral and metaphysical works of Aristotle became known in the West through the medium of Arabic translations, and though these were regarded with suspicion and aversion by popes and councils,<sup>3</sup> the voice of ecclesiastical authority was powerless to restrain an irresistible movement of thought. Aristotelianism finally supplanted Platonism in the schools, though the latter reappeared as a dominant influence, first in the mystics of the four-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hardwick, *Church History (Mediæval)*, p. 258. In *Proslog.* i. occurs the celebrated dictum "Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Iren. ii. 14. 5: "Minutiloquium et subtilitatem circa questiones cum sit Aristotelicum, inferre fidei conantur."

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 497.

teenth century, and later in the humanists of the Renaissance,<sup>1</sup> thus forming, as it were, the dawn and the sunset of mediæval philosophy.

## § II. SKETCH OF THE SCHOLASTIC AGE

The scholastic period may be viewed historically as embracing three well-marked periods.

1. During the period of the rise and development of scholasticism were propounded the great questions with which thought busied itself for nearly three successive centuries: the religious question as to the relation between faith and knowledge, authority and reason; the philosophical problem of universals; the theological question as to the nature and conditions of our Lord's redemptive work.<sup>2</sup> Moreover two divergent tendencies, or habits of mind, emerge during this period, which in different forms reappear at every stage of the scholastic movement: there appears the opposition between the rationalistic and the mystical tempers, in their relation to the problems both of faith and knowledge.

In the great *Anselm* (1033–1109) the two tendencies are more or less combined; he represents the Platonic realism and mystical temper of Augustine, while at the same time he illustrates that lofty confidence in the reasonableness of Christianity which constituted the great merit of the schoolmen. His beautiful Christian temper and instinct formed a bond of union between the religious and speculative sides of his mind.<sup>3</sup> He united profound feeling with severe thought; the mystical

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Marsilius Ficinus (d. 1499) and John Pico of Mirandola (d. 1494), who were the leaders of a reaction in favour of Platonism.

<sup>2</sup> These three questions are concisely stated by Dr. Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* i. c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See Neander's fine sketch of Anselm, *Church History*, vol. viii.

temper with practical piety. The tendencies, however, which he, with some few others,<sup>1</sup> succeeded in combining so admirably were destined to diverge and ultimately to come into sharp collision. In the nominalism of Roscellin, and in the rationalism of Abelard (d. 1142), appears the critical, innovating, speculative, and restless temper which naturally accompanies any great awakening of intellect; while *Peter Lombard* (d. 1160) lays the foundation of scholastic method in his *Sentences*,—a work which became the favourite manual of the twelfth century, and the model on which, for a long period, the treatment of theology was based. On the other hand, Abelard's great opponent *Bernard of Clairvaux* (d. 1153), and the theologians of the monastery of S. Victor in Paris, Hugh (d. 1141), Richard (d. 1173), and Walter (d. circa 1180) are examples of the devotional temper by which rationalism was kept in check.<sup>2</sup> Nor must we leave out of sight the vague mysticism which was a legacy from the Areopagite and fell in with the great outburst of pantheistic thought which, as the aggregate result of several causes, disturbed the Church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

2. In the second stage of scholasticism—the era of its bloom and perfection—the confused tendencies of the preceding epoch became fixed in determinate forms. This period, which, speaking roughly, extends to the close of the thirteenth century, has a many-sided character, which is not easily described. It witnessed the attainment by the papacy of its highest point of influence under Innocent III.; the founding of the mendicant

<sup>1</sup> e.g. William of Champeaux (d. 1121), the teacher of Abelard.

<sup>2</sup> Neander observes that the influence of the Victorines was useful in Paris, where the life of university students and teachers was apt to be very loose and worldly. They also, no doubt, did much to conciliate men like Bernard in favour of the dialectical treatment of theology. Like Anselm, they laid great stress on the study of Scripture.

orders by Francis (1209) and Dominic (1216);<sup>1</sup> a great extension of intercourse with the East, resulting from the crusades; and, what was perhaps of chief intellectual importance, the recovery of the lost works of Aristotle. Indeed the main feature of the period, regarded from the point of view of the history of dogma, was the contact of the Christian mind with the Aristotelianism of the Moorish schools of Spain. This was one of those facts which constitute an era in the intellectual history of Europe, and is worthy of special notice. The Arabic philosophy which passed from the schools of Cordova into the universities of Italy and Spain, seems to have been introduced mainly through the study of medicine. Oriental physicians were everywhere its missionaries; "philosophy stole in under the protection of medicine";<sup>2</sup> and with the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and the Alexandrine astronomers, there entered by degrees the philosophy of Greece. Thus escorted as it were by physical science, Aristotelianism was introduced into the universities of Europe. The study of the Stagirite had for more than a century flourished in the Moorish schools; and it received a new impulse from the translation and commentary made by Averrhoes at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Gradually, as intercourse became more frequent between the Moorish teachers and the universities of Western Christendom, Latin translations were made from the works of Arabian Aristotelians, and these were prematurely assumed to represent the genuine Aristotle.<sup>3</sup> Thus tainted by an admixture of foreign elements, the moral, metaphysical,

<sup>1</sup> The founding of the orders doubtless was an event of immense importance; it did much to awaken a feeling of religious unrest, and perhaps of spiritual independence, which contributed in great measure to the movement in favour of a reformation of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ix. p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Gieseler, *E.H.* iii. p. 296.

and physical writings of "the philosopher" found an entrance into the homes of learning, and the effect was nothing less than a revolution of thought. An effort was made by the Church to suppress Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> which, as we have noticed, was ineffectual. But it is fair to observe that there were at first good grounds for the alarm and suspicion which the new learning excited. For it was largely in consequence of the introduction of Aristotelianism in its Moorish guise that pantheism again raised its head. The Aristotelian natural philosophy of the Arabs was largely tinged with Neoplatonic and pantheistic ideas; and it was not long before this element in their Aristotelian commentaries and translations produced pernicious results in the West. It was easy to trace a connection between the Arabic pantheism and the errors of two prominent theologians, *Amalric of Bena*, a teacher in Paris (d. 1205), and *David of Dinanto*. Amalric seems to have revived a form of Sabellianism, which had undoubtedly points of contact with the teaching of Scotus Erigena; but David of Dinanto expressly made use of the metaphysics and physics of Aristotle; and as the pantheistic errors of both teachers had the effect of encouraging in their disciples a tendency to antinomian excesses, it was not unnaturally assumed that the study of Aristotle was a source of peril to Christianity.<sup>2</sup> It was not until the genuine works of Aristotle were distinguished from those of his Arabian commentators, that the prohibition of the philosopher's works became a dead letter. Ultimately indeed the effect of the revived pantheism was rather to discredit

<sup>1</sup> His works were prohibited by the synod of Paris (1209), and again by the papal legate in 1215. In 1231 Gregory ix. again forbade the introduction of "profane science"; but after that date Aristotelianism reigned supreme.

<sup>2</sup> See Gieseler, *E.H.* vol. iii. pp. 296-301; Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. pp. 300 f.

Erigena and Neoplatonism than to hinder the influence of Aristotle.

The result of the new Aristotelianism was displayed to more advantage in the great monuments of learning which give to the thirteenth century its most distinctive character. The *Summa universæ theologiæ* of the Franciscan Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) was the first of a series of attempts to exhibit the faith of Christendom as a reasoned and ordered whole, with the aid of strict Aristotelian method,—analysis, definition, and syllogistic inference. To the same class of works belong the commentary of the Franciscan Bonaventura (d. 1274) on the *Books of the Sentences*; the *Summa* of Albert the Great (d. 1280), who was the first commentator on the complete works of Aristotle; the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), and the *Commentary on the Sentences* of Duns Scotus (d. 1308). The last two writers, though devoted to the Aristotelian dialectics, were by no means servile adherents of “the philosopher.” Thomas, in particular, owed much to the teaching of the Areopagite,<sup>1</sup> while Duns Scotus was largely influenced by Platonism. Towards the close of the thirteenth century a marked divergence arose between the schools of “Thomists” and “Scotists”—the scholastic disputes being closely connected with the academic rivalry of the monastic orders, Dominican and Franciscan, to which Thomas and Scotus severally belonged. While the Thomists treated theology from the scientific or theoretic standpoint, the Scotists insisted on its practical aspects; the Thomists’ system was rooted in the Augustinian doctrines of sin and grace,

<sup>1</sup> Corderius, *Op. S. Dion. Areop.* præf. p. xxvi: “Observatu quoque dignissimum quomodo S. Dionysius primus scholasticæ theologiæ jecerit fundamenta; quibus ceteri deinceps theologi eam quæ de Deo rebusque divinis in scholis traditur doctrinam omnem ædificarunt.” He proceeds to illustrate in detail the debt of Aquinas to the Areopagite.

the Scotists, inclining to Pelagianism, laid special stress on the freedom of the human will; the Thomists professed a modified Aristotelianism, the Scotists were Platonists; the difference in fact corresponds to the general contrast between the Dominican order with its zeal for dogma, and the Franciscans who insisted on practical morality.<sup>1</sup> The work of Duns Scotus marks the close of this period; with him begins that formal and arid use of dialectic which ultimately led to the downfall of scholasticism. A practical attempt to defend Christianity against the inroads of the Arabian pantheism was made by Raymund Lulli in his *Ars generalis*; but a better testimony to the power of the faith was offered by his own life of missionary activity and the martyrdom in north Africa with which it closed (1315).

3. The decline and decay of scholasticism began with the opening of the fourteenth century. Duns Scotus had laid the foundations of a sceptical reaction against the teaching of the Church, partly by his elaborate use of the dialectical method, but much more by his doctrine of moral distinctions as having their basis only in the arbitrary will of God. In the nominalism of *William of Occam* (d. 1347) the discordance between the objective truths of religion and the subjective mode of treating them became painfully apparent. Objections to revealed doctrines and to the system of the Church had hitherto been stated hypothetically with a serious purpose of meeting them, but they were now urged ironically and in a spirit of veiled rebellion.<sup>2</sup> This sceptical temper was favoured by the nominalism which

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, ii. p. 130. The Pelagianising tendencies of the Scotists were opposed by Archbishop Bradwardine (d. 1349) in his *de causa Dei contra Pelagium*. Bradwardine himself was a very rigid Augustinian (*ibid.* ii. p. 301).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Hardwick, *Ch. Hist. (Mediæval)*, p. 352.

denied the existence of any objective realities corresponding to general ideas. A reaction was already setting in against the authority of the Church,—a reaction destined to produce not only the independent and sometimes extravagant movements of the later mysticism,<sup>1</sup> but also the revolt against papal absolutism which found a voice in the reforming councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle. *Raimund of Sabunde* (circ. 1436) and *Gabriel Biel* (d. 1495) may be accounted the last of the schoolmen; for the fifteenth century witnessed the rise of a new culture, and of a new zeal for truth, with which the later scholasticism was powerless to cope. In the Renaissance and the Reformation the intellect of Europe asserted its freedom and refused any longer to be fettered by scholastic traditions and methods, whether in the cultivation of science and letters or in the pursuit of moral and religious truth.<sup>2</sup>

### § III. CHRISTOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN THE SCHOLASTIC AGE

We may now pass on to inquire what was the special contribution of scholasticism to Christological thought. It was not, we must remember, a creative age which gave birth to scholasticism. The ninth and following centuries were largely occupied with missionary work, the conversion of heathen nations, and the organisation of churches. Hence it came about that the person of Christ was on the whole less decidedly an object of attention than the dispensation of grace committed to the Church. The scholastic period accordingly witnessed

<sup>1</sup> e.g. the tenets of Eckart of Cologne (d. circa 1325). Tauler (d. 1361), Suso (d. 1365), Ruysbroek (d. 1381), the author of the *Deutsche Theologie* (publ. 1519), Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471), and Gerson (d. 1429) adhered in the main to the doctrines of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> On the scientific opposition to scholasticism, see Hagenbach, § 154; on the precursors of the Reformation, § 155.

no marked development in the doctrine of the Incarnation; the keenest controversies between 850–1050 related to the subjects of Predestination and the Eucharist. Further, in repudiating Adoptionism theology still adhered to a mode of contemplating Christ's person which assigned a disproportioned prominence to His Deity. The tendency displays itself in the system of Scotus Erigena, who regards Christ exclusively as the incarnate Wisdom of God, and attributes but little significance to the earthly life of Christ; and although the Crusades revived to some extent the interest of Christians in the actual figure depicted in the Gospels, yet professed theologians like Peter Lombard were apt to ignore, or minimise, the historic humanity of our Lord, while some of the later mystics seem to transform the Christ of the New Testament into a mere ideal. Thus the Beghards were charged with teaching that every believer is Christ Himself; that the name Christ is merely a symbol of an incarnation of God which takes place in every devout Christian. Indeed, speaking generally, the prevailing inclination of theologians was to regard the Incarnation as a theophany, Christ's earthly history being a non-essential phase of the Divine self-manifestation and little more.

Notwithstanding this tendency however there was a very decided awakening of interest in soteriology. Possibly this was due to the profounder conceptions of sin which had been awakened, partly through the influence of Augustine, partly by the penitential system of the Church. Augustine, indeed, had himself started the main questions which occupied the minds of the schoolmen; and foremost among these was the problem of redemption—the question Why redemption was necessary, and why it assumed one particular form? and this problem led on to the deeper inquiry *Cur Deus homo?*

and that again to the question, *Utrum Christus venisset si Adam non peccasset?*

These may be said to have been the chief topics of discussion in regard to Christology, which occupied the earlier scholastics, and they were, of course, dealt with formally by the systematic theologians of the thirteenth century. For the sake of clearness however, and with a view to limiting and systematising in some degree the treatment of the subject, we may at the outset indicate the main Christological questions which arose during the scholastic age, mentioning the names of those who are prominently connected with the discussion of each.

I. Anselm propounds the most important of these inquiries in his *Cur Deus homo?* This book marks a turning-point in the history of doctrine, because it is the first attempt to deal systematically with the mystery of the Atonement. The question whether it was possible for God to have redeemed mankind in any other way had passed over to the schoolmen from Augustine. Anselm endeavours to show the objective necessity of the actual method of redemption adopted by God, and his work shows how widespread and keen was the interest aroused by such discussions.

II. The effects of the Incarnation in their relation to the Divine Being Himself who assumed man's nature were discussed by Peter Lombard, with the result that his treatment of the subject exposed him to the charge of "nihilianism."

III. The wider question, whether in any case and apart from the consequences of sin, God would have become incarnate, seems first to have been explicitly raised and answered by the abbot Rupert of Deutz.

IV. The effects of the union of the two natures on our Lord's humanity—the problem of His human growth, knowledge, and experience—are systematically dealt with

by the various writers of *Sentences*, *Commentaries*, and *Summæ*. Attention will, however, be confined in this connection mainly to Thomas Aquinas and to the two mystical theologians, Hugh and Richard of S. Victor.

I. We have postponed to this point a task which must be discharged if we are fairly to estimate the significance of Anselm's treatment of the Atonement. Augustine had maintained that some other method of redemption would have been possible to an omnipotent God, but that no other way was more suitable for healing man's misery, for raising his hopes and kindling his love than that which involved the death of Christ.<sup>1</sup> This ethical, subjective mode of regarding the Atonement passes on to Anselm; but he aims at a more objective treatment, the motive of which may be gathered from a rapid survey of the history of Christian soteriology from the earliest times to the age of Anselm.

i. Even in the earliest period a redemptive virtue was ascribed to the sufferings and death of Christ. The apologists had indeed laid special stress on the preaching and teaching of Jesus as a factor in redemption, which, in their view, consisted chiefly in moral and spiritual enlightenment;<sup>2</sup> but the most typical soteriologist of the apologetic age, Irenæus, while he regards the entire appearance of Christ as redemptive, yet treats the passion and death as the crown of the Saviour's work.<sup>3</sup> Hence in Irenæus, as in other early writers, the doctrine of Satan plays a prominent part. Their general view is that the death of Christ was a victory over the devil. Attributing an almost magical efficacy to the Redeemer's cross, they look upon His death less as an exhibition of Divine justice than as a triumph of Divine

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* xiii. 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. vol. i. pp. 192 ff.; and see Justin M. *Apol.* i. 23; *Dial.* §§ 83, 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Iren.* ii. 22. 4; v. 23. 2, etc.

wisdom and power, by which man is ransomed from the tyranny of Satan, and the lost gift of incorruption is restored.<sup>1</sup> A sacrificial virtue indeed is assigned to the Redeemer's blood, both as a ransom-price and as a means of moral cleansing;<sup>2</sup> but the prevailing conception is that Christ came to *destroy the works of the devil*. This idea is also prominent in the Alexandrine Fathers, Clement and Origen. They may have been influenced by the Gnostic conception of sin, as corruption and bondage, rather than guilt; and, consequently, they look upon suffering as purgative and remedial, rather than penal. They share to some extent the view of the Gnostics that justice is a lower attribute of Deity than love.<sup>3</sup> The result is that Origen and Clement are somewhat optimistic in their estimate of suffering. Origen, for instance, compares Christ's death to the heroic deaths of other great men;<sup>4</sup> and though he has a profound sense of the cosmic significance of Christ's passion, he has but little conception of a doctrine of vicarious satisfaction for sin. He inclines to fall back on the prevailing doctrine that in the death of Christ, Satan has been outwitted by a master-stroke of Divine wisdom.<sup>5</sup> Clement's optimistic view of moral evil leads him to overlook the retributive element in the punishment of sin; he treats it merely as a Divine discipline of the soul.<sup>6</sup> Generally speaking, the primitive Church does not seem to advance beyond the idea of vicarious *suffering*; the deeper sense of the necessity of *satisfaction for*

<sup>1</sup> See esp. Iren. v. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Justin M. *Apol.* i. 32; cp. Clem. Rom. i. 7; Ignat. *ad Smyrn.* 6.

<sup>3</sup> The Gnostics made "justice" the special characteristic of the inferior deity, the Demiurge, who stood, as it were, at a point intermediate between God and Satan, between perfect good and perfect evil.

<sup>4</sup> c. *Cels.* ii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *in Matt.* xvi. 8; *ad Rom.* ii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Protrept.* 74, 79, 82, 89.

*sin* hardly makes its appearance.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, however, the biblical idea of Christ's death as a propitiatory sacrifice is consistently maintained throughout the whole period, while the Anselmic thought, that man who had been overcome must himself vanquish his enemy Satan, is also found in Irenæus.<sup>2</sup>

ii. During the polemic period, from the death of Origen to John Damascene (254-730), the doctrine of the Atonement in the West was to some extent coloured by anthropological speculations. The Pelagian controversy aroused deeper conceptions of sin, which however was discussed rather in reference to the free will of man and the work of grace than in its objective relation to the Divine justice and moral government. On the other hand, in the East, men's minds were more absorbed in the problems of Christ's person and natures than in His redemptive work. Nevertheless Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa in the East, like Ambrose, Leo, and Gregory the Great in the West, devoted considerable attention to the mystery of the Atonement. Athanasius, for example, regards Christ's work mainly as *expiatory*, as the payment of man's debt and the destruction of death.<sup>3</sup> He also recognises the element of *substitution*; Christ suffers in the stead of those who are united to Him as their mystical head and representative.<sup>4</sup> But both he and Gregory Nyssen<sup>5</sup> assign great importance to the claims and destructive work of Satan. Gregory develops the idea of a fraud justly practised on the devil, his argument seeming almost to justify the

<sup>1</sup> "Satisfactio" in Tertull. *de pœn.* 5-10; *de pat.* 13; *de pud.* 9, seems to mean *man's satisfaction for his own sin*. It is to be connected with his other juristic phrases, e.g. *culpa*, *reatus peccati*, *meritum*, etc. (Cp. p. 287 note.)

<sup>2</sup> iii. 18. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *de Incarn.* ix.; *Orat. c. Ar.* i. 41, 45, 60, ii. 62, iv. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Orat. catech.* xxii.-xxvi.

impression that he considers the means to sanctify the end. In fact, the notion of a Divine victory over Satan was elaborated during this period into a theory. Some Fathers busied themselves with the doctrine of the ransom, which they regarded as a price paid to Satan in compensation for his just rights over mankind; others who repudiated this idea,<sup>1</sup> yet recognised an element both of artifice or fraud in the passion, and of strict justice in the Divine dealing with Satan. The device by which Satan, the deceiver, was himself entrapped was the concealment of a Divine and sinless nature under a human form. Bernard well expresses the point on which earlier teachers insisted: "He assumes the *reality* of human nature but the mere *semblance* of sin in the one extending a precious consolation to the weak, and in the other wisely concealing a snare of deception for the devil."<sup>2</sup> Even Augustine maintains that Satan overstepped his rights in dealing with Christ as a sinner, and so forfeited his claim over his other prisoners, so far as they belong to Christ: *justissime dimittere cogitur quem injustissime occidit.*<sup>3</sup> In the loss of his power over mankind, the devil was dealt with according to the *lex talionis*.

The attraction of this theory for writers so numerous and so gifted shows that it satisfied a certain sense at once of *justice* and of *fitness*: it appeared just that some satisfaction should be paid to Satan for the loss of rights, however unjustly acquired; and there seemed to be a Divine fitness in the idea of deception practised on the deceiver. Certainly there is something deeper in these speculations than a mere "mythological" fancy. The

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xlv.

<sup>2</sup> in *Cant.* xx. 3. Cp. Greg. Nyss. *I.c.*; Amb. in *Luc.* iv. 1; Leo Mag. *Serm.* xxii. 3; Greg. Mag. in *ev. Luc.* i. hom. xvi. 2, xxv. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *de Trin.* xiii. 10. Cp. *de lib. arb.* iii. 10.

treatment, however, of the subject by Athanasius reaches a higher level than that attained by most of his successors, inasmuch as he throws Satan comparatively into the background by emphasising the idea of death,<sup>1</sup> and by giving prominence to the moral attributes of God—His veracity and compassion. God had threatened death for man's disobedience; and His love discovered a way by which He might at once save the race of men, and yet be true to His own righteous decree.<sup>2</sup> Further, Athanasius grasps in some measure the conception of the infinite worth of Christ's Divine personality, as imparting merit and efficacy to His acts and sufferings,—a conception which is very prominent also in Cyril of Jerusalem, to whom the inestimable effects of the passion appear to result directly from the fact that the sufferings were those of God.<sup>3</sup> The debt of man was by the death of God's own Son more than paid. Athanasius, indeed, represents an advance of Christian thought, in that his theory of the Atonement is so intimately connected with a comprehensive view of the Incarnation and its necessary effects.<sup>4</sup> Augustine, on the other hand, whose authority in the succeeding age gives him special importance, tends to fall back within the narrower lines drawn by Irenæus. He raises, but rapidly dismisses, the question how far the actual method of redemption was necessary; and he shows an inclination to limit the extent to which the benefits of redemption can be applied.<sup>5</sup> The main importance of John Damascene is that he accepts the current belief in a victory over Satan by the wise and just method of

<sup>1</sup> *de Incarn.* ix. etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Cp. Catech.* xiii. 33.

<sup>4</sup> The same is true in a large degree of Gregory Nyssen.

<sup>5</sup> See *c. Jul. op. imp.* vi. 24. Leo, on the contrary, and Greg. Mag. enlarge the scope of the atoning work; Leo, *Ep.* cxxxiv. 14; Greg. Mag. *Moral.* xxxi. 49.

deception, but rejects the notion that the devil received a ransom-price.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the idea of the tyrannous dominion of Satan over man was deeply rooted in the theology of the East.

iii. The theory which Anselm inherited is now sufficiently plain, namely, that of a quasi-legal transaction with Satan as a being possessed of independent rights in consequence of man's sin; he also was familiar with the doctrine of satisfaction as represented in the Church's penitential discipline. It is possible that the system of penance colours Anselm's view more decidedly than is generally supposed. What he himself brings to the solution of the problem *Cur Deus homo* is a profound conception of sin, derived from Augustine, and a proportionate insight into the nature of Divine justice and the punishment of guilt. He begins by noticing some current criticisms of the doctrine of redemption, and definitely sets aside the æsthetic idea of the Atonement as merely *conveniens* or *pulchrum*. He aims at showing its absolute necessity as being in the highest degree conformable to reason. He also rejects the notions that a mere man could redeem our race, or that any ransom was paid to the devil (i. 6, 7). Once and for all this latter theory is discarded. Satan himself, being only a rebellious creature of God, could have no possible "rights" over the fellow-creatures whom he had seduced. The positive elements in Anselm's theory will be best presented in a brief analysis of the book.

(a) The book opens with a consideration of some possible objections to the Christian doctrine of redemption. Anselm insists that the humiliation of the incarnate Son involved no degradation of His Godhead; nor was His death the unjust punishment of a sinless victim; it was a free and spontaneous self-oblation (c. 8).

<sup>1</sup> *de orth. fid.* iii. 1, 27.

(b) The cause of Christ's death is next investigated. Christ could not deserve to die, being sinless. His death was the simple consequence of persistent obedience to God's will. He died *libera voluntate*; and God only willed His death in the sense either that He willed the obedience which inevitably led Him to death, or that He bestowed the goodwill which moved Christ to sacrifice Himself (cc. 9, 10).

(c) Sin and its remission. If man is to attain his true end<sup>1</sup> there must be remission of sin; and sin is simply *Deo non reddere debitum: Deum exhonorare*. Further, sin demands satisfaction; and this can only take place if more is restored than was wrongfully withdrawn or withheld from God by man. God demands compensation for the wrong done to Him (c. 11).

Sin is in fact lawlessness: the necessity for its punishment lies in the character of God as righteous judge. He cannot allow something unregulated (*inordinatum*) to exist in the universe; nor can He forgive sin if it remains unatoned for, for this would be inconsistent with His justice: *non decet Deum aliquid injuste aut inordinate facere* (c. 12).

(d) The homage withdrawn by man (*ablatus honor*) must accordingly be restored by man (c. 13). Not indeed that God ever actually loses His honour; if it is not freely yielded by man, God "gets Him honour" on man against his will. In any case the Divine will is done; for in trying to escape from the will that *commands*, the sinful creature falls under the will that *punishes*, nor can he ever withdraw himself from the will that *permits*. Every sin must be followed by satisfaction or penalty

<sup>1</sup> "Ut deo fruendo beatus sit." See this point enlarged on in cc. 16-18, a passage which is introduced to show the true end of which man has fallen short. Cp. ii. 1 ff.

(cc. 14, 15). Man must accordingly make satisfaction if he is to attain his true end (c. 19). How is the debt to be discharged? Man has nothing wherewith to pay—no overplus to meet his debt; for he owes all that he is, or has, already. His only possible satisfaction is to give back to God something greater than all that is not God (cc. 20, 21). Further, God's honour requires that man should conquer Satan by refusing to sin; and this he is too infirm to do, because he is already infected with birth-sin (c. 22), yet such victory is absolutely necessary (c. 23). Neither the *debt* of man nor his *penalty* can be remitted. If God remits man's *debt*, He only remits what man is too weak to pay; if He remits man's *penalty*, He contradicts His own justice (c. 24). Accordingly man in his helpless condition must look for a Divine deliverer, Christ (c. 25).

The ground having been thus cleared, Anselm proceeds in part ii. to describe the actual method of redemption.

(e) The purpose of God for man can only be fulfilled if something be rendered to God greater than all that is not God. But there is nothing such except God Himself. The satisfaction must be paid by Him, yet offered by man. Therefore God must needs be made man (cc. 1-6).

Anselm at this point lays down some general conditions under which the Incarnation must be supposed to occur. The necessity of satisfaction excludes any mere conversion of Deity into manhood; any mixture or mere conjunction of natures (or persons). The same person must be at once both God and man, since God alone can *pay* the debt, and man alone *owes* it (c. 7). Accordingly the Son of God assumes human nature, taking it from the stock of Adam by the most fitting mode (*i.e.* the only one hitherto unemployed by God),

namely, birth of a Virgin (c. 8).<sup>1</sup> The *Son* becomes incarnate, because it was against Him specially that Satan and man had sinned: both had claimed to be as gods, whereas He alone is the true image of God (c. 9).

(f) How, then, does the Divine Son make satisfaction?

(1) He is sinless. He cannot sin, because He cannot *will to sin*: *non potuit velle mentiri, potuit mentiri si vellet*. Yet His sinless righteousness is not "necessary," but free and meritorious (c. 10).

(2) He dies—but His death is not a debt due from Him to God; it is a free oblation—something over and above the debt of creaturely obedience which He owes to God (c. 11). Thus the merit of Christ's sacrifice immeasurably outweighs man's sin. If to assail His life is the worst of sins, His life must be the most precious of all goods—more than sufficient to pay the debt of all mankind (c. 14), and to atone even for the sin of His murderers, which they committed ignorantly (c. 15). The death of Christ was "necessary," not in any external sense: necessity in God only means the immutability of His will (cc. 17, 18). Christ offers freely what He does not actually owe to God, namely His death. Therefore He may justly claim as a reward the salvation of His brethren. The sacrificed Christ is the Father's gift to man. God says, *Accipe Unigenitum et da pro te*. The Son says, *Tolle me et redime te* (cc. 18–20).<sup>2</sup>

Such is Anselm's theory of the Atonement. It has been often criticised and from many points of view.

The foundation of his theory is his conception of sin, which is too exclusively legal. Anselm is dominated

<sup>1</sup> Cp. c. 16, in which Anselm answers the question, How can God bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Obs. in 12 and 13 some conditions of the incarnate life are mentioned, e.g. that Christ was never miserable, nor ever ignorant.

<sup>2</sup> 21 is a note explaining why the devil and his angels are not redeemable.

by the notion of sin as a debt; he is unduly influenced by a metaphor, just as his predecessors, since Leo, had been influenced by the associations connected with the word *ransom*. Sin is viewed by Anselm legally as a personal injury done to the Divine majesty; God is, as it were, a powerful private person, demanding satisfaction for His outraged rights, rather than a gracious and holy being striving to undo the consequences of creaturely self-assertion.<sup>1</sup> Nor is Anselm entirely consistent, for his theory of satisfaction or compensation implies that God and man stand on one level, as wrongdoer and injured party, whereas in i. 19 he insists that man is precluded from treating with God on equal terms.<sup>2</sup> Again, Anselm's theory seems to involve a severance between the justice and the goodness of God. His successors discerned this weak point in his system—the undue predominance which he assigns to justice demanding satisfaction, and his neglect of the element of redemptive compassion in God; nor does he entirely avoid the tendency to draw a distinction between the Father who claims satisfaction and the Son who offers it, thus imperilling to some extent the ethical unity of the Godhead in the work of redemption. Moreover, the significance of Christ's self-oblation is distorted by a legal theory of merit; Christ's transcendent act of self-devotion prevails, in Anselm's view, to win the salvation of men as a *reward*—an idea which is not strictly in harmony with a rigidly consistent theory of satisfaction for sin. It has also been justly objected that Anselm's conception of the Atonement lays too

<sup>1</sup> Anselm's idea of "justice" also is too strictly legal. See (*e.g.*) i. 23: "Nullatenus ergo debet aut potest accipere homo a Deo quod Deus illi dare proposuit, si non reddat Deo totum quod illi abstulit; ut sicut per illum Deus perdidit, ita per illum Deus recuperet."

<sup>2</sup> "Non expedit homini ut agat cum Deo quemadmodum par cum pari."

little stress on man's part in the work of reconciliation. Anselm scarcely indicates the way in which the objective work of Atonement acts upon man, or enables him to fulfil the Divine requirement; he says nothing of Christ's representative character, or of the need on man's part of moral self-identification with the Redeemer's work through penitence and faith. From the religious point of view in fact Anselm's theology is somewhat defective, in so far as he overlooks the spiritual effects of the Divine work, and thinks more of the payment of man's debt than of the forgiveness of his sin. There is finally some truth in the criticism of Petavius<sup>1</sup> that Anselm implicates God in an absolute necessity, by maintaining that redemption could not have been accomplished in any other way; he virtually holds that whatever appears to human reason "suitable" (*conveniens*) or "God-worthy" is morally necessary for God and absolutely determines His mode of action.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have been mainly on this ground that his theory found comparatively little favour with later scholastic writers, their characteristic tendency being to insist on the absolute freedom as to choice of means involved in the Divine omnipotence.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, in spite of some inconsistencies, Anselm's answer to the question, *Cur Deus homo?* represents a true advance in Christian thought. For instance, he recognises that redemption is a deliverance from sin, whereas most of his predecessors regarded it mainly as liberation from the consequences of sin, — death, corruption, and Satanic tyranny. He also qualifies his somewhat juristic conception of God as the supreme

<sup>1</sup> *de Incarn.* ii. 13 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> Anselm, however, to some extent anticipates the criticism of Petavius; see *Cur Deus Homo?* bk. ii. c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Aquin. *Summa*, iii. qu. 46, artt. 1 and 2.

personality by suggesting the ethical truth that the Divine will is synonymous with the eternal law of righteousness: *libertas enim non est nisi ad hoc quod expedit aut quod decet*.<sup>1</sup> God's will is not arbitrary; it is not the case that if He wills anything immoral it is thereby constituted good. Moreover, Anselm appears to grasp clearly the *moral* element in the Atonement, namely Christ's freewill offering of spontaneous obedience, winning acceptance for man as rendered by man;<sup>2</sup> the will of God perfectly embraced and fulfilled by man. And although Anselm says little in regard to the significance of Christ's historic life and teaching, or of His work as founder of the Church, yet there can be no doubt that the figure of the God-man is the centre of his system; Christ is very man, the actions of His humanity acquiring infinite value in virtue of the divinity of His person. In regard to the sufferings of the Cross, Anselm is far removed from the idea that Christ endured the torments of the lost.

iv. Anselm's work contained the earliest systematic theory of the Atonement. It was the first philosophical attempt to give scientific precision, and a basis of rational necessity, to the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction. Anselm believed that the Atonement was a mystery rooted in immanent attributes of the Divine nature; and in asserting the absolute claims of Divine justice, he aimed at imparting a necessary and metaphysical character to the doctrine. But his book provoked a reaction, of which *Abelard* is the representative; it was the starting-point of a new polemic. Abelard, whose character and temper

<sup>1</sup> Bk. i. 12. Cp. the words which follow: "Quod autem dicitur, quia quod vult justum est, et quod non vult justum non est, non ita intelligendum est, ut, si Deus velit quodlibet inconveniens, justum sit quia ipse vult."

<sup>2</sup> Bk. i. 10. Anselm speaks of Christ's submission as "acceptæ bonæ voluntatis spontanea et amata tenacitas." See the whole chapter.

of mind presents a sharp contrast to that of Anselm, looks at the Atonement from an entirely different standpoint. He starts from the idea of the Divine benevolence, and the necessity of man's reconciliation with God. He regards the death of Christ as a display of love intended to kindle the cold hearts of sinful men, to awaken in them contrition and gratitude, to bring them into the state of reconciliation with God. In fact, the redeeming element in the passion was the manifestation of Divine love eliciting the response of love on man's part: *Redemptio nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio.*<sup>1</sup> This theory has undeniable merit in so far as it exalts the grace of God and recognises the subjective moral element in man's redemption; but it betrays the absence of deep spiritual experience and a lack of insight into the true nature of sin. It starts not from the thought of God's outraged holiness, but from that of His benevolence. God, according to Abelard, can freely pardon the sinner on his repentance, apart from satisfaction; redemption might have taken place by mere *fiat*; penitence is the only required condition for acceptance with God. Consequently the only object of Christ's sufferings is to produce sorrow—to make a certain moral impression on man's heart. Abelard lays stress on the teaching and example of Jesus: "On this account the Divine wisdom became man, that we might be enlightened by His doctrine and life, by His sufferings and death, and by His glorification: since He taught us by His sufferings how much God loves us; by His resurrection He gives us the pledge of eternal life; by His ascension to heaven He receives our souls to heaven."<sup>2</sup> Again, "Christ died for us in order to show how great was His love to mankind and to prove that

<sup>1</sup> See *Comm. in Ep. Rom.* lib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Christ.* iv. (ap. Neander, *Hist. of Christ. Dogmas*, p. 519).

love is the essence of Christianity."<sup>1</sup> Abelard thus represents a type of thought entirely opposed to Anselm's. He only so far agrees with his opponent as to concur with him in denying the rights of Satan over man; Satan is merely a slave who has led astray his fellow-slave.<sup>2</sup>

*Peter Lombard* in the main follows Abelard. He regards the Atonement as a supreme display of Divine love: "The death of Christ," he declares, "justifies us, in that by it love is kindled in our hearts";<sup>3</sup> but he also recognises an objective necessity in Christ's death, and seems to accept the older view of a fraud practised on the devil. *Bernard* takes a more evangelical view. Venerating as he does the opinions of the Fathers, he defends against Abelard, with something of passion, the current idea of Satan's claims; he holds that Satan's rights over man were "iniquitously acquired, but justly permitted." He also repudiates the view that remission of sins necessitated no objective satisfaction and depended merely on the exercise of God's sovereign will. He clings to the Athanasian idea of a mystical connection between Christ and His members—the head and the body; and he also expresses nobly the moral element of propitiation in Christ's sufferings, in the famous saying, *Non mors Deo, sed voluntas placuit sponte morientis.*<sup>4</sup> Bernard adheres in short to the traditional view, but accepts freely the moral aspect of the passion on which Anselm had insisted. Akin to him is *Hugh of S. Victor*,

<sup>1</sup> *Sent. c. xxiii.*

<sup>2</sup> Abelard says (ap. Bern. *Ep. cxc., de error. Abael.*): "Ut nobis videtur nec diabolus unquam jus aliquod in homine habuit, nisi forte Deo permittente sicut carcerarius; nec Filius Dei, ut hominem liberaret, carnem accepit."

<sup>3</sup> *Sent. iii. dist. 19.*

<sup>4</sup> See *Ep. cxc. cc. 5-9*; *in Cant. serm. xxv. 9*. Bernard speaks as if Abelard wished to limit the redemptive work of Christ simply to His doctrine and example.

who takes a mediating position between Anselm and Abelard, but holds fast to the notion of a legal transaction with Satan.

v. Anselm then and Abelard represent two schools of thought, the one holding the atoning work of Christ to be objectively necessary, the other regarding it from the side of its subjective effect on man; the one tracing it to the necessities of Divine justice, the other regarding it as a free display of grace. A somewhat similar divergence reappears in the treatment of the doctrine by *Thomas Aquinas*<sup>1</sup> and *Duns Scotus* respectively. Thomas inclines to an objective and mystical view of the atoning work of Christ; Scotus lays stress on the arbitrary will of God as the sole ground of its acceptance. A brief review of their teaching may be given in this place. Aquinas holds that the sufferings of Christ were "necessary" in the sense that they were the means best suited to effect the Divine purpose (*convenientissimum*), in view of man's need both of assistance and instruction.<sup>2</sup> He deals exhaustively with the subject of redemption, treating the sacrifice of Christ under four different aspects.

(a) From the point of view of *merit*,<sup>3</sup> Christ by His atonement merited eternal salvation for all the members of His Body. This effect of His death corresponds to the mystical union which subsists between Him and the Church, of which He is the head. "He was glorified not only in Himself, but also in His faithful, as He Himself says (S. Jo. xvii.)." His merits redound to all those who are united to Himself.

(b) Christ also makes *satisfaction* in that He offers to

<sup>1</sup> Aquinas is specially akin to Anselm in his view of sin; *Summa*, iii. 1, art. 2, ad 2. See also iii. 47, artt. 2, 3, and 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Summa*, iii. 46, artt. 1-3. Notice in art. 4 the mystical view of the cross.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 48. 1.

God something in which God takes a delight which outweighs the hatred He feels towards man's offence. The satisfaction is a superabundant one,—transcending what was necessary in the way of compensation for the wrong done. The value of the satisfaction depends partly on the supreme love displayed in Christ's sufferings, partly on the dignity and worth of the life laid down, partly also on the comprehensiveness (*generalitas*) and greatness of the sorrow endured. Further, in Him as the head of the mystical body all the members suffered, consequently *satisfactio Christi ad omnes fideles pertinet, sicut ad membra sua*.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The death of Christ was also a *sacrifice*, a self-obliteration, an act of homage to God whereby He was pleased to be propitiated. The voluntariness of the suffering was a great element in its acceptableness.<sup>2</sup> And the perfection of the sacrifice consisted in its fulfilling every necessary condition: the body offered was that of man, it was capable of suffering death, it was sinless, it was the very flesh of the offerer.

(d) Once more, the passion of Christ was an act of *redemption*, releasing man from servitude to sin and from the penalty of guilt. The passion of Christ, being a sufficient and superabundant satisfaction for sin, was in effect a ransom-price (*pretium quoddam*) by which man was released from a twofold obligation—the service of his captor Satan, and the necessity of enduring the penalty of guilt.<sup>3</sup>

*Duns Scotus* made it his aim to rebut the view of Anselm and Thomas as to the infinite merit of Christ. This merit, Scotus maintains, belonged only to the

<sup>1</sup> iii. 48. 2.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 48. 3: "Hoc ipsum quod voluntarie passionem sustinuit Deo maxime acceptum fuit, utpote ex charitate maxima proveniens." Aquinas expressly refers in this art. to Ang. *de Trin.* iv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 48. 4; 49. 1 and 2.

human nature and must accordingly be finite.<sup>1</sup> The worth of Christ's sacrifice depends on the arbitrary value assigned to it by God, according to the maxim, *tantum valet omne creatum oblatum pro quanto acceptat Deus illud*.<sup>2</sup> It follows that a mere man might have made satisfaction for the sins of the human race, had God so willed; indeed, with the aid of Divine grace men might have made atonement for themselves. The actual redemptive work of Christ was only so far "necessary" as it was actually accepted by God. Redemption was not connected with Christ's sufferings *ex insito valore*, but *ex divina acceptatione*. The result of this view is to represent the Incarnation as a thing almost unnecessary; redemption might have been achieved, and sacramental grace bestowed, by other means, if God had chosen to use them. Scotus is akin to Abelard in seeming to make light both of sin and of the holiness of God; He eliminates from the Atonement the element of moral necessity,<sup>3</sup> and thereby cuts at the root of Anselm's theory.

It is unnecessary to describe the soteriology of the later mystics. They give up the effort to arrive at doctrinal precision and fall back on inward contemplation of Christ's sufferings. Those of a pantheistic tendency maintained that Christ suffered only for Himself, or that all Christians, being members of Christ, participate in His sufferings, thus annulling the objective value of the Atonement.

II. Towards the close of the twelfth century the question was raised by *Peter Lombard*, what was the

<sup>1</sup> *in Sent.* iii. dist. 19. For the same reason Scotus holds that sin cannot be an "infinite" wrong done to God.

<sup>2</sup> *in Sent.* iii. dist. 20. Cp. Loofs, *Dogm.* § 67. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Dorner, *div. ii.* vol. i. p. 353. The Pelagianising tendency of Scotus drew a protest from Bradwardine (see above, p. 499, note 1).

actual effect of the Incarnation on the Deity of the Son. He boldly gave an answer which was denounced by his contemporaries as "nihilianism." He argued that no change can take place in the nature of Deity. Consequently in the Incarnation *Deus non factus est aliquid*; the Son of God became "nothing which He was not before"; the Incarnation was not the assumption of any real nature, for the human nature of Christ, being without personality, was not a real or substantial thing; it was merely apparitional. In taking this position Peter Lombard wished to exclude the current idea<sup>1</sup> that the personality of the Word became *composite* after the union. He regarded the effect of the union as a mere clothing of the Word with a bodily form or vesture (*indumentum*) under which He might manifest Himself in a way suited to the capacities and condition of men. God, in a word, became clothed with manhood; He became man *secundum habitum*,<sup>2</sup> or in the way of possession, and the Incarnation might accordingly be looked upon as a kind of theophany. It followed that Peter minimised the mediatorial significance of Christ's humanity; he also rejected the ancient idea of man's participation in the Divine nature. Nihilianism, in fact, is a reappearance of the Antiochene tendency to regard Christ as the mere organ or temple of God, with the exception that while the Antiochenes maintained a dual personality, the Lombard reached his conclusion as the logical consequence of the Alexandrine view that the human nature was an accident or non-essential element in the person of the Word. Doubtless, his motive was a desire to guard the inalterability of the Divine sub-

<sup>1</sup> Op. Aquin. *Summa*, iii. 2, art. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Dörner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 315. The expression "denotes something that is superadded to another, that pertains to it accidentally, so that that to which it is added might exist without it."

stance; and it is a question whether he really intended to go beyond the maxim of Cyril that the Word after the Incarnation "remained what He ever was" (*μεμένηκεν ὅπερ ἦν*).<sup>1</sup> Further, the object of the Antiochenes was to vindicate the completeness of Christ's human nature; the Lombard's intention appears to be that of drawing the logical consequences from his conception of the Divine nature. His view illustrates the general tendency of the later Greek theology, which he generally follows, to assign an excessive predominance to the Deity in Christ; a tendency resulting from an *a priori* method of reasoning in regard to the Incarnation, drawing conclusions not from the picture in the Gospels, but from the probable conditions under which an incarnation of Deity may be supposed to have occurred. The views of Peter Lombard were vehemently contested by John of Cornwall (*circa* 1175)<sup>2</sup> and Walter of S. Victor, and the proposition *Deus non factus est aliquid secundum quod est homo* was examined and condemned by a synod of Tours (1163), and again in the Lateran synod of 1179. The same habit of thought had already been displayed by Abelard, who also conceived the Incarnation as a theophany, intended for the instruction of mankind, a self-exhibition, so to speak, of the Divine wisdom, in order to save men by doctrine and example. Abelard, however, started from a conception of God more akin to Sabellianism<sup>3</sup> than that of Peter Lombard.

III. The inquiry whether the Incarnation was independent of man's Fall and formed an element in the original creative purpose of God, seems to have been prompted, to some extent at least, by the historical conditions of the twelfth century, the wide diffusion of Christianity,

<sup>1</sup> See *Sent.* lib. iii. dist. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 176 note.

<sup>3</sup> See Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. pp. 820, 821.*

and the enlarged knowledge of the material universe which was being acquired through the researches of the now active scientific faculty. It was moreover a period in which the traditional theology of the Church was practically fixed, and independent thought could only venture to move freely in regions of speculation hitherto unexplored.<sup>1</sup> Already in the ninth century Scotus Erigena had taught that by the Incarnation Deity had come into contact and relation with the entire universe of material things, the whole creation being destined to participate in man's redemption; and this thought may be traced even in the earlier Fathers, especially Irenæus and Athanasius; but they do not ever appear to dissociate the Incarnation from the Fall, the renewal and perfection of the universe from the redemptive purpose concerning man. It was only at a much later stage in the history of doctrine that an idea, ultimately suggested by expressions in the New Testament itself, became a subject of systematic discussion. From the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards the question *Utrum Christus venisset si Adam non peccasset* became a topic of debate in the schools.

The traditional view that the Incarnation was dependent on the Fall could claim for itself the authority of Athanasius and Augustine; and during the scholastic age it received the decided adhesion of the mystical theologians of S. Victor. Richard of S. Victor, for example, dwells on the Incarnation mainly as a display of Divine pity, and as an event ardently longed for by a burdened world;<sup>2</sup> and he goes so far as to exult in

<sup>1</sup> Bp. Westcott's essay on *The Gospel of Creation* will be known to most readers. My debt to it will be obvious in what follows. See also Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 182.

<sup>2</sup> *de Incarn. Verbi*, viii.: "Ecce venit desideratus cunctis gentibus; non dicit desiderandus, sed desideratus, ut intelligas in omni gente aliquos aliquando in eius desiderio flagrasse. . . . Erat igitur eius adventus ■

the consequences of the Fall. *O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem!*<sup>1</sup> In the same way Hugh regards "deliverance" as the sole object of the Incarnation;<sup>2</sup> it was a redemptive act—the first stage in the victory of wisdom and strength over deceit and cunning. The deeper view, that the Incarnation was an event predestined apart from the Fall was apparently first maintained by *Rupert, abbot of Deutz* (d. 1135). He was deeply imbued with the idea of the dignity of Christ's manhood, as an end in itself, an end predestined to be the climax of creation—that towards which the upward movement of the universe tended as its goal. He argues, chiefly on the basis of such passages as Heb. ii. 10,<sup>3</sup> that since the whole universe of things was created for the sake of the one man Jesus Christ, it was part of God's original purpose that His Son should as man appear among men, king in His own nation, lord in in His own house.<sup>4</sup> Sin in no way interfered with the Divine purpose of love, according to which the Son of God was destined to wear a human form and to take *His delight with the sons of men*—nay, *where sin abounded grace did much more abound*; the Fall did but redound to the greater glory of Christ. Though the conditions under which the Incarnation took place were modified by sin, the fact itself was predetermined apart from sin; sin has been overruled to enhance the glory of the exalted Redeemer. The same view was adopted by *Alexander of Hales* (d. 1245) on the general ground that

multis gentilium præcognitus et ardentè desideratus." Cp. *de Emman.* i. 11 (on the Divine pity and readiness to help and redeem).

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the missal in *de Incarn. Verbi, l.c.*      <sup>2</sup> *de Sacr.* ii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Obs. that in this text Rupert reads *consummari* for *consummare*, thus referring *eum propter quem omnia et per quem omnia* to Christ.

<sup>4</sup> *de glorif. Trin.* iii. 20: "Rectius dicitur quia non homo propter angelos, imò propter hominem quendam angeli quoque facti sunt et cetera omnia." *Op.* iv. 2.

it is of the essence of the chief good to diffuse or communicate itself.<sup>1</sup> Albertus Magnus inclines, with some hesitation, to the same view, but gives no definite opinion; and Duns Scotus agrees with Rupert; he shrinks from the idea that the Incarnation, the highest work of God, is merely contingent (*occasionatum*); it must have been a final aim of creative wisdom to exhibit the perfection of humanity in Christ—an end willed by God previous to His foreknowledge of human sin.<sup>2</sup> At a later period *Wessel* (d. 1489), reasoning on the basis of scriptural statements, regards the incarnate Christ as the predestined object of God's love; he cannot conceive of the introduction of God's "noblest creature" into the world as an event merely contingent. The community of the blessed must from the first have been destined to rejoice in its true head; "the Lamb has the promise from the Father that men should be given Him at His request for His inheritance."<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand Aquinas, after weighing the considerations on either side, decides on the ground of scriptural statements that Christ would not have become man, but for the Fall. He allows indeed that "it is of the essence of the chief good to communicate itself," and the self-communication of God to His creatures could only be fulfilled *summo modo* by an incarnation. Further, he recognises that the Incarnation was an exaltation of human nature and a consummation of the universe. But he finally adheres to the opinion that since Scripture everywhere describes the Incarnation as a remedy for human sin, "it is more fittingly said" that it was con-

<sup>1</sup> "Si ergo eius debet esse summa diffusio quia est summum bonum, convenientius est quod se diffundat in creaturam. Sed hæc diffusio non potest intelligi summa nisi ipse uniatur creaturæ; ergo convenit quod Deus uniatur creaturæ et maxime humanæ." *Summa theol.* pars iii. qu. 2. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Sent.* iii. dist. 7, qu. 8, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Westcott from *de causis Incarn.* c. xv.

tingent on the Fall;<sup>1</sup> "although," he adds, "the power of God is not limited to this consequence, seeing that God might have become incarnate, even if sin were non-existent." Practically he seems to agree with the Victorines that there is no reason why human nature should not have been more highly exalted in consequence of sin than apart from it: *Deus enim permittit mala fieri, ut inde aliquid melius eliciat.*

There is a multitude of considerations which may well incline us to favour the view of the Incarnation held by Rupert and his successors. In modern times we have become accustomed to a teleological view of the universe; we are familiar with the idea of the ascent of man. Ancient writers, on the other hand, reasoning backwards from the Incarnation, looked for indications of man's final destiny in the history of God's dealings with our race. To Irenæus, for example, the phenomenon of Hebrew prophecy appeared to point to an intimate relationship between man and God—a state of fellowship and moral likeness; a state in which man should bear, or be possessed by, the Spirit of God. Either line of thought justifies the inference that the Incarnation was a result originally aimed at in fundamental tendencies of man's being; an event which was destined completely to fulfil the Divine idea and intention concerning man's nature. Without the Incarnation it is impossible to conceive how the human race could have arrived at the creaturely perfection for which it was manifestly intended; while, on the other hand, the contemplation of the Divine love, and of its essential impulse towards complete union with its object,

<sup>1</sup> *Summa*, iii. 1, artt. 1-3. Bonaventura displays the same hesitation as Aquinas, but finally comes to a similar conclusion. The view of Rupert was not without supporters in the Lutheran Church; e.g. Melancthon (see Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. note 61) and Osiander. Westcott collects the opinions of other writers also.

makes it difficult to suppose that God would have withheld from man His highest gift, but for the contingency of sin. We are accustomed to speak of the Incarnation exclusively as an act of self-humiliation, which indeed it could not fail to be under the actual circumstances of a fallen world. From another point of view, however, that act is necessarily glorious which affords a supreme display of the Divine nature, character, and purpose. When we contemplate the perfect humanity of Jesus Christ as the archetype of manhood,—revealing its essential affinity to the Divine nature and its capacity for union with God,—we may conclude that the event which crowns and consummates God's purpose for man, is also a revelation of the *Father of glory*, which was predestined from the first. We behold in the Incarnation not only the work of infinite wisdom and love, but that which is wider than both: we behold *the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ*.<sup>1</sup>

It is in accordance with this view that Irenæus, speaking of humanity as an end which God set before Himself, says that while man is the "receptacle" of Divine gifts, man himself is the glory of God: *Gloria Dei vivens homo*.<sup>2</sup>

IV. The last point to be considered in connection with the scholastic Christology is the doctrine of the Redeemer's human nature and the effects upon it of its union with Deity. The treatment of this subject was of course largely determined by the general type of Christology which had been transmitted to the scholastic age by the theologians of the East; in its mystical elements, its monophysitic tendency, and its deference to the Areopagite, the theology of *Thomas Aquinas* is typical as illustrating the powerful and enduring influence of Neoplatonism upon the higher thought of the Church. The root of his system

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Mason, *Faith of the Gospel*, chap. vi. § 2.

is in fact Areopagite Platonism of the type which moulded the Christology of John Damascene and Erigena. In his general point of view concerning our Lord's humanity, he follows Peter Lombard; Christ as man, in relation to the Church, is to be regarded as the recipient of grace; His humanity possesses, in virtue of its union with Deity, the fulness of Divine attributes.

1. As to the general conditions of the *Unio hypostatica*, Thomas adheres to the received theology. He teaches, for instance, that the person of the Word became composite after the union,<sup>1</sup> in consequence of the two modes under which it subsisted; he holds that the union "hindered" the manhood from arriving at personality,<sup>2</sup> and that the Son of God assumed the flesh *mediante anima*.<sup>3</sup> He also recognises the "fitness" of the Divine method whereby the Word, who had framed all things, became the restorer of a ruined universe.<sup>4</sup>

2. In *quest.* 7 Thomas passes immediately to his main thesis,—the effects of the union on Christ as the recipient of grace. This grace is twofold,—*gratia unionis*, that special and personal self-bestowal of the Word, vouchsafed to Christ's manhood in virtue of its assumption by Deity; *gratia habitualis*, the grace of sanctification which was vouchsafed to Christ as man, sustaining the manhood in its high relationship to God.<sup>5</sup> The main

<sup>1</sup> *Summa*, iii. 2. 4.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 4. 2 (quoted above, p. 62).

<sup>3</sup> iii. 6. 1: "Si attendamus gradum dignitatis, anima media invenitur inter Deum et carnem: et secundum hoc potest dici quod Filius Dei univit sibi carnem mediante anima." Aquinas rejects the phrase which had been largely the occasion of the Adoptianist heresy, *hominem assumpsit* (iii. 4. 3).

<sup>4</sup> iii. 8. 3.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 6. 6; 7. 11. Obs. Aquinas speaks of the union as "*relatio quedam inter divinam naturam et humanam*" (iii. 2. 7; 16. 6). In iii. 16 he allows the statements "God is man" and "man is God"; but denies that Christ can be properly "*homo dominicus*," an expression which Augustine had used, but afterwards retracted (see art. 3).

subject of the seventh and following questions is the nature and conditions of this habitual grace, in relation both to Christ's human perfection and to His office as head of the Church; for the "habitual grace" resulting from the union must necessarily overflow to the members of His body (S. John i. 16).<sup>1</sup>

The totality then of grace and virtue is ascribed to Christ as man; but with limitations. He who ever enjoyed the vision of God cannot be thought to have possessed the grace of faith or of hope;<sup>2</sup> but as man He must needs experience the feeling of holy fear in greater degree than His brethren.<sup>3</sup> The absence in Him of faith and hope, and the presence of fear, corresponds to His twofold experience, as at once *comprehensor* and *viator*;<sup>4</sup> at once blessed with the Divine vision, yet walking with men in the way of earthly life. A further consequence of the union necessarily follows, namely, that no advance in virtue was possible for Christ. He only "advanced in wisdom and grace, as in age, because in proportion to His growth in years He wrought more perfect works, in order to show Himself to be true man."<sup>5</sup> This position is, in effect, a return to the Cyrilline theory of our Lord's growth in human perfection, as merely "exhibitive," not real.

3. Before touching upon other points connected with Christ's Divine endowment as man, Aquinas briefly deals with His relation to the Church as the source of grace. In three respects He is "head" of the Church,—*secundum ordinem, perfectionem, virtutem influendi gratiam*. In respect of rank, Christ stands nearer to God than His brethren; in respect of perfection, He transcends them by His possession of the plenitude of all graces; in

<sup>1</sup> iii. 7. 1.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 7. 3 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 7. 6, specially alluding to Isai. xi. 3 and Heb. v. 7.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 7. 8; 15. 10.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 7. 12.

respect of power, He alone can infuse His own habitual grace into His members: *of His fulness have all we received* (S. Jo. i. 16).<sup>1</sup> We have already noticed the postulate which underlies this doctrine of infusion, namely, that Christ and His members are so united as to form mystically *una persona*.<sup>2</sup>

4. The difficult subject of Christ's human knowledge is approached in *quæst.* 9. As man, Christ possessed a knowledge distinct from that which was His as Son of God. His human knowledge was twofold: *infusa scientia* and *scientia acquisita*; the *infusa scientia* was however, though perfect in its kind, subject to creaturely limitations; it could not therefore comprehend the Divine essence, but only what actually is, has been, or will be, in the universe;<sup>3</sup> the *scientia acquisita* was that experimental knowledge which Christ, as man, arrived at by use of His reasoning faculties.<sup>4</sup> Only by the *scientia beata*, which is proper to His higher nature, did Christ comprehend the essence of Deity.<sup>5</sup>

Was then the soul of Christ omniscient in virtue of the union? Aquinas replies that the soul of Christ knows all actual *effects*, past, present, or to come; for all things are subject to Him, even as man. But He does not know all things which are *in potentia*, *nunquam reducenda vel reducta in actum*. In a word, He knows all that God actually brings, or purposes to bring, into existence; He does not, as man, know all that is possible for Divine power to effect.<sup>6</sup> In virtue then of the *scientia beata* the Son of God knows all things, even the Divine essence. In virtue of *scientia infusa* He knows intuitively all that can be known by men (*quæ-*

<sup>1</sup> iii. 8. 1 and 5. On the connection between Aquinas and Peter Lombard, see Dorner, *div. ii. vol. i. pp. 355 ff.*

<sup>2</sup> iii. 19. 4.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 9. 3; 10. 1.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 9. 4.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 9. 4 resp.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 10. 2.

*cunq̄ue pertinent ad scientias humanas*), and all that by revelation is actually made known to them;<sup>1</sup> consequently there was no room in the soul of Christ for hesitancy in regard to any actual choice of means.<sup>2</sup> In virtue of *scientia acquisita* He knew all that can be known through the action of intellectual faculties.<sup>3</sup> He "advanced" in knowledge, not in the sense that His capacity for acquiring it increased, but only in the sense that, in proportion to His growth, "He wrought works which displayed greater wisdom and grace."<sup>4</sup>

It is worth while to notice in connection with this mysterious subject the position of some writers of the mystical school. There seems to have been a divergence of view between Richard and Hugh of S. Victor. Richard was by no means satisfied with the "exhibitive" theory of Cyril. Christ, he says, advanced in knowledge. "When the evangelist expressly asserts this, who can dare to deny it?" He concludes that there must have been real advance in experimental knowledge.<sup>5</sup> Hugh frankly adhered to the "exhibitive" theory; Christ is said to have "advanced" *quia hominibus quam ipse habebat (sed latebat) sapientiam et gratiam, prout ratio temporum postulabat, magis semper ac magis aperuit.*<sup>6</sup> The human soul of Christ was omniscient; He was not however as man, very Wisdom itself. He comprehended all things *non in æqualitate naturæ, sed plenitudine gratiæ et unitatis.*<sup>7</sup>

5. Aquinas denies that our Lord's human soul was omnipotent, for omnipotence is inconsistent with the

<sup>1</sup> iii. 11. 1.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 11. 3 ad 1.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 12. 1.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 12. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *de Emman.* lib. ii. 16: "Ab ipso itaque incarnationis exordio experiendo didicit et per experientiam scivit," etc.

<sup>6</sup> *de Sacr.* lib. ii. 6. Hugh also says Christ "learned" in the sense that "quod in excellentia Deitatis expertus non fuit, per inferiorem naturam in usum assumpsit."

<sup>7</sup> *de sap. an. Christi.*

condition of a creature; it could only control material things as the instrument of the Deity. Thus the soul of Christ roused the body from the sleep of death, not by its inherent powers, but *secundum quod erat instrumentum divinitatis*.<sup>1</sup> Further, the soul of Christ was subject to sinless human affections, sorrow, sadness, fear, wonder, anger; but in Him natural passions *neque ad illicita ferebantur, neque rationis iudicium præveniebant, sed secundum illud oriebantur, neque rationem ullo modo impediabant*.<sup>2</sup> In relation to Christ's human will, Aquinas closely follows John Damascene in ascribing ultimate causality to the Divine nature. "The operation which belongs to Christ's human nature," he declares, "in so far as it is the instrument of the Deity, is not other than the operation of His Deity."<sup>3</sup> The human will is in fact twofold: *voluntas naturalis* (θέλησις) and *voluntas rationalis* (βούλησις). There is the natural or sensuous will which, in accordance with the laws of human nature, desires differently from the Divine will, *i.e.* it is directed to different objects; but divergence of this necessary kind does not imply *contrariety*. The natural or sensuous will was, so to speak, ever allowed to act according to its true law by the rational will and by the will of the Deity; it was acting according to its true nature; and consequently there was no *contrariety* of wills in Christ.<sup>4</sup> But in the last resort the Divine will must be regarded as *using* the operation of the human will instrumentally.<sup>5</sup>

The most distinctive points of the Christology of

<sup>1</sup> iii. 12. 1 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 15. 4 ff.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 19. 1.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 18. 6 resp. "Placebat enim Christo secundum divinam voluntatem et etiam secundum voluntatem rationis, ut voluntas naturalis in ipso et voluntas sensualitatis secundum ordinem suæ naturæ moverentur. Unde patet quod in Christo nulla fuit repugnantia vel contrarietas voluntatum."

<sup>5</sup> iii. 19. 1 resp. In 21. 3 Aquinas says that the prayers of Christ, as expressing deliberate voluntatis affectum, were always heard, for they were the utterance of a will always conformed to the will of God.

Thomas have now been stated. It remains however to notice his somewhat peculiar view of the mediatorial office of our Lord. As God, Christ was not mediator, but only as man: for as man He stood, as it were, in a position equidistant between the two extremes that were to be united; "as man, He is distinct from God in nature, and from men in excellence of grace and glory; as man, also, it befits Him to unite men to God, by imparting to men the Divine precepts and gifts, and by making satisfaction and intercession to God on their behalf."<sup>1</sup> This conception of Christ's mediation is in accord with Aquinas' general point of view of the humanity as the recipient of grace.

*Duns Scotus*, starting from the idea of the omnipotence of the Divine will and the predestination of Christ's humanity to a dignity which it only possessed by a *fiat* of Divine good pleasure, yet seems to assign greater ethical significance to Christ's manhood. The soul of Christ possessed not merely a finite, but an infinite capacity for the grace of God. In the incarnate state the Word practised a kind of restraint in order that the human nature might freely determine itself to conformity with the Divine purpose, might really suffer and act in accordance with its true law. There was in Christ something that needed development; something that could co-operate with God, as it were, towards the attainment of the true end of man, *i.e.* his possession or penetration by God. Scotus accordingly had no interest in denying the limitation of Christ's knowledge and power of volition. The two wills, he thought, were so conjoined in Christ's person that while the Divine will was the determining element, the human was so determined by God as to also determine *itself* in the direction of increasing susceptibility to the will and purposes of

<sup>1</sup> iii. 26. 2.

God.<sup>1</sup> Scotus seems to have believed that the impulse to self-determination of this kind was derived by Christ from His mother, the virtue of her obedience being as it were transmitted to Him. The whole theory of Scotus, though coloured by his Pelagian bias, is valuable and suggestive as an attempt to vindicate the relative independence of the manhood in Christ. "To the idea of an exaltation of human nature by grace," says Dorner, "Scotus objects; the supernatural, on the contrary, he regards as the complement of human nature itself; and whereas Thomas thought to do honour to grace by putting in the place of the old something absolutely new, which altogether transcends the limits of human nature; and further, was unable to conceive of man's receptive capacity as other than limited . . . Duns Scotus, on the contrary, lays down the principle that God can only enter into the higher beings in virtue of a capacity in them for receiving the Divine. Nay more, the reception of grace is, in his view, at the same time a development of human capacities; the nature of man being, in its final roots, supernatural, and his destination God. He further teaches that the vitality or activity of this capacity must bear proportion to the grace which is to be received. In short, since we are intended to receive God, the Infinite, the soul must possess an infinite capacity; although this infinite capacity can only be developed gradually and co-operate towards the impletion of itself with God."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. i. p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> *Person of Christ*, div. ii. vol. i. p. 343. Cp. the maxim *Gratia naturam non tollit sed perficit*.

**PART IX**

## CHRISTOLOGY DURING THE REFORMATION PERIOD

### § I. The Reformation ; the influence of Luther.

Anti-Trinitarian reaction.

1. Servetus.
2. Scrinus.

### § II. Christology of the Lutheran Church.

Christology of Luther.

- (1) Controversy as to the ubiquity of Christ's human nature.

Difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed

- (2) The question as to the *Kenosis*.  
The theologians of Giessen and Tübingen.

### § III. Christology of Richard Hooker.

Conclusion.

## § I. THE REFORMATION; THE INFLUENCE OF LUTHER

The following brief survey of the Christological controversies of the Reformation period is merely intended to serve as an introduction to the study of Hooker's careful statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation in the fifth book of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

It must be observed at the outset that the reformers did not apparently make it their main object to systematise Christian doctrine; their efforts were prompted by the practical desire to return to the principles of primitive Christianity. In many respects the Reformation may be called an "old catholic" movement; but its religious centre and core was the endeavour to restore to its rightful position in Christian practice and thought the system of S. Paul; it was in a real sense a restoration of Pauline Christianity. "The living faith in God, who for Christ's sake and in Christ proclaims to the guilty and despairing soul *Salus tua Ego sum*; the sure confidence that God is a being on whom one may rely,—this was Luther's message to Christendom."<sup>1</sup> Luther did indeed restore to Christendom the sovereign significance of the historical person of Christ, obscured as it actually was in the popular mind by an immense formal system of mediation. He recalled men's minds from a false to a true conception of faith; from blind and mechanical reliance on a complex system to simple trust in a living person, the Divine Christ. Through this faith in redemption Luther "rose above the dualism which had held sway during the Middle Ages; and the deathblow was thus given to the alternation between a physical and magical view of grace on the one hand and a Pelagian subjectivity on the other."<sup>2</sup> He revived in men's hearts the consciousness of their personal relation to Christ, not

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogm.* § 78.      <sup>2</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 58.

only as Judge but as Saviour. He himself did not deny the greatness of his debt to the nobler mysticism of the preceding age; but his work was to translate his own experiences into popular language—to put within the reach of the multitude of Christian people the idea of living faith as a personal possession and treasure, bringing the soul into direct contact with the Redeemer.

The Reformation then grew out of the profound consciousness in a few powerful minds of the widespread spiritual needs of the time, and of the failure of the Church system, as it actually existed under men's eyes, to satisfy these needs. But before long each great section into which Christendom became divided was compelled to define its position and relation to other bodies; controversies necessarily arose which led to the formulation of doctrine and to systematic statements on the various points in dispute. Even in the Lutheran Church, which may be said to have originated in a conscious revolt against scholasticism, the scholastic and mystical tendencies presently reappeared. Accordingly a large mass of symbolic writings and confessions soon became current; and even the Roman Church, confronted by the new Protestantism, was forced to examine, and so far as was necessary restate, her principles in opposition to the demands of the Reformers.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the dogmatic rigorism of the Protestant Churches led to the organisation of numerous types of opinion outside their pale, and these practically defied all attempts at comprehension. In

<sup>1</sup> The Council of Trent lasted from 1545 to 1563. After the Council various Jesuit writers made the defence of the Tridentine theology the work of their lives, e.g. R. Bellarmine (d. 1621), considered to be the best controversial writer of his age, Dion. Petavius (d. 1652), J. Maldonatus (d. 1583), F. Suarez (d. 1617). Jansenism was an Augustinian movement within the Roman Church. Mysticism had its representatives in C. Borromeo (d. 1584), F. de Sales (d. 1622), Mich. Molinos (d. 1696).

regard however to Christology there was a general agreement among all the larger sections of the Church, and accordingly even the great antithesis between Romanism and Protestantism is relatively unimportant for our present purpose. Speaking broadly, the doctrine of the Trinity, and that of the two natures in Christ, remained unaffected by the fierce conflicts of opinion on minor points. Rome in her practical system, and the Reformed Churches with conscious dependence on Scripture, adhered to the received doctrine of the Incarnation. But very early in the history of the Reformation certain types of error appeared which questioned this fundamental truth. These it may be well to investigate first.

1. The name of *Michael Servetus* (d. 1553) is unhappily notorious as one of the many victims of the spirit of persecution which in the sixteenth century possessed Romanists and Protestants alike. There can be little doubt that leaders of opinion on both sides were equally alarmed at the evident reaction against Trinitarian doctrine which set in simultaneously with the liberation of intellect from the authority of the mediæval Church. Anti-Trinitarian thinkers appeared on the scene—men who, regarding the Reformation on its intellectual side as a movement of enfranchisement from old superstitions, displayed a rationalistic tendency to revise not merely the system of the Church but its fundamental dogmas also. This mode of thought assumed different shapes: it appeared in the false spiritualism of the Anabaptists, in the pantheistic Sabellianism of Servetus, and in the formal unitarianism of Socinus. But common to each of these systems was antagonism to the traditional belief of Christendom in regard to the person of Christ. Servetus however may be mentioned as the first systematic thinker who formulated an anti-Trinitarian Christology.

His doctrine was in some respects akin to that of Sabellius; but he distinguished, somewhat after the manner of Marcellus, between the Logos and the Son of God who appeared in time. Starting from the historic figure of Christ the Son of God, Servetus held that He was a man supernaturally born, and allowed that He might be called *Verbum* or *Vox Dei*, not in the sense that He possessed a duality of natures, but merely that in Him the mind of God was revealed, the message of God uttered, the knowledge of God imparted. The "Word of God" is not a distinct person in the Godhead. "The Word" is an abstract phrase denoting the Divine self-revelation in the world, the "utterance" of God; God bringing Himself within the reach of man's faculties. Further, Servetus distinguishes between the *Word* and the *Spirit* of God; the Word is the *self-manifestation* of the Divine essence to the world; the Spirit is the *self-communication* of that essence to human spirits. Both movements in God are simultaneous: *prodebat cum sermone spiritus, Deus loquendo spirabat*; but in the abstract they can be considered as distinct.<sup>1</sup> Both are only aspects or modes of Divine activity.<sup>2</sup> Since then God communicates Himself through and in Christ, Christ is a mode of the Divine essence, revealing itself to finite spirits human and angelic. Accordingly no interval is to be supposed between the "generation of the Son" and the human birth of Christ; the *generatio carnis* and the *prölatio verbi* are two names for one and the same fact. The inner thought of God, the idea of the universe became manifest at the Incarnation; then first did it

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Hist. of Christ. Dogmas*, ii. p. 648.

<sup>2</sup> "Tres sunt, non aliqua rerum in Deo distinctione, sed per Dei *oikonomia* variis Deitatis formis; nam eadem Divinitas quæ est in Patri communicatur filio Jesu Christo et spiritui nostro, qui est templum Dei viventis" (ap. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 262, note 2). "Sermoni et Spiritus erat eadem substantia sed modus diversus" (Neander, p. 649).

attain actuality. For the eternal idea of the universe included the archetypal manhood of Jesus Christ; the Word attained to personal subsistence in Him.

This conception of Christ need not detain us. It is not indeed without an element of grandeur; for the human Christ is none other than the manifested substance of God, "whose nature it is to tend towards a limited organised existence as towards a fuller reality."<sup>1</sup> But ultimately the Christological idea of Servetus is non-ethical and even pantheistic. The world is merely the self-realisation of God's thought, and there is nothing to differentiate the mode of the Divine presence in Christ from its mode in every human soul. The spirit of man is the temple of God.<sup>2</sup> Nay, all things are *ex substantia Dei*, and Christ differs from other creatures merely in the accident of His supernatural birth and His sinless character. It is enough to observe that some elements in the system are akin to Neoplatonism; and its tendency is towards the denial of distinct personality even in the Godhead, of which the Word and Spirit are the self-manifestation.

2. We also meet with indications of a return to a kind of Arian subordinatianism among some of those who rejected the doctrine of the Church,<sup>3</sup>—a conception of Christ as the minister and messenger of the Father; but in Socinianism we find a definite return to the old unitarianism of the Nazarenes, Christ being regarded as an inspired or deified man, and the Holy Ghost merely a Divine energy or operation. *Laelius Socinus* (d. 1562) was a priest of Siena,

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> "Sunt enim Filius et sanctificatus spiritus noster consortes substantiæ Patris, membra, pignora, et instrumenta, licet varia sit in iis Deitatis species" (Hagenbach, *l.c.*).

<sup>3</sup> *e.g.* in Campanus; see Neander, *op. cit.* p. 646.

whose nephew, *Faustus Socinus* (d. 1604), elaborated the system which is connected with his name. It would seem that Faustus arrived at his peculiar tenets through the study of Scripture with an interest mainly juristic; he was anxious to discover the principles of right which lay at the root of legal equity, and a cold intellectualism naturally inclined him to low and one-sided views of Christ's person. He was equally hostile to the Arian and to the Nicene doctrine, since both maintained the existence of a pre-existent being in the incarnate Christ. Socinus' view may be roughly described as closely akin to that of Paul the Samosatene: Christ is the Logos in the sense that through Him God reveals His will; He may be called "God" in virtue of the authority committed to Him to reveal the Divine mind.

The Christ then of Socinus is a man supernaturally begotten, and endowed with special powers by God with a view to an authoritative revelation of the Divine will. He is the "mediator" between God and man. The passages in the New Testament referring to the Logos were explained by Socinus to relate to the predestined work of the Redeemer as the author of the new moral creation. He also held that Christ, during His earthly life, was occasionally caught up into heaven, and honoured with Divine communications.<sup>1</sup> Other supernatural events in the human life of our Lord he frankly accepted; he believed in the resurrection and ascension, and acknowledged the supernatural birth. Christ was, in a word, a perfect man, in whom human nature was exalted to the dignity of Godhead; and Socinus allowed that he might be truly worshipped in accordance with the express command of God; to Him, as the possessor of delegated power, prayer might be lawfully

<sup>1</sup> So he explained S. Jo. vi. 38. Such things, he said, were not recounted in the Gospels because they were never actually witnessed.

addressed.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Christ was *actually God*, in the sense that He was allowed to exercise the delegated power of God and to participate in His Divine life.<sup>2</sup> But Christ was not *ex essentia Dei genitus*; and the Holy Spirit was only a name for the sanctifying energy of God. According to the *Racovian Catechism*, those who hold the catholic doctrine of the Trinity "gravely err therein, by alleging arguments drawn from the Scriptures misunderstood."<sup>3</sup>

Socinus denied that Christ was a mere man (*purus et vulgaris homo*), but only on the ground that from the moment of His conception He was the son of God, since He had no father except God.<sup>4</sup> But in spite of its supra-naturalistic colouring, the theory of Socinus is simply rationalistic or humanitarian; and his view of Christ accords entirely with his conception of religion in general, and of redemption in particular. He defines Christian religion as follows—"Heavenly doctrine teaching us the true way of arriving at eternal life; and this way is nothing else than obedience to God, according to the precepts He has given to us through Jesus Christ our Lord."<sup>5</sup> To this "didactic" view of Christ's life corresponds his theory of the Atonement. Socinus denied any objective element of satisfaction in the death of Christ; that death was merely designed for instruction and example: it was nothing more than a powerful seal or confirmation of Christ's teaching, and of the Divine

<sup>1</sup> This point gave natural offence to strict Unitarians (like F. Davidis), who held that the worship of a man was illogical and profane. Cp. Winer, *Comparative View of Doctrines and Confessions, etc.* (Eng. tr.), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> There is a secondary sense of *Deus*, "cum eum denotat, qui potestatem aliquam sublimem ab uno illo Deo habet aut deitatis unius illius Dei aliqua ratione particeps est . . . Et hac quidem posteriore ratione filius Dei vocatur Deus in quibusdam Scripture locis." *Cat. Racov.* 32 (ap. Hagenbach, § 262, note 4).

<sup>3</sup> ap. Winer, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 128 nota

forgiveness which He offered, and a strong incentive to departure from sin. The sufferings of Christ were necessary, partly as an example of faithful obedience, partly as a discipline in sympathy, partly as a confirmation of God's promises. They also formed a preliminary stage in Christ's glorification, His resurrection being the moment of His exaltation to heavenly dignity, setting a seal, as it were, to man's hopes of eternal life.<sup>1</sup>

Here, then, we have the meagre view of Christ's person and work, which at different stages in the history of our doctrine has tended to reappear: a view according to which the essential point in Christ's work is His prophetic mission to be a teacher of Divine truth and pure morality. His death only ministers to this, His real work, as a signal element in His example. He showed to man the way of reconciliation with God; and the love which He manifested in His passion was a mighty incentive to conversion; but all elements of mystery—all ideas as to the necessity of an objective work of grace in order to redeem the world—are banished from Socinus' system. He rejected entirely the thought of Christ's high-priestly work, and it is obvious to remark that this negative feature in his system was connected with an entire absence of any deep sense of human sin and guilt. Christianity is nothing more to Socinus than the publication, by precept and example, of a perfect moral law. Christ is, at best, "a saint and the viceroy of God."<sup>2</sup> A real incarnation of God, on Socinus' principles, is impossible, the Divine essence being by its very idea incommunicable;<sup>3</sup> at best there is a certain

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Cat. Racov.* p. 284, in Winer, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Christ was not begotten *ex essentia Patris* . . . eo quod sit *impartibilis* essentia divina; . . . adde quod essentia divina sit una numero ac proinde *incommunicabilis*. *Cat. Racov.* p. 58 (ap. Winer, p. 64).

moral relation established between God and man, by means of the transference or delegation to Christ of Divine prerogatives.<sup>1</sup> The Socinian conception of God is limited by the metaphysical assumption that there is a necessary and fundamental opposition between a finite and an infinite nature; no real possibility of the infinite communicating itself to the finite. Socinianism fell into an old mistake—the error of overlooking the fact that in His inmost essence God is not infinitude, or bare power, or mere being, but love; and that love is the link between the finite and the infinite.

## § II. CHRISTOLOGY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

The Christology of the Lutheran Church next engages our attention. Concerning Luther himself, it is sufficient to remember that his entire system is "Christocentric." His reformation started with the recognition of Christ as the sufficient and only mediator. He adhered tenaciously enough to the existing theology of the two natures, but his conception of the union was coloured by his own personal religious experience; he was deeply imbued with the idea of the susceptibility of human nature to the Divine, and conversely he believed "that the Divine nature, owing to the power exercised over it by love, not only presented no hindrance to a union of natures in the person of Christ, but was able to possess, and to be conscious of, all that is purely human as its own."<sup>2</sup> Luther, in fact, perhaps as the outcome of his monastic training, combined the accepted doctrine of Christ's person with the mystical ideas which he derived from such writings as the *Deutsche Theologie*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> First published with a preface by Luther himself in 1516. He says, "Next to the Bible and S. Augustine, I do not know of any book from

Love—self-surrender—this is the link or point of connection between Deity and manhood, the Divine ever enlarging its self-communication according to the measure of human receptivity. In Christ the love of God towards man first attained its absolute goal; the manhood assumed by the Son of God is that which makes a perfect response to Divine love.

Accordingly Luther found no difficulty in the received doctrine of the Church. The inseparable union of the Divine with the human nature, and the consequences that seemed necessarily to flow therefrom: the *communicatio idiomatum*, the ascription to God of human experiences, birth, suffering, and death—these are characteristic theses with Luther.<sup>1</sup> He laid equal stress on the reality of man's exaltation in Christ. The exalted Christ in heaven, uniting in His own person Deity and glorified humanity, was "the sun of the world," the central object of religious contemplation and devotion.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it seems to have been his habit of thought in regard to Christ's humanity which determined the nature of the controversy which agitated his successors—the dispute as to the mode and degree in which the exalted Christ exercised the Divine attributes. He regarded the Eucharist, for instance, as the occasion of a presence—the presence of the exalted and glorified Christ, bringing in His train and imparting along with Himself all the blessings earned for man by His earthly life and work.<sup>3</sup> He insisted that in the sacrament there is an actual reception of the glorified body and blood of Christ, present in the elements, and was thus led

which I have learnt, or would wish to learn, more of what God, Christ man, and all things are" (Hagenbach, § 153, note 9).

<sup>1</sup> See some quotations in Hagenbach, § 266, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 121; see also Hagenbach, § 259.

to insist upon the ubiquitarian theory which to the Reformed Churches became a matter of such sharp controversy.

In this dispute we may for convenience' sake distinguish two stages. (1) The question of the blessed Sacrament naturally arose first; it was inevitable that the central act of Christian worship, around which so many abuses had actually gathered, should attract the early attention of the Reformers. It disclosed a deeply-rooted difference between the followers of Luther and Calvin in regard to the relation of the two natures in Christ. Luther clung to the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*,—the inseparable cohesion of the two natures in Christ, the "permeation" of the human by the Divine; and from this mode of thought seemed to follow the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human body. "Wherever God is," said Luther in effect, "there must needs be present the humanity of Christ." Brenz and Melancthon followed Luther in teaching that the human nature of Christ was unconditionally capable of being omnipresent, and therefore present in the Sacrament. The Lutheran *Formula Concordiæ* (1577) says: *Christus . . . revera omnia implet et ubique non tantum ut deus verum etiam ut homo præsens dominatur et regnat a mari ad mare, etc. . . . Ex hac communicata sibi divina virtute homo Christus, juxta verba Testamenti sui, corpore et sanguine suo in sacra cœna, ad quam nos verbo suo ablegat, præsens esse potest, et revera est.*<sup>1</sup> Here the power of Christ is made a determining factor; the Divine nature in virtue of the *communicatio idiomatum* imparts its attributes to the human nature, but the exercise of these is dependent on the Divine will of the Son. On the other hand, Zwingli

<sup>1</sup> ap. Winer, *Comparative View, etc.*, p. 119. The Lutherans referred specially to S. Jo. vi. 53f.; cp. i. 14, v. 27; S. Mt. xxviii. 18; Phil. ii. 9, 10; Col. ii. 9.

and Calvin, while adhering to the doctrine of the two natures, insisted that such "communication" of Divine attributes was impossible in so far as it contradicted the necessary limitations of a true human nature. By its glorification the nature of Christ's human body was not abolished; at the ascension it was made illustrious, glorious, immortal, but it still remained subject to the limitations of humanity. The human body of the Saviour could no longer be present corporeally on earth; it could not be omnipresent; it remains locally present in heaven alone.<sup>1</sup> The Lutherans appeared to the Reformed to teach a Eutychian confusion of natures. "Our adversaries," says one document, "in attributing some Divine properties to man and some human properties to God, confound the natures; and in their withdrawal of some properties they dissolve the unity of Christ's person."<sup>2</sup> In Zwingli's view, the *communicatio* was only nominal; the scriptural passages on which the Lutherans relied were merely figurative.<sup>3</sup> For instance, the words *My flesh is meat indeed* are to be explained to mean, My Divine nature is the food of the soul; the word "flesh" being used *per commutationem* to denote the Deity in Christ. The divergence between these two types of thought is interesting if we regard it as a modern reappearance of the old controversy between the schools of Antioch and Alexandria. The Lutheran view is akin to that of Cyril and his successors; the Reformed insist, after the manner of the Antiochenes, on the fundamental contrast between Divine and human nature. They hold that the attri-

<sup>1</sup> See passages from Reformed confessions in Winer, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Winer, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Zwingli uses the term *ἀλλοίωσις* (an expression borrowed from rhetoric) as conveying the idea that the interchange of attributes is only figurative and nominal. He explains it thus: "*desultus vel transitus ille, aut si mavis permutatio qua de altera in Christo natura loquentes alterius vocibus utimur.*" (Winer, p. 123.)

butes of Deity can only be so far imparted to humanity as the limits of its finitude allow. To them the Incarnation is an exinanition of Deity—a Divine Being “emptying Himself,” and submitting to the limitations of creaturely life; to the Lutherans it is the exaltation of human nature, in the person of the Logos, into the conditions of the Divine life. In their view the Incarnation implies a real self-communication of Deity to a nature ethically capable of receiving it.<sup>1</sup> The practical consequences which resulted from these distinct types of Christology, in regard to the nature of the Eucharistic presence, do not concern us; but some idea will have been given of the state of the controversy when Hooker devoted his attention to it.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The later stage of the Christological controversies which divided the Reformed Churches began early in the seventeenth century, when the question of the *status exinanitionis* came to the front. The point in dispute was analogous to that involved in the sacramental controversy, and divided into two opposed schools the theologians of Giessen (Menzer and Feuerborn), and those of Tübingen (Osiander and Thummius). Both sides agreed in acknowledging the reality of the *communicatio idiomatum*; they differed in regard to the conditions under which the Divine attributes were exercised by Christ in His manhood. Did He voluntarily *lay aside* those attributes, or use them only in certain cases? or did He always possess, but *conceal* them? The Giessen theologians, who accepted the former of these possible alternatives, were known as *Kenotiker* (*κένωσις*); the

<sup>1</sup> “Ad recte declarandam majestatem Christi vocabula (de reali communicatione) usurpavimus ut significaremus communicationem illam vere et reipsa, sine omni tamen naturarum et proprietatum essentialium confusione, factam esse.” *Form. Conc.* p. 778, ap. Winer, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> The fifth book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* was published in 1597; Hooker's life extended from 1554–1600.

Tübingen divines, who held the latter view, were styled *Kryptiker* (κρύφεις).<sup>1</sup>

Both schools of thought approach the question on the basis of the *Formula of Concord* between the Suabian and Saxon Churches, composed in 1577. The most salient Christological feature of this document was its insistence on the *communicatio naturarum*, in virtue of which the Divine nature appropriates the human with its incidental weaknesses, and the Divine attributes communicate themselves to the human nature; by the very fact of the hypostatic union, the "majesty of God" becomes the possession of the humanity, and the person of the Logos supplies personality to the manhood. The Formula waives the difficulties which had been raised by those Reformed theologians who urged the essential limitations of the finite nature, and simply declares that human nature in Christ was "capable" of receiving the Divine attributes (*proprietas*). The relation of the natures is illustrated by the ancient simile of heated iron.

The merits or demerits of this document, regarded as a compromise, need not detain us. In the main it favoured the view that the humanity of Christ, from the first moment of its existence, entered into possession of the Divine attributes, omnipresence and omniscience. The point to be observed is that the document makes dogmatic statements as to the effect of the union, which inevitably provoked further controversy, and indeed seem virtually to dissolve the distinction of natures in Christ's person. The fundamental assumption is made that in the moment of the union a plenary communication took place of the Divine attributes; a kind of deification or conversion of manhood into Deity, which robbed the former of its characteristic elements—

<sup>1</sup> A list of works on either side is given by Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. note 38 (p. 422).

the possibility of development, limitations of knowledge, etc. Such an assumption would seem to lead logically to a docetic view of the manhood, and it is rooted in an imperfect anthropology—a defective insight into the ethical laws of human growth and perfection.<sup>1</sup> We must understand however that this assumption underlay the reasoning of both sides in the Giessen-Tübingen controversy: “the presupposition that the entire fulness of the Divine majesty communicated itself to the humanity of Jesus in the very first moment of His life.”<sup>2</sup> It is this questionable premiss that gives a somewhat artificial and academic character to the dispute, which is also marked by a tendency to fall back on a non-ethical conception of the Divine nature and attributes: as though the essential and determining elements in Godhead were majesty, omniscience, and omnipresence. The same evangelical portrait of Christ lay before each school, but it was very differently interpreted: the Giessen theologians insisting on the distinctness of the two successive phases or stages in the life,—the humiliation and the glory; while the Tübingen thinkers regarded the two stages as necessarily simultaneous states, and thereby landed themselves in a tissue of contradictions. Both schools made the fundamental mistake of substituting *a priori* argument for devout study of the scriptural image of Christ.

The Giessen divines were oppressed by the difficulties involved in the doctrine of Christ’s omnipresence as man. They distinguished between two *stadia* in the life of Christ: the stage of exinanition, during which the Logos remained in a state of quiescence, allowing to the manhood the potency and possession, but not the actual use or exercise (except on rare occasions) of the Divine attributes omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence. In this

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 296.

quiescence consisted the *κένωσις* of the Logos. In the exalted state, however, when the process of Christ's human development had been completed by the ascension, He entered as man on the free use of the Divine attributes (*plena usurpatio*). It was naturally objected to this view that the distinctness of operations, human and Divine, which it postulated, the severance of the world-governing and omnipresent Logos from the lowly humanity following its own natural course of development, was fatal to the unity of the person. Further, if (as was alleged) the Divine attributes were really imparted to the manhood, in what sense could they be regarded as "quiescent," seeing that they must necessarily be conceived as ever *in actu*? The difficulties however of the theory need not blind us to its merit: it was an honest attempt to recognise the reality of our Lord's human development—the contrast between the historic conditions of His earthly life and the subsequent state of glory into which He entered at the ascension.

The school of Tübingen regarded the distinction between these two states as a difference between the concealment (*κρύψις*) and the exercise of Divine attributes, which as the immediate result of the union necessarily passed over to the humanity. The self-communication of the Logos must be conceived as complete from the beginning; and the humanity as present and co-operating with the Logos in all His activities. The state of exaltation thus subsisted simultaneously with that of exinanition. Christ was at once omniscient, yet in a state of advancing knowledge; omnipotent, yet subject to human weakness; omnipresent, yet circumscribed in space. These divines even went so far as to maintain that the body of Christ, while lying dead in the grave, was, in virtue of its union with the Logos, full of life and energy, taking its share

in the government of the world. To this position they were led by the principle with which they started—the absolute unity and identity of the person resulting from the union of natures; but their solution of the Christological problem was no more successful than that of their opponents. If the divines of Giessen destroyed the unity of Christ's person, those of Tübingen virtually annihilated the truth of His humanity. Some later Lutheran theologians perceived the insurmountable difficulties of either theory, and the necessity of revising and restricting the doctrine of the *communicatio*; but it is difficult to point to any productive result of the thorny controversy. In days when questions relating to the *status exinanitionis* are again attracting attention, it is well to take warning from the failures of the Lutheran scholastics, and to bear steadily in mind the real source of their mistakes.<sup>1</sup>

### § III. CHRISTOLOGY OF RICHARD HOOKER

*Richard Hooker* is the most prominent representative of Anglican orthodoxy at the close of the sixteenth century. His famous statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation<sup>2</sup> is introduced incidentally in connection with the discussion of the sacraments. He teaches that sacraments are "instruments" by which the Divine life is imparted to the soul, and the actual means of its re-creation. They have, he says, "generative force and virtue." His leading idea is that the sacraments impart to us the life-giving properties of Christ's humanity, our life supernatural consisting in an immediate union of the soul with God. In order that sacraments may be endured

<sup>1</sup> For an account and criticism of the Lutheran Christology, see Dr. A. B. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, chaps. iii. and iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Eccl. Pol.* bk. v. §§ 50-56.

with this life-giving efficacy, two preliminary conditions are necessary: the humanity of Christ must be permanently united to His one Divine person; and it must be communicable to us. The Incarnation is accordingly treated by Hooker with this practical consideration in view (ch. l.).

In ch. li. 1 the doctrine of the Trinity is stated. Perhaps the insistence on the distinctions between the Divine Persons is somewhat over-emphatic, but it is qualified by a later passage (lvi. 2), in which it is explained that "distinction cannot possibly admit separation."<sup>1</sup>

Hooker proceeds to state the doctrine of the Incarnation with admirable precision. He inclines to the "Thomist" view that the Incarnation was contingent upon the Fall, and follows Athanasius and Aquinas in the view that "the institution and restitution" of the world were fittingly accomplished by the same natural mediator between God and His creatures. The Incarnation was necessary in the sense that any other mode of salvation was "impossible, it being presupposed that the will of God was no otherwise to have it saved than by the death of His own Son."

In ch. lii. Hooker points out the tendency of heresy to give expositions of the Christian faith "more plain than true," aiming at logical completeness, and thereby simplifying mystery at the expense of some essential element of truth. Then follows a description of the heresies of Arius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, which calls for no special remark. The positive points insisted upon are as follows:—

(a) The unity of Christ's person, and its consequences.

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable, in connection with Hooker's balanced statement, that the Arminian tendency to press the doctrine of the Son's subordination (see Hagenbach, § 262, note 5; Dorner, div. ii. vol. ii. pp. 349 ff.) found favour among later English theologians. Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Creed* (1680) is a vindication of the doctrine; the revived Arianism of Samuel Clarke was an exaggeration of it.

A Divine Being took human nature and *dwelt in us, i.e.* in "that nature which is common unto all," not in an individual *person*, "for then should that one have been advanced and no more." The Son of God is the subject who acts and suffers; the assumed nature is that which makes His person capable of receiving human attributes; and "the infinite worth of the Son of God is the very ground of all things believed concerning life and salvation," imparting infinite merit to all that He does or suffers on man's behalf.

(b) The duality and distinctness of the natures. Eutyches denied the permanence of the manhood; the "difference which still continueth" between the natures. They are never confused, though "for ever inseparable." "The very person of Christ therefore," says Hooker carefully, "for ever one and the self-same, was only *touching bodily substance* concluded within the grave, His soul only from thence severed; but by personal union His Deity still unseparably joined with both."

In ch. liii. the consequences of the union of natures are further developed. There is "no *abolishment* of natural properties appertaining to either substance, no *transition* or *transmigration* thereof out of one substance into another, finally no such mutual *infusion*, as really causeth the same natural operations or properties to be made common unto both substances." But positively, the utmost that can be said in regard to the relation between the natures is that "of both natures there is a *co-operation* often, an *association* always, but never any mutual *participation* whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other." In virtue of the perpetual *association* of the natures an interchange of attributes is possible; in such "cross and circulatory speeches"<sup>1</sup> we

<sup>1</sup> Hooker is as yet speaking only of a verbal *communicatio idiomatum*. Cp. Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. 4, notes 58 and 59; and see below, p. 592.

are to understand always the whole *person of Christ* in whom both natures are united. The converse truth is also to be guarded, namely, that what belongs essentially to one nature may not be predicated in the abstract of the other. Thus Divine nature is not capable of death; human nature "admitteth not" ubiquity.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The relation of the two natures (ch. liv.). Hooker's general view is in accord with that of Aquinas: Christ as man is a recipient of grace; but also in one respect as God.

(a) Christ is a "receiver" in respect of the Divine substance. By "the gift of eternal generation" He has received the Divine substance,—“one and in number the self-same substance, which the Father hath of Himself unreceived from any other.” This gift is bestowed “naturally and eternally, not by way of benevolence and favour”; and in this respect is distinguished from the other gifts.

(b) In respect of His manhood, as *homo singularis* Christ receives the gift of union with Deity: a gift by which the manhood which He had assumed was exalted, enriched, and its condition advanced, without abolition of its substance. The union, says Hooker, “doth add perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no alteration at all.” The only thing attained by the Divine person who became incarnate “was to be capable of loss and detriment for the good of others.”<sup>2</sup> So far indeed by

<sup>1</sup> Here Hooker rejects the later Lutheran doctrine that even before the exaltation the manhood of Christ was ubiquitous.

<sup>2</sup> Hooker differs from Aquinas in holding (with Augustine) that the *nature* of God in the person of the Son took human nature; “Incarnation may neither be granted to any person but only one, nor yet denied to that nature which is common unto all three” (li. 2); Aquinas maintains that the person of the Son, and not the Divine nature, became incarnate, and bestowed Divine graces on the nature assumed. He allows, indeed, that “*secundario potest dici quod etiam natura assumpsit naturam ad sui*

becoming incarnate the Word has some change in regard to "the manner of subsistence," while yet continuing in all essential properties what He ever was. And the manhood of Christ experiences glorious effects from its copulation with Deity; it is deified by the communication of supernatural gifts and graces; it is the possessor of unique and incommunicable dignities and excellences; it shares in the exercise of Divine power and the reception of Divine praise.

(c) In respect of the nature He shares with us Christ receives "the grace of unction." Hooker considers the grace of unction only as it affects Christ Himself, not as it overflows to His members. So far as the limitations of its proper nature will allow, our manhood is in Him "replenished with all such perfections as the same is any way apt to receive." The manhood of Christ is in every way heightened and exalted by the union, like a red-hot sword which both cuts and burns; but the infusion of Divine graces and attributes is limited partly by the actual capacities of human nature, partly by "the exigence of that economy or service" for which the Son of God became man.<sup>1</sup> Can then the manhood be endued with *omniscience* or *omnipresence*? Hooker answers that the powers of Christ's human soul were illuminated by its conjunction with Deity, and it was "of necessity endued with knowledge so far forth universal, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself." Again, there was imparted to the human body in its glorified state the gift of incorruption, "vital efficacy," and "celestial power," but "a body still it continueth, a body consub-personam" (*Summa*, iii. 3. 2); but he wishes to exclude the idea that the Father or Spirit became man, as touching their nature. Cp. *Dorner*, *div. ii. vol. i. p. 331*.

<sup>1</sup> "For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mystical administration did require which He voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either restrain or enlarge themselves" (*liv. 6*).

stantial with our bodies, a body of the same both nature and measure which it had on earth."

Hooker devotes a separate section (ch. lv.) to the question which Lutheran theology had raised as to the *omnipresence* of Christ's human body. In effect his teaching is as follows. Christ is essentially present with all things as God, but not as man; omnipresence does not agree with the essence of humanity. But since the ascension, as the result of its complete spiritualisation, the manhood of the Redeemer is capable of being made present wheresoever He wills, in virtue of its conjunction with Deity. Christ as man, with soul and body, is in heaven; but "in some sense," "after a sort," He is omnipresent as man, "by being nowhere severed from that which everywhere is present." "Presence by way of conjunction is in some sort presence." So in regard to the mode of Christ's bodily presence Hooker says: "Albeit therefore nothing be actually infinite in substance but God only in that He is God; nevertheless as every number is infinite by possibility of addition, and every line by possibility of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the sacrificed body of Christ, it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is also itself *infinite in possibility of application.*"<sup>1</sup>

The same consideration, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to the attribute of *omnipotence*. Christ exercises government over the world "both as God and as man; as God by essential presence with all things, as man by co-operation with that which essentially is present"; for

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hugo de S. Vict. *de Sacr.* ii. 12: "Christus . . . ubique per id quod Deus est, in cælo autem per id quod homo. Secundum hanc formam non est putandum ubique diffusus; cavendum est enim ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis ut veritatem corporis auferamus. . . . Ubi que [Christum] non dubites esse totum presentem tanquam Deum . . . et in loco aliquo cæli propter veri corporis modum."

“by knowledge and assent the soul of Christ is present with all things which the Deity of Christ worketh.”

The merit of this mode of treatment is obvious. It avoids over-insistence upon a *priori* considerations; it leaves unexplored what must from the nature of the case be mysterious and even insoluble; it suggests the important point that the mode and conditions of the *status exinanitionis* depended upon the “exigence of the economy,” as to which we have no faculties enabling us to determine with any certainty what was essential and what non-essential; lastly, it assigns due supremacy to the determining element of will, as the main factor in the self-humiliation of the Word.

In ch. lvi. the manner of our participation in Christ is discussed. The doctrine of the second Adam is the basis of the argument. Incorporated into “that society which hath Him for their Head,” the faithful “make together with Him one body.” Christ is the source of life to the body; His flesh that wherewith He quickens it.<sup>1</sup> “We participate Christ partly *by imputation*, as when those things which He did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for righteousness; partly *by habitual and real infusion*, as when grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our souls and bodies made like unto His in glory.” Hooker means that the righteousness of Christ is “imputed” to us as really belonging to us by virtue of our incorporation into the second Adam. His doctrine of imputation stands in the closest possible connection with that of our mystical union with Christ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 8. 1 ad 1: “Dare gratiam aut Spiritum Sanctum convenit Christo secundum quod est Deus, auctoritative; sed instrumentaliter convenit etiam ei secundum quod est homo; in quantum sollicitet ejus humanitas instrumentum fuit divinitatis eius.”

<sup>2</sup> “Thus we see . . . what communion Christ hath with His Church

"We are adopted sons of God to eternal life by participation of the only begotten Son of God."

Ch. lvii. briefly connects the doctrine of the sacraments with that of the Incarnation. They are "marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ," and "means conditional which God requireth in them unto whom He imparteth grace." Hooker insists that they are not merely physical, but "moral instruments of salvation," their operation being dependent upon worthy and faithful use of them.<sup>1</sup> In baptism Christ is received "once as the first beginner, in the Eucharist often, as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life."

Hooker's fine statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation forms a natural limit to our historical survey,—not because Christology has remained unaffected by the developments of criticism and speculation during the last three centuries, but because the process of catholic definition in regard to the doctrine may be said to have reached its final point at the close of the sixteenth century. The interest of modern times has centred mainly in the historical life of Jesus of Nazareth, the circumstances of His time, and the nature of His teaching.<sup>2</sup> The Socinian view of His person in variously

how His Church and every member thereof is in Him by original derivation, and He personally in them by way of mystical association wrought through the gift of the Holy Ghost" (liv. 13, *s. fin.*).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Bellarm. *de Sac.* ii. 1 (ap. Winer, *Confessions*, etc. p. 244): "Voluntas, fides, et pœnitentia in suscipiente adulto necessario requiruntur ut dispositiones ex parte subjecti, non ut causæ activæ, non enim fides et pœnitentia efficiunt gratiam sacramentalem, neque dant efficaciam sacramenti, sed solum tollunt obstacula quæ impedirent, ne sacramenta suam efficaciam exercere possent, unde in pueris, ubi non requiritur justificatio, sine his rebus fit justificatio." Cp. Hagenbach, § 190, esp. note 7.

<sup>2</sup> A brief sketch of later Christology will be found in Hagenbach, § 299.

modified forms divides the field with the catholic view. The speculative conception of Christ as the embodiment of a great moral idea seems to have given way to a purely humanitarian interest in His life and work; while the mythical theory of His history, as elaborated by Strauss,<sup>1</sup> has been superseded by a rationalistic criticism of the Gospel narratives. Within the Church there seems to be a decided and beneficial tendency to deprecate further definition of the doctrine, and something of "a return to the historical Christ" in the sense that dogmatic statements are more generally tested by the actual evidence of Scripture. The historical and literary criticism of the last fifty years has done valuable service in teaching us the limitations of our speculative faculties in regard to that which must continue to be what it has ever been, the *great mystery of godliness*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 232 f.

**PART X**

## FINAL SYSTEMATIC FORM OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION

- § I. The doctrine of the Trinity and its terminology.
- A. The Unity in Trinity.
  - B. The Trinity in Unity  
The term *Person*.  
*οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*.  
*Substantia* and *Persona*.
  - C. The doctrine of subordination.
  - D. The doctrine of the Divine generation.
- § II. The doctrine of the Incarnation and its terminology.
1. The hypostatic union.
  2. The two natures in one person.  
The term *φύσις*.
  3. The *communicatio idiomatum*.
  4. The Athanasian Creed.
- § III. The doctrine of Christ's Humanity.
1. The perfections of the manhood.
  2. Its limitations.
  3. Christ's temptation.
  4. Christ's mental and moral development.
- § IV. The work of Christ in relation to His person.
1. Christ as Teacher and Example.
  2. Christ our Redeemer: the Atonement.  
Note : Why did not God restore man by mere *fiat*!
  3. Christ the Re-creator of manhood through grace.  
Consummation of the Redeemer's work.

## § I. THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY AND ITS TERMINOLOGY

A distinction is usually recognised between "theology" used in a special or technical sense and "the economy."

*Θεολογία* includes the doctrine of the Divine nature and properties; it deals with that nature and those properties in general (*θεολογία ἡνωμένη*), or with the distinctive attributes of the Divine Persons of the Trinity considered separately (*θεολογία διακεκριμένη*).

*Οἰκονομία* embraces all that relates to the Divine self-revelation or operation as it affects the condition of mankind. Perhaps the complete expression would be that of Gregory of Nyssa, *ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομία* (*Orat. cat.* xx.). The word *οἰκονομία*, "dispensation," is derived from S. Paul (Eph. i. 10), and comes to be employed in a sense practically equivalent to "Incarnation."<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that the connection of this department of truth with the first mentioned is most intimate and essential; it is therefore necessary to review briefly the substance of that which is included under the name *θεολογία*, which in fact for present purposes means the doctrine of the Trinity. From the historic revelation (*οἰκονομία*) we reason back to the essential Trinity; from the self-revelation of God (*τρόπος ἀποκαλίψεως*) to His essential nature (*τρόπος ὑπάρξεως*).

The doctrine of the Trinity emerges necessarily as a consequence of the claims of Christ which confront us in the Gospel. For those claims suggest both to conscience and intellect the problem of the relationship between Jesus Christ and the Father and the Spirit

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Tert. *adv. Prax.* 3, 4; Hippol. *c. Noet.* iii.; Lightfoot on Ignatius, *ad Eph.* c. xviii.; Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 166 note.

who are revealed by Him. In unfolding the nature and attributes of God, He indicates the existence of mutual relations between Himself as sent and the Father who sends; in describing the meaning and issues of His coming and work He imparts a doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Hence we find the apostolic writers, in spite of their earnest monotheism and exalted moral conception of God, habitually co-ordinating Christ with the Father, and the Spirit with both, whether in benedictions or in salutations. Further, the baptismal formula, coupled with the worship of Christ, witnesses to the immemorial belief of Christendom, and forms the basis of the latter dogmatic creeds. It is very important to remind ourselves that it is Christ's own words about Himself which raise the main problems of theology. Even if we were to restrict His self-revelation to the teaching contained in the Sermon on the Mount, we should be nevertheless confronted by questions as to the person and authority of the speaker, which could only be answered by balanced statements of doctrine and the use of theological terms. The claim which Christ makes compels us to think of Him as connected with the Father by no mere moral relationship, like that of an ordinary good man, but by a dynamic unity,—a real unity of essence. And thus God is revealed as a Being within whom subsist relationships and distinctions; His unity is not that of bare and abstract simplicity, but of rich and complex moral life.<sup>1</sup> As Aquinas insists, the actual approach of God to man implied in the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation has brought the Divine Being

<sup>1</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 90: "The unity is not a simplicity, but, as it were, a rich and complex manifold, an absolute which is the home of all relations, a unity which is the bosom of all difference, the source and ground of all variety." Augustine speaks of the Divine substance as "simplex multiplicitas vel multiplex simplicitas" (*de Trin.* vi. 6).

more within the range of human knowledge and contemplation: *ex hoc quod nobis appropinquare voluit per carnis assumptionem, magis nos ad se cognoscendum attraxit.*<sup>1</sup>

In the Old Testament there are, as we have noticed, only scattered hints and tokens of the Christian doctrine of a Trinity. Any premature revelation of it at a time when polytheistic beliefs and practices were rife might have been disastrous to the interests of Divine truth. For it was Israel's special function to guard the doctrine of the Divine unity and transcendence, and so to secure the foundation of that ethical monotheism which the doctrine of a Trinity elucidates and protects. Nevertheless we find described in the Old Testament various manifestations of the one God, which ultimately tend to become limited to two: the Word or Wisdom of God and the Spirit of God. Each seems to be in large measure personified; each is invested with special, constant, and peculiar functions; each is represented as ministering to God the Father, and so far subordinate to Him; yet in each is contained the fulness of Divine prerogatives and powers. The Old Testament thus prepares the way for the solemn formula of baptism, in which the Three Persons of the Godhead are distinctly co-ordinated (S. Mt. xxviii. 19).<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity, it is only necessary to say here that it summarises and expresses in carefully-sifted terms the sense of Scripture. Definitions of faith are sometimes objected to as merely "inferential," as mere "interpretations" of the facts recorded in the Gospels.<sup>3</sup> But such definitions are absolutely inevitable as soon as the faith of the Church

<sup>1</sup> *Summa*, iii. 1. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The doctrine of the Trinity as indicated in Scripture is discussed by Augustine, *de Trin.* lib. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, for an exposition of this idea.

is challenged by philosophical inquiry, and she endeavours to apprehend intellectually a revelation which primarily commends itself to the heart and conscience as spiritual truth, and only secondarily needs expression in abstract terminology. False doctrine leads to the analysis by the Church of her own beliefs, her object being to exclude all erroneous presentation of that which is her treasure, and which she is fain to guard securely from encroachment.

While, however, we are dealing with the scriptural proof of the doctrine, it is important to remember the significance of the moral revelation of God<sup>as</sup> Love. The human intellect, indeed, without actually anticipating the Christian doctrine, is prepared to recognise its harmony with the highest reason. Accordingly, analogies have been found for the possibility of a Trinity in Unity in the facts of human consciousness and personality— analogies which were suggested by the teaching of Plato and his followers, and which have found favour in every age of Church history.<sup>1</sup> It has been increasingly recognised that the mysteries of the Divine existence find their counterpart in man, who is made in the Divine image, and science has made it intelligible that the highest type of life is that which is most highly differentiated. It has also been customary to adduce the many parallels to the Christian doctrine supplied by Oriental religions, which, like the speculations of Greek thought, indicate “necessities of thought which the Christian Godhead satisfied.”<sup>2</sup> But the ground of Trini-

<sup>1</sup> See Plato, *Rep.* ix. 588, etc.; and cp. Augustine, *de Trin.* viii. 10, ix. 2, etc.; *Conf.* xiii. 11; Petav. *de Incarn.* 2. iv. § 3. For a valuable modern analysis of personality in its bearing on the doctrine, see Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, esp. lect. viii. (cp. note 27).

<sup>2</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 396. Dr. Fairbairn well remarks that in Greek speculation we see “thought feeling after some mode of breaking up, as it were, the solitude of Deity, and saving Him from the impotence which clings to a mere isolated absolute.” Thus we may con-

tarian belief is to be found rather in the moral revelation of God. It may be said, in fact, that the Christian doctrine of God has been more intelligently grasped and stated in proportion as metaphysical conceptions have been displaced by ethical ideas. The moral consciousness of man gives us the most trustworthy guidance as to the being and character of God. The doctrine of the Trinity coheres with the revelation of Divine love. Love must imply relationships, and only if there be such internal relationships in God, can we conceive of Him as self-sufficing, as ever-blessed independently of created life. It is significant that Origen, with his abstract monistic idea of God, represented the act of creation as eternal; only so could the idea of self-imparting love be represented as an essential element in the Divine Being. But the doctrine of Divine love at once suggests a life of moral relationships, of communication, reception, and participation. Thus God realises His own personality as loving, in possessing an eternal object of love worthy of Himself,—a coessential and perfect image of Himself; and the life of intercommunion finds its consummation and completeness in a mutual participation by Father and Son in a third Person, who is a supremely worthy object of mutual love, and is the living interpreter of each to other.

Such is the train of thought which we connect chiefly with the name of Augustine,<sup>1</sup> who, by analysing the concept of love, finds an analogy for the notion of a Trinity in Unity. As he tersely summarises the argument, *Trinitatem vides si caritatem vides*. But another theologian is, perhaps, specially conspicuous in connection with this

nect together Plato's *idéai*, the Stoic *λόγος*, and the Gnostic *αὐνοί*. On Oriental religions, see Wordsworth, *Bampton Lectures*, no. ii.

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* esp. vi. 7, viii. 12, ix. 2; *Conf.* xiii. 11, 12. Cp. Sartorius, *Doctrine of Divine Love*, chap. i.; Moberly, *The Atonement and Personality*, p. 171.

doctrine, Gregory of Nyssa, who endeavours to face the problem of distinct personalities within the one Divine essence. The question is why the analysis of human consciousness should suggest the notion of distinct personality? To this Gregory answers by insisting that all relationships within the Deity must be living; and to be living in the highest sense they must be personal. God has life in Himself. All that is included in His Being is and must be life. Accordingly, argues Gregory, the *Logos* in God corresponds to His nature. The *Logos* in man partakes of the transitoriness and nothingness of a mortal nature. But "the immortal and ever-existent nature possesses a *Logos* who is eternal and has personal subsistence"; and if the *Logos* lives, and, indeed, is the Life itself, He must possess will and power to effect His purpose. By the same line of argument Gregory demonstrates the existence of a Spirit in God. In man *πνεῦμα* is the necessary accompaniment of *λόγος*. So in God there is a Spirit inseparable from the *Logos*, which, like the *Logos* itself, exists as a person having will and energy.<sup>1</sup>

It may be said that this reasoning falls far short of the point at which it can be called an ontological proof. But it may be taken as a good illustration of the attempt to grapple with a theological problem which far transcends any power of logical analysis. It must be again repeated that such speculations as those of Augustine and Gregory are only intended to give some form of rational expression to facts which are immediate matters of Christian experi-

<sup>1</sup> See *Cat. orat. mag.* i., ii. *Aug. de Trin.* vi. 7, argues that the Spirit of God being Love is a *substance*, for "God is Love." "If love is not a substance," he asks, "how is God Love?" Cp. vi. 11: "Ubi est prima et summa vita, cui non est aliud vivere et aliud esse, sed idem est esse et vivere: et primus ac summus intellectus, cui non est aliud vivere et aliud intelligere, sed id quod est intelligere, hoc vivere, hoc esse est, unum omnia."

ence; they are attempts to explain intuitions of Christian consciousness, and we have no right to complain if they do not satisfy the critical reason.<sup>1</sup> It will, in short, be understood that while the doctrine of the Trinity seems to satisfy anticipations of the natural reason, it plainly transcends its capacity; while its mystery seems to be reflected in the moral consciousness of man, the existence of different faculties does not carry us all the way to the thought of personal distinctions; finally, while it corresponds, as it certainly does, to the destiny and needs of man, it is altogether independent of human speculation. Thus the distinction usually made between the "Economic Trinity" and the "Trinity of Essence"<sup>2</sup> is of real importance if it be understood to imply that the mode of the Divine existence cannot be explored by our faculties.

The following is a brief summary of the systematic doctrine of the Trinity taught by the Church:—

A. The Unity in Trinity. Christian teachers take as their starting-point the unity of God (*μοναρχία*). There is one and only one Divine essence (*οὐσία, φύσις*), which is indivisible. The entire fulness of the one undivided essence of Godhead, with all its attributes, subsists in each Person of the blessed Trinity.<sup>3</sup> In the phraseology of the two Dionysii, *τριάς εἰς μοναρχίαν συγκεφαλαιούται*. A strong statement of the *μοναρχία* is given by Athanasius, *Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 1. In Augustine's statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, the appearance of tritheism is expressly excluded by the formulæ *non tres Deos sed unum Deum dicimus. . . . Trinitas unus Deus* (*de Trin.* v. 9, 12, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Aug. *de Trin.* ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *τρόπος τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως* and *τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως*. Cp. Martensen, *Dogm.* § 55.

<sup>3</sup> The word *τριάς* is first found in Theophilus, *ad Autol.* ii. 15.

B. The Trinity in Unity. The final form of statement is that in God there is one substance, but three Persons or Hypostases; three modes of subsistence (*τρόποι υπάρξεως*) of the one undivided Divine essence; *μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*.

We should notice at the outset the limitations of the word *person*. Aquinas says that as a term it is "convenient," but cannot be applied to God in the same sense as to creatures, but only in a more transcendent sense (*excellentiōri modo*).<sup>1</sup> As applied to human relations "a person" means a self-conscious, limited, circumscribed, separately-acting being. It is very possible that our use of the term is too rigid, and that we are apt to overrate the *exclusiveness* of personality.<sup>2</sup> The mystery of original sin may well restrain us from over-confident statements on this point. But in relation to the Godhead the term "person" means something between (a) mere manifestation or personation, and (b) the independent, exclusive individuality of a human being.

It is a keen sense of the inadequacy of the expression that leads Augustine to apologise for it. Thus in the *de Trinitate*, v. 10, he observes that human language labours under great difficulty in answering the question, What are the three Divine Persons? *Dictum est tamen tres personæ, non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur*.<sup>3</sup> The fact is, as Augustine remarks, that there is no "special name" that expresses what the Divine Three are (*de*

<sup>1</sup> *Summa*, i. 29. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Strong, *Manual of Theology*, p. 250; Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. pp. 82, 83; Moberly, *The Atonement and Personality*, pp. 119, 156.

<sup>3</sup> *de Trin.* vii. 7, 8, 9, viii. 1, where the same thought is emphatically repeated. Cp. Ric. de S. Victore, *de Trin.* iv. 1: "Non facile capit humana intelligentia, ut possit esse plus quam una persona ubi non est plus quam una substantia . . . Nam si quis velit personæ nomen *sub communi et propria acceptione* intelligere, nullo modo putet plures personas *sub ea acceptione* intellectas posse subsistere in unitate substantiæ."

*Trin.* vii. 7): "the excellency of the Deity surpasses the power of ordinary speech." And whatever the term "person" may imply, Scripture points to certain truths which limit the application and define the sense of the term. For the Persons of the Trinity are described as *mutually inclusive*. We may well believe that in the domain of spirit, distinctions of person do not necessarily, as in the finite material world, imply mutual exclusiveness.<sup>1</sup> Scripture plainly teaches that the Three Divine Persons are in one another by mutual indwelling.<sup>2</sup> "Where one hypostasis of the Trinity," says Chrysostom, "is present, the whole Trinity is present; for it is inseparably united, and conjoined together with the utmost exactness."<sup>3</sup> There is an "inseparable operation" of the Three Persons which leads to the result that frequently the attributes belonging to all are ascribed to each.<sup>4</sup> In later theology, as in John Damascene, the term applied to this absolute intercommunion is *περιχώρησις* (coinherence), which expresses the scriptural doctrine that the Son is *in the bosom of the Father*, and the Spirit is *in God*.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, though the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity thus interpenetrate and include each the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dörner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., S. Jo. xiv. 10, 11. Cp. Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* iii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Rom.* viii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* i. 25. Cp. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* i. 2. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See S. Jo. i. 18; 1 Cor. ii. 11, and cp. Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 41, iii. 3, 4; Newman, *Athan. Treatises*, vol. ii. p. 72. There is doubt as to the derivation of *περιχώρησις*, which may be derived from *χωρεῖν* in the sense of "move" (*commovere, ambulare*), or in that of "contain" (*capere, continere*). Petavius decides that both senses are combined in *περιχώρησις* as it is used in *θεολογία*: for the Divine Three both mutually pervade each other (*circuminsessio*), and contain or rest in each other (*circuminsessio*). In relation to *θεολογία*, however, Petavius prefers *circuminsessio* (from *sedere*) as expressing the repose of the blessed Persons in each other, a term best represented perhaps by the English *coinherence* (*de Incarn.* iv. 14). Cp. Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* part ii. c. ix. *sub fin.*

other, each Person has His own special property (*ιδιότης*, *proprietas*). Accordingly the Cappadocian Fathers Gregory and Basil speak of each Person as having an *ιδιότης χαρακτηρίζουσα* or a *διαφορά*. The Divine essence subsists in each under a different mode. Thus the property of the Father is *to be of none* (*ἀγεννησία*); of the Son *to be of the Father* (*γέννησις*); of the Holy Spirit *to proceed from the Father and the Son* (*ἐκπόρευσις*).<sup>1</sup> The doctrine, however, of the *περιχώρησις* remains a safeguard of the Divine unity, as implying within the Godhead "an ineffable and incomprehensible both communion and distinction."

We now pass to the Latin and Greek equivalents of the term "person." As we have seen, the formula which under the influence of the Cappadocian Fathers ultimately prevailed was *μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*. These Fathers practically created the scientific terminology of the Athanasian doctrine, and it should be noted that the sense which the two famous words *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* ultimately received was a balanced and *mediating* one. *οὐσία* received a sense midway between abstract being and concrete (individual) being, but inclined to the former; *ὑπόστασις* finally received a connotation between "person" in the exclusive individual sense and "attribute" or "personation" (the so-called modalistic view), but with an inclination to the former sense.

*Οὐσία*.—This term had a history in heathen speculation before it was adopted by the Church.

Plato had used the word to denote the "idea" or "form" the inherence of which in an individual object makes it what it is. The *οὐσία* of a thing is thus *ὃ ἕκαστον τυγχάνει ὄν*, and is logically prior to the thing itself. Aristotle is not quite consistent in his use. At times he inclines to the Platonic conception: *οὐσία* is

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 363.

the *form* or *ideal essence* of an object (τὸ εἶδος τὸ ἔνουν *Metaph.* vi. 11; cp. vi. 1). In another passage he defines οὐσία as an individual concrete *substance*; a sensible *material thing* (πᾶν σῶμα φυσικὸν μετέχον ζωῆς οὐσία ἂν εἴη; *de an.* ii. 1. 3). It is this latter usage which is developed by the Stoics, who denote by οὐσία the material part (ὑλη) of a thing.<sup>1</sup> Thus the visible universe is regarded as the οὐσία of God; and sometimes οὐσία seems simply to mean the "matter" of which the universe consists. With the Stoics οὐσία is practically equivalent to σῶμα. We see the influence of this Stoic conception in Tertullian. The later Platonists, on the other hand, regard οὐσία as the *summum genus* (γένος τὸ γενικώτατον), the real permanent world of intelligible essences or ideas, as opposed to the world of phenomena (Plato, *Soph.* 246 c, νοητὰ ἅττα καὶ ἀσώματα εἶδη . . . τῆν ἀληθινὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι — an interesting passage, describing the "war of giants" between materialists and idealists as to the nature of οὐσία). It may be noticed that, speaking broadly, the effect of usage had been to widen the sense of οὐσία, and make it more generic.<sup>2</sup>

Οὐσία, with other terms, passes into theology through the Gnostics (*Iren.* i. 5. 1), and the Platonistic sense tends to prevail. In pseudo-Dionysius (*de Div. nom.* 5), the idealistic view is carried to the extreme point; God is there described as ὑπερούσιος, and it is even denied that οὐσία can be predicated of the Divine Being.<sup>3</sup> Others were content with denying that the οὐσία of God could be defined. But practically it was necessary to admit that

<sup>1</sup> Orig. *de orat.* 27: οὐσία ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὄντων ὕλη (quoted by Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 164 note).

<sup>2</sup> See Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 269 ff. Bigg, *l.c.* pp. 163-165. Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Such was the opinion of Celsus. See Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 64, ap. Bigg, *l.c.* p. 179.

as God *is*, there must be some *οὐσία* of Him, unique, immutable, and incommunicable.<sup>1</sup>

*ὑπόστασις*.—This word also seems to have been introduced into theology by Gnostic writers (Iren. i. 5. 4), and was not without a history. Its fundamental idea is "reality." Pseudo-Aristotle (*de Mundo*, iv. 21, etc.), opposes that which exists *κατ' ἔμφασιν* (*apparently*), to that which exists *καθ' ὑπόστασιν* (*in reality*). In Stoic usage *ὑπόστασις* was equivalent to *οὐσία*, and so in the earliest ecclesiastical use the two words appear to be synonymous. Thus *ὑπόστασις* is found in the sense of *οὐσία* in Dionysius of Rome, in a passage repudiating those who sever the Godhead into three separate *hypostases* and three Deities,<sup>2</sup> and this interchange of the two words lingered long into the period of the Arian controversy: even Gregory of Nyssa still uses the words as synonymous.<sup>3</sup> But at an early stage there arose a tendency to discriminate, and to restrict *ὑπόστασις* to the Divine *Persons*. This tendency appeared first at Alexandria,<sup>4</sup> and though Athanasius at first uses the terms as equivalent,<sup>5</sup> his later usage seems to suggest the distinction afterwards fixed by the Cappadocian Fathers.<sup>6</sup>

For a catholic agreement in this final distinction was necessitated by the confusion which the Arian troubles introduced. The phrase *τρεις ὑποστάσεις* was dangerous so long as the word *ὑπόστασις* was synonymous with *οὐσία*, as "dividing the substance" of Deity.

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* v. 3.

<sup>2</sup> ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. p. 373; cp. 383.

<sup>3</sup> The creed bids us speak of the Logos *ἐν οὐσίᾳ* and the Spirit *ἐν ὑποστάσει* (*Orat. cat. mag.* iv. s. *fin.*). The Nicene symbol is another instance in point—in the anathemas, *ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας*. Cp. Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 33, iv. 1. But see Basil, *Ep.* cxxv.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. *in Joh.* tract 3; Dion. Alex. ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 397.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. *Orat. c. Arian.* iii. 65, iv. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 362 ff.

Athanasius had already anticipated the work of discrimination: *οὐσία*, he taught, was the common undifferentiated substance of Deity; *ὑπόστασις* was Deity existing in a personal mode, the substance of Deity with certain special properties (*οὐσία μετὰ τίνων ιδιωμάτων*). The Council of Alexandria, held in 362 after the death of Constantius, was important as marking an attempt to adjust the confusions and difficulties produced by the divergence which had grown up between East and West. It offered an opportunity for explanation of the chief terms in dispute: *ὁμοούσιος* was cleared of all Sabellian connotation; the phrase *τρεις ὑποστάσεις* was sanctioned as an allowable mode of speech, though not without protest on the part of some prominent Western bishops. Ultimately the Nicene formula was recommended as a standard, and the use of other phraseology was discouraged. The work of this council was supplemented by the labours of the three great Cappadocian Fathers, Basil and the two Gregories. Starting from the *ὁμοούσιον*, they elaborated the terminology which finally became accepted throughout the East: *μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, or *μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*. In a later age the accepted distinction between the terms was clearly stated by John of Damascus (*de Orth. fid.* iii. 6) in the following passage, which embodies the results arrived at by the Cappadocians:—

*κοινὸν ἢ οὐσία ὡς εἶδος· μερικὸν δὲ ἢ ὑπόστασις· ἐν ἑκάστη τῶν ὁμοειδῶν ὑποστάσεων τελεία ἢ οὐσία ἐστι. διὸ οὐδὲ διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων αἱ ὑποστάσεις κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα, ἅτινα ἐστὶ τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ιδιώματα. καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὀρίζονται οὐσίαν μετὰ συμβεβηκότων . . . ὥστε τὸ κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἢ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρξει· ἢ οὐσία δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν θεωρεῖται.*

*Φύσις*.—In relation to *θεολογία*, *φύσις* became identified in the fourth century with *οὐσία*, from which it had been originally distinct;<sup>1</sup> thus Gregory of Nyssa appears to use the terms as synonymous (*Orat. cat.* 3). It should be also observed that, as applied to the Godhead, both *οὐσία* and *φύσις* tended to acquire the meaning *person*.<sup>2</sup>

*Latin Equivalents*.—At Alexandria in 362 an effort was made, as we have seen, to remedy the confusion produced by the divergent phraseology of the East and the West. In the West two words were in ordinary use, to both of which objections might be urged.

The word *substantia*<sup>3</sup> was practically introduced by Tertullian as the equivalent of *οὐσία*. Tertullian uses the term in the Stoic sense of τὸ ὑποκειμένον, i.e. the substratum of things, the basis of real existence. As such, *substantia* implies corporeity; and Tertullian does not hesitate, as we have seen, to ascribe a kind of corporeity even to spirit.<sup>4</sup> From the fact, however, that *substantia* was the Latin equivalent of the two words *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, an ambiguity arose which was serious in proportion as the Eastern inclination to discriminate these terms became more marked. Accordingly, recourse was had to another term, also apparently first adopted by Tertullian,<sup>5</sup> namely, *persona*.

The term *persona* was derived from Roman law,

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Ath. Orat. c. Arian.* iii. 65.

<sup>2</sup> This point acquires importance in relation to Cyril's famous phrase, *μία φύσις τοῦ λόγου*.

<sup>3</sup> *Essentia* was a synonym for *substantia*, but much less frequent (*Aug. de Trin.* v. 9): Aug. gives reasons for preferring *essentia*, *ibid.* vii. 10. The introduction of the word *essentia* is traced by Seneca to Cicero.

<sup>4</sup> See *adv. Hermog.* 34-36; *adv. Prax.* vii., ix.; *de carne Chr.* xi. etc. Cp. Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* pp. 96-98.

<sup>5</sup> See Hatch, *Hilbert Lectures*, p. 277 note. Cp. Cic. *pro Cluentio* xxix. etc.

meaning any "party" to a suit or contract having legal duties and rights; it thus came to mean "an individual" or "person" in the modern sense. The older Greek school had agreed with the Latins in using the phrase *τρία πρόσωπα*. During the latter part of the fourth century, however, the phrase appeared to be open to the objection that it was capable of a Sabellian construction. Thus the Eastern theologians preferred *ὑπόστασις* as implying distinct and independent subsistence; while the Latins continued to use *persona*, with the effect, indeed, that in the East its equivalent *πρόσωπον*,<sup>1</sup> though hesitatingly employed, yet remained a recognised synonym for *ὑπόστασις*.

Augustine pointed out the differences between the Greek and Latin terminology, and concluded by adopting *tres personæ* as more suitable than the older *tres substantiæ*. He also declares that the terms *essentia* and *substantia* were in his time of comparatively recent appearance in theological terminology, and that the older Latin writers had used instead the word *natura* (*φύσις*).<sup>2</sup> The recognised Latin phrase is accordingly *una substantia, tres personæ*.

C. The doctrine of subordination (*ὑποταγή τάξεως*) as taught by the Nicene theology.

The Father (*ὁ θεός, αὐτόθεος*) is the fountain-head or root of Deity (*πηγή* or *ρίζα τῆς θεότητος*). The Son and the Spirit, though coeternal and coequal, are subordinate in rank, because the Divine essence in them is derived from the Father. So in the language of Nicene theologians the Father alone is *ἀγέννητος*, the Son is *γέννητος*: the Father is *αἴτιος*, the Son *αἰτιατός*: the Father is *ὁ θεός*; the Son is of Divine essence (*θεός*).

<sup>1</sup> *Πρόσωπον* is first found in Hippol. c. Noet. 14; *Philos.* ix. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *de Trin.* v. 10, vii. 7, 11.

This doctrine is implied in the language of the creed, *φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ*.<sup>1</sup> As the original source of the Son's Deity, the Father may be termed "greater" than the Son.<sup>2</sup> So far the Nicene theology recognises the subordinatianist ideas which had prevailed, and had been carried to excess, in third century writers. Athanasius, for example, insists on the ministerial office of the Son in creation, and in this connection applies to Him the scriptural title of the Lord's Hand (*χεῖρ*).<sup>3</sup> Fourth century theology in fact assigns to the Father a pre-dominance, but the tendency was towards a complete equalisation of the Divine hypostases.<sup>4</sup> This tendency, it should be observed, was mainly due to a change in men's conception of God. So long as the Platonistic conception of God as the absolute Monad, the transcendent cause and source of all existence, generally prevailed, it was natural and indeed logically necessary, to insist on the pre-eminence of the Father as the fount of Deity. But the more ethical doctrine of Augustine lays stress on the co-eternal Deity of the three Divine Persons; on the fact that the very idea of God as Love involves a Triune Being. At the same time the conception of the co-

<sup>1</sup> Hil. *de Trin.* v. 39: "Quod enim Deus est, ex Deo est." Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxix. 3: *ἐκείθεν [ἐστίν, ἡ.ε. ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς] εἰ καὶ μὴ μετ' ἐκείνον.* Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iii. 35: *ἔχων διδῶς ὁ Ὑιὸς ἃ ἔχει, παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει.* Cp. *ibid.* 36. Aug. *de Trin.* iv. 29: "Totius divinitatis, vel si melius dicitur deitatis, principium Pater est."

<sup>2</sup> S. Jo. xiv. 28. The Father is "greater," *τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς αἰτίας λόγῳ*. The subordination is a *τάξις* not of time, but involved in the relationship of cause and effect. Such subordination is entirely compatible with equality of essence and majesty (*τὸ ὁμοίωμα τῆς ἀξίας*), Bas. *c. Eun.* i. 25. Chrys. *hom. in Ep. ad Phil.* p. 246 A: *ἴκανον τὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὄνομα δεῖξαι τὰ πρεσβεῖα τοῦ Πατρὸς· χωρὶς γὰρ τούτου πάντα τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὶ τῷ Παιδί.* Aug. *de Trin.* iv. 27 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 31, 77; iv. 26. The Arians preferred the non-scriptural term *θργανον* (Newman, *Athanasian Treatises*, vol. ii. p. 142).

<sup>4</sup> See the catena of passages collected by Bp. Westcott on S. Jo. xiv. 28.

inherence (*περιχώρησις*), and of the inseparable will and operation of the blessed Persons, tended towards the same result. In the Western theology, represented by Augustine and the Athanasian symbol, we find that the older idea of "subordination" has almost disappeared. The Father stands higher than the Son only in being ingenerate;<sup>1</sup> the Son is inferior only in having assumed human nature in the Incarnation.<sup>2</sup> Further, the insistence on the dual procession of the Holy Spirit prepares the way for the recognition of an absolute equality of the Father and the Son, such as is implied in the Western addition of the *Filioque* to the creed.<sup>3</sup> There was evidently a close connection between the single procession and the ante-Nicene subordinatianism. Further development of the doctrine of God led to the more scriptural mode of statement which is found in the Western Creed.

D. The doctrine of the Divine generation (*γέννησις*). The "generation" of the Son means that intemporal act or process of Divine self-communication by which the Godhead of the Father reproduces itself in the Son.

The ante-Nicenes maintained that the *γέννησις* of the Son was "necessary," but not in a mechanical or fatalistic sense. It was to protest against this latter idea that they spoke of the Son as begotten by an act of *will* (*θελήσει*). On the other hand, Athanasius insists that the Son is a Son by *nature* (*φύσει*):<sup>4</sup> the fact being that in the Godhead freedom and necessity coincide, for God

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* xv. 31: "Pater enim solus ita Deus est, ut non sit ex Deo."

<sup>2</sup> *de Trin.* ii. 2. Aug. insists "*minorem* Filium in assumpta creatura"; so *ibid.* iv. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *de Trin.* iv. 29. Cp. *tract. in Joh.* xcix. 8. The addition *Filioque* found its way into the creed after the Council of Toledo, A.D. 589.

<sup>4</sup> Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 17 *φυσικὴ γέννησις*; 24, *φύσει υἱός*.

ever acts according to the law of His own perfection.<sup>1</sup> The act of generation cannot be represented by any human or physical analogies; <sup>2</sup> it implies neither physical affection nor division of the Divine substance.<sup>3</sup> It is an inner movement, the spring of which lies in the eternal goodness and love of God. Consequently, as Athanasius teaches, Fatherhood belongs eternally to the essence of God. The mode of the Divine *genesis* is therefore inscrutable and ineffable; <sup>4</sup> and the effect of the images habitually employed by the Fathers—light and its radiance, fountain and stream, root and plant—is not only to exclude all material and corporeal ideas in relation to so high a mystery, but to discourage speculation or attempts at explanation. In the careful language of Pearson: “The essence of God is incorporeal, spiritual, and indivisible, and therefore His nature is really communicated . . . by a total and plenary communication. . . . The Divine essence, being by reason of its simplicity not subject to division, and in its infinity incapable of multiplication, is so communicated as not to be multiplied; insomuch that He who proceeds by that communication has not only the same nature, but is also the same God. The Father God and the Word God . . . Abraham one man, Isaac another man; not so the Father one God, and the Word another, but

<sup>1</sup> This *moral* conception of the *γέννησις* distinguishes the Catholics from the Arians. Athanasius is not afraid to use inconsistent *expressions* in defence of the point. Thus, *Orat. c. Ar. iii. 63*, he says, *θεὸς οὐ βουλήσει ἀλλὰ φύσει τὸν ἴδιον ἔχει Λόγον*; but in *iii. 66*, *θελόμενός ἐστι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἰβίδ. ὡς περ ἀγαθὸς δεῖ καὶ τῆ φύσει, οὕτως δεῖ γεννητικὸς τῆ φύσει ὁ Πατήρ.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Orat. c. Ar. i. 23*, *γεννᾷ οὐχ ὡς οἱ ἀνθρώποι γεννῶσι, γεννᾷ μέντοι ὡς θεός. Cyr. Hieros. Cat. xi. 7*, *πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, πνευματικὴ ἡ γέννησις, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>3</sup> *Orat. c. Ar. i. 17*, *τὸ γέννημα οὐ πάθος οὐδὲ μερισμὸς ἐστὶ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης οὐσίας. Ἰβίδ. ii. 35*, *γέννημα τέλειον ἐκ τελείου. Ἰβίδ. iii. 67*, *βουλὴ ἴσα καὶ ἀληθῶς φύσει γέννημα. Cp. Newman, Arians, p. 160.*

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the language of early writers, quoted p. 812.

the Father and the Word both the same God.”<sup>1</sup> The one Godhead is common to the three Persons by simple identity, *identitate, ut loquuntur scholæ, simplici* (Petav. *de Incarn.* v. 5. 5).

In earlier ante-Nicene writings, the word *γέννησις* was freely used to denote four moments, so to speak, in the being of the Son of God.<sup>2</sup> Language became more precise in later times, and it was recognised that there were two “generations” of the Son,—the first, the intemporal Divine *γέννησις*; the second, the assumption of human nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin.<sup>3</sup> And a distinction was made between the different terms used to denote the eternal Sonship and the Incarnation. As God, the Son is *γεννητός* or *γεννηθείς*, “begotten” from all eternity: He is *γέννημα ἀίδιον, γέννημα ἰδίου τῆς οὐσίας*.<sup>4</sup> These phrases imply the truth of the derivation of the Son’s essence. He is “generate” as being the Son of God. But being very God, the Son is also “increate” (*ἀγέννητος, i.e. οὐ ποιηθείς*). Athanasius points out that the idea of Divine Sonship excludes the idea of a temporal beginning of existence or creation (*γένεσις*). Accordingly it was sometimes said that the Son was “increately generate” (*ἀγενήτως γεννητός*).

As man, on the other hand, the Son is a creature. He is *γενητός, κτιστός, or ποιητός* (cp. S. Jo. i. 18, *σὰρξ ἐγένετο*; Phil. ii. 7, *γενόμενος*). “The word *γενέσθαι*,” says Athanasius, “we assign to the manhood of the Son

<sup>1</sup> *On the Creed*, art. ii. pp. 237–247 (and notes). Cp. Ath. *de Nic. Def.*: “Men in their time become fathers of many children, but God who is individual is Father of the Son without being parted or affected, for there is neither loss nor gain to the immaterial, as in the case of men; and being simple in His nature, He gives absolutely and utterly all that He is, and thereby is Father of one only Son” (Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, vol. i. p. 27).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Fifth Council, anath. 2 (ap. Petav. *de Incarn.* i. 9. 9).

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* i. 9, 29, etc.

which is created, and came into being.”<sup>1</sup> For creation (*ποίησις*) is an outwardly directed, free act of Divine will bringing a substance out of nothing; whereas the generation (*γέννησις*) implies an internal, necessary process within the Godhead, the Father’s eternal communication of essence to the Son.<sup>2</sup>

It is noticeable that Athanasius persistently deprecates the use of technical language, on the ground that it is non-scriptural. He would prefer to speak of God under His revealed title of “Father” as directly implying a Divine and essential Sonship.<sup>3</sup> And this suggests a remark which is of importance in view of modern theories as to the “development” of the Christian creed. Nothing is more striking in the writings of the Nicene period than the anxiety to avoid innovations in the creed of Christendom. It has been justly said: “If the Catholics used new terms, they did so in order to guard old beliefs. . . . From Athanasius to Gregory of Nazianzus there comes an unbroken appeal to Holy Scripture and catholic tradition, which repels the unworthy suspicion that the great Nicene teachers were guilty of consciously tampering with the ancient faith.”<sup>4</sup> In the treatise which may be said to have exercised most influence on the Athanasian Creed, the *de Trinitate* of Augustine, we certainly find a remarkable effort of Christian reason, but reason moving deliberately within

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* i. 25 and 60. So the body of Christ is called *ποίημα*, (*Ep. ad Epict.* ix.). See also *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 8, 12, 46.

<sup>2</sup> The tendency to apply the term *γέννητος* to the Son, though defensible, was soon abandoned, *ἀγέννητος* being reserved for the Father. See Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, i. p. 51. Cp. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. I. vol. ii. p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> See *Orat. c. Ar.* i. 33, 34; iii. 3. *de Decret. Nic.* § 80 (*Ath. Treatises*, I. p. 52).

<sup>4</sup> Swete, *The Apostles’ Creed*, p. 38.

the lines of Scripture. "Men," says Augustine, "have gone astray because they have lacked diligence in the scrutiny and study of the whole range of Scripture."<sup>1</sup> Here lies the point. What we see in the progressive effort of the Church to adjust and perfect its terminology, is not the unrestricted tendency to speculate in matters of faith, but the deliberate endeavour to embrace in a coherent and intelligible system the entire revelation of God contained in Scripture. It cannot be too often repeated that Christian theology was not the outcome of metaphysical subtlety, but "arose, like all other human thought, in meditation upon a fact of experience—the life and teaching of Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup> It is fair, however, to acknowledge that the recurrence to Scripture becomes more decided a habit in the West than in the East, and Augustine is specially conspicuous in this respect. Owing to his influence the Scriptures practically received a position in the life of the Church more prominent in the West than in the East, the speculative temper being less actively developed in the West.<sup>3</sup> In any case the result was that Scripture perpetually controlled and regulated the development of dogma: New Testament thoughts and reminiscences checked the tendency to over-definition, at least during the period when under stress of conflict Christology was receiving its final dogmatic form, namely, the period between the fourth and seventh centuries.

Harnack observes that in the West there was, as a rule, only a limited amount of speculation on the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>4</sup> The Divine unity, he says, was the

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* i. 14: "Erraverunt homines minus diligenter scrutantes vel intuentes universam seriem Scripturarum." Cp. iii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 11; Tyrrell, *Lex Orandi*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack, *Grundr. der Dogm.* § 30, s. *fin.*; cp. § 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* § 39, p. 189.

dogmatic basis; the distinction of the Persons tended to become formal, and was stated with a kind of legal precision. Augustine's great work may be said to give expression to this conception of the Divine Trinity. It is quite true that the analogies adduced by Augustine from the phenomena of consciousness are of a "modalistic" kind, *i.e.* they emphasise rather the relationships of the Three Persons to one another than the distinctness of their hypostatic subsistence. Augustine is more concerned to sustain monotheism than to insist, as earlier writers had done, on the distinct functions of the different Persons. The enduring influence of Augustine's work on later theology can only be explained when we consider that the *de Trinitate* was an attempt to find expression for the facts of spiritual experience; it was not a mere effort to formulate a philosophical tradition.<sup>1</sup>

## § II. THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION AND ITS TERMINOLOGY

There are certain technical expressions relating to the mystery of the Incarnation which may be briefly discussed at this point.

The Incarnation<sup>2</sup> is variously described by the terms *ἐνανθρώπησις*, *ἐνσάρκωσις*, *ἔνσαρκος παρουσία* or *ἐπιδημία*, *σωματικὴ παρουσία* (*praesentia corporalis*, Aug. *de Trin.* iv. 27), etc. These expressions all imply the union (*ἔνωσις*) of human nature with the Divine in one Divine person. They are, of course, mostly derived from S. John's Gospel, i. 14, *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*; *Verbum caro factum est*. S. John's phrase *ἐγένετο* does not imply

<sup>1</sup> Harnack says (*Grundr.* p. 190): "Er selbst nie auf die Trinität gekommen wäre wenn er nicht an die Überlieferung gebunden gewesen wäre."

<sup>2</sup> Op. Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i. 44, 64; ii. 6; iii. 10, etc. A list of terms is given by Casaubon on Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad Eustath* (notes).

*conversion* into flesh; it is obviously to be qualified by such expressions as ἔλαβεν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται (Heb. ii. 16), and so limited ἐγένετο means the *assumption* of a new nature, without connoting the abandonment of an existing one. S. John's words in fact teach (a) the reality of the human nature assumed, σὰρξ meaning the entirety of human nature;<sup>1</sup> (b) the oneness of the person who *became flesh*; while, at the same time, they exclude the idea that the flesh existed before it was thus assumed.

We now come to consider the term of most prominent importance—ἔνωσις, *unio* (later *unio*<sup>2</sup>): the union of two natures in one person. Before the terminology had been precisely fixed the Eastern writers employed various synonyms for ἔνωσις: such as σύνοδος (*conventus*), συνδρομή εἰς ἐνότητα, σύμβασις οἰκονομική, συμφυΐα. The general intention of theologians in using these forms of expression was to *exclude* certain other modes of describing the connection between the two natures in our Lord. Thus ἔνωσις is carefully distinguished (a) from συνάφεια, *conjunction*, or σχετική ἔνωσις, *union of relation*, terms in which Nestorius desired to embody his view of the relation between the Godhead and manhood in Christ;<sup>3</sup> (b) from κράσις or σύγχυσις, *blending* of the two natures;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* ii. 11: "Caro enim pro homine posita est in eo quod ait Verbum caro factum est, sicut et illud Et videbit omnis caro pariter salutare Dei. Non enim sine anima vel sine mente: sed ita omnis caro ac si diceretur omnis homo." Cp. *de civ. Dei*, xiv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Unio* was more often used in the West as equivalent to *unitas*. The unity of Christ's person would thus be *unio personæ*. Cp. *unio divinitatis* in Tert. *de Res.* ii.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, it is noticeable that Latin writers frequently use *misceri*, *mixtura*. See esp. Tert. *de carn. Chr.* 15, *Apol.* 21; Cyp. *de idol. van.* 2; Leo, *de nativ. Serm.* 3; Aug. *ep. ad Volus., de Trin.* iv. 16, 30. See also Thomassin, *de Incarn. Verbi*, iii. 5. σύγκρασις is used by Greg. Naz. *Ep. ad Cled.* i. 4. 6; *ad Cled.* ii. 2.

(c) *σάρκωσις*, conversion into flesh of the Divine substance; (d) *ἀποθέωσις*, exaltation of the manhood to Divine rank; (e) *ἐνοίκησις*, mere indwelling of God in a human nature,—as Augustine says (*de Trin.* ii. 11), “Aliud est enim *Verbum in carne*, aliud *Verbum caro*.”

1. The result of the mysterious union thus described is the person of Christ. The catholic doctrine teaches that the union of natures in the incarnate Lord is *hypostatic*, i.e. personal, by which is meant that the result of the union of natures is *one indivisible person*. The union is therefore described as *ἔνωσις ὑποστατική* or *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, *ἔνωσις φυσική* or *κατὰ φύσιν*,<sup>1</sup> *ἔνωσις οὐσιώδης* or *κατ' οὐσίαν*, i.e. *real*; resulting in *one really subsisting being*. But the expression which prevailed is *ἔνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, i.e. union in a person (*personalis unitas*).<sup>2</sup> The one person of the Redeemer is Divine, the Divine nature being the seat of His personality. This is the foundation of all that Christians hope and believe concerning redemption and the possibility of acceptance with God. Christ, then, is a Divine Being—the Son of God (*φύσει υἱός*). The redemptive work of Christ secures its infinite worth, its meritorious efficacy, from the fact that His person is Divine. The acts and sufferings of Christ owe their transcendent power and value to the fact that they are the acts and sufferings of God. On the other hand, the manhood of Christ is *impersonal*. It had no existence before it was assumed by the Logos; and it was created in the act by which it was assumed.<sup>3</sup> Thus it

<sup>1</sup> *φυσική* in this connection implies that the union is (1) true or real, i.e. *ἀληθής*, as opposed to the simulated union taught by Nestorius; (2) personal, not merely moral or relative.

<sup>2</sup> See generally Petav. *de Incarn.* iii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Jo. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 2. : οὐ γὰρ προϋπστάσθη καθ' ἑαυτὴν σαρκὶ ἡμῶθη ὁ θεὸς λόγος. *Ibid.* iii. 11, 12 : ἀπαρχὴν ἀνέλαβεν τοῦ ἡμετεροῦ φυράματος, οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑποστάσων . . . ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ὑποστάσει ἐπέβησαν. Cp. the older statements of Hippol. *c. Noet.* xv. : οὐθ' ἡ σὰρξ

is not unusual with the catholic writers to speak of the manhood of Christ as an *accident* or *instrument* of the Godhead.<sup>1</sup> As Dr. Newman expresses it, "In comparison of the Divine person who had taken flesh, what He had taken was not so much a *nature* . . . as the *substance* of manhood which was not substantive."<sup>2</sup> The human nature became personal (*ἐνυπόστατος*) only by being incorporated with, assumed by, the person of the Logos.<sup>3</sup> In later theology it is insisted that the personality of the human nature was extinguished or absorbed by the person of the Word.<sup>4</sup>

2. It is important to observe further that while theology denies that Christ's *nature* is composite,<sup>5</sup> in order to guard the absolute integrity and permanence of the two natures, Divine and human, conjoined in the person of the Word; it allows that there is in Christ a composite *personality* (*composita hypostasis*), resulting from the conjunction of two natures. Our Lord is acknowledged to be of *dual nature* (*διπλοῦς*),<sup>6</sup> and consequently

καθ' ἑαυτὴν δίχα τοῦ λόγου ὑποστῆναι ἠδύνατο διὰ τὸ ἐν λόγῳ τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν, and of Leo M. *Ep.* xi. : "Natura nostra non sic assumpta est ut prius creata, post assumeretur, sed ut ipsa assumptione crearetur."

<sup>1</sup> Petav. iii. 4, §§ 15, 16. : "Adventitia et accessionis instar velut substantiæ accidens." Thus Jo. Damasc. applies the verb *προστρέχειν* to the manhood of Christ. We find already the phrases *συμβεβηκός*, *ὄργανον* in Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 45. Ath. seldom even speaks of the manhood as a *nature* (*φύσις*), and Cyr. Alex. follows Ath. in this point by calling the Logos alone *φύσις*. Ath. in fact distinguishes in one passage between *φύσις* and *σάρξ* (*Orat. c. Ar.* iii. 34). Cp. Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, vol. ii. p. 293f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Treatises*, vol. ii. p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the manhood is described sometimes as *ἐτεροῦπόστατος* or *συνυπόστατος*, i.e. *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ὑποστάσει ὑποστᾶσα*.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 480, 481.

<sup>5</sup> See Jo. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 8; Petav. *de Incarn.* iii. 14, § 7.

<sup>6</sup> Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* iv. 9; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxviii. 15; Petav. iii. 15, § 7 : "Non est imperfectum Deus verbum, quia non ut perficeretur assumptione carnis indiguit, sed ut caro perficeretur in melius communitata, carnis se uniens *compositus factus est* qui ante erat sine dubio *summe simplex et incompositus* perfectusque per omnia utpote Deus."

though His person is one, it may be described as composite (*μία ὑπόστασις σύνθετος ἐκ δύο φύσεων*).

In fact the word *φύσις* in relation to the doctrine of the Incarnation was open to misconception. As applied to the persons of the Trinity *φύσις* was employed as a synonym for *οὐσία*.<sup>1</sup> The substance (*οὐσία*) of God was no other than Himself. The person or nature of the Father, for instance, was identical with His substance.<sup>2</sup> Hence as applied to God both *οὐσία* and *φύσις* tended towards the meaning *Person*; and consequently when employed in connection with the Incarnation the word *φύσις* had a double signification, which led to the confusions of monophysitism.

(a) Thus in Cyril's famous phrase, *μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου*, Cyril practically means the *person* of the Word, or rather that Divine *nature* or *substance* of the Word, which, as one with His person, took to itself manhood.<sup>3</sup> Indeed it is fair to say that with Cyril *φύσις* and *ὑπόστασις τοῦ Λόγου* practically coincide:<sup>4</sup> *φύσις* means the Divine nature as it subsists in the *person* of the Logos. Cyril guarded the reality of the human nature by the word which Eutyches seems to have ignored, *σῶσαρκαωμένη*. There can be no doubt that by his unfortunate use of the term *φύσις* he intended simply to secure the oneness and continuity of the person who became incarnate; but his monophysite followers stereotyped a misleading phrase, and identified *φύσις* with *ὑπόστασις*.

<sup>1</sup> In *Aug. de Trin.* vii. 7 *natura* is used as synonymous with *substantia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aug. de Trin.* vii. 11: "Neque in hac Trinitate cum dicimus personam Patris, aliud dicimus quam substantiam Patris. Quocirca ut substantia Patris ipse Pater est, non quo Pater est, sed quo est; ita et persona Patris non aliud quam ipse Pater est."

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 413 ff. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. p. 323, gives examples in which even *οὐσία*=the *person* of Christ. Conversely Melito, ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 121, speaks of Christ's two *natures* as *οὐσία*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Harnack, *Grundr. der Dogm.* § 41; Petav. *de Incarn.* iv. 6; see also Bright's *S. Leo*, note 35.

(b) The Council of Chalcedon made the careful distinction between two natures (δύο φύσεις) and the one person of Christ (μία ὑπόστασις). Thus in Christology φύσις was gradually withdrawn from its Cyrilline use. Cyril, as we have seen, followed Athanasius in distinguishing between the Divine φύσις and human nature (σάρξ). φύσις, as ordinarily used in theology, means *nature*. In Christ there was, as Cyril expressly taught, a *difference* of natures (διαφορὰ τῶν φύσεων) though not a *severance* (διαίρεσις). Once conjoined in Christ the two natures can only be separated in thought, not in fact. They are eternally united in His person. He is in this sense *indivisible* (ἀδιαίρετος). To the person or nature of the Word is united the nature of man.

3. The *communicatio idiomatum*, ἀντίδοσις ιδιωμάτων, follows from the relation in which the two natures in Christ stand to each other. That relation is described by Damascene in the term περιχώρησις, which thus acquires a sense distinct from that in which it is used in θεολογία. The word when used in Christology means that *interpenetration* of the two natures—that *pervasion* of the human by the Divine—which may be compared to the relation of soul and body,<sup>1</sup> or to the heat of red-hot iron. It is this interpenetration of natures which underlies the *communicatio idiomatum*, that *participation of attributes* in virtue of which the properties strictly belonging only to one nature are predicable of the other, so that we may say The Son of God was crucified, or The Son of Man is in heaven. Thus we have to distinguish between the *communicatio* viewed as a *mode of speaking* and as a *fact*.

(a) As a mode of speaking, the *communicatio idiomatum* means simply this: that the union of two natures in

<sup>1</sup> In relation to the natures of Christ περιχώρησις thus = Lat. *circumincessio*, the *pervading* of the human by the Divine nature.

Christ justifies the interchange of predicates (*ἡ ἔνωσις κοινὰ ποιεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα*).<sup>1</sup>

(b) As a fact the *communicatio* is based on the truth so often insisted on by Athanasius and others that the Divine Son really appropriates human nature and makes it His own, and imparts to it by the virtue of His person a "grace of unction" and a "grace of union," whereby its natural properties are inconceivably heightened, expanded, and in fact "deified."<sup>2</sup> Various rules are laid down by Petavius to limit and guard the *communicatio idiomatum*, but the main points may be reduced to three.

i. We may not predicate of either nature *in the abstract* attributes which belong only to the other. The attributes can be only ascribed *as personal* (*ratione subiecti*) to the other nature. When we say *God suffered*, we do not mean that Deity is passible, but that He who was personally God suffered. In short, all predicates, whether Divine or human, belong to the one person. So Cyril insists in his fourth anathema.

ii. It has been usually held that the *περιχώρησις* is possible only for the higher nature, which controls, dominates, and pervades the lower. But theologians may be thought to have insisted too peremptorily on this point:<sup>3</sup> the *ἀντίδοσις* is surely not entirely one-sided. So far as we can speculate on so profoundly mysterious a subject, we may dare to think that in some sense the

<sup>1</sup> Theod. *Dial.* iii.; cp. Greg. *ad Cled.* i. 6: *κινουμένων ὡσπερ τῶν φύσεων οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν κλήσεων, κ.τ.λ.* See Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 182 n.

<sup>2</sup> "Deification" is a phrase freely used in early theology. See, e.g., Ath. *de Incarn.* x.; *Orat. c. Ar.* iv.; Greg. Naz. *ad Cled.* i. 10; Greg. Nyss. *Orat. cat.* xxv., xxxv. (and note *ad loc.* in *Lib. of Nic. and post-Nic. Fathers*). The expression is generally applied (1) to Christ's human nature; (2) to our human nature in His. The usual phrases are *θεοῦσθαι, θεοποιεῖσθαι, θεὸς γίνεσθαι*, Lat. *deificari, deitari*. The word *ἀποθέωσις* is a discredited term as conveying the idea of Nestorius that Christ was a man advanced for his merit to the state of Deity. Cp. Petav. *de Incarn.* iv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Jo. Damasc. *de orth. fid.* iii. 19.

“measures of humanity” were suffered to “prevail” over the Deity, in such degree and sense that the Divine attributes themselves became modified or coloured by the union of the manhood with the Godhead.

iii. There is another phrase which expresses one logical consequence of the above doctrine, namely, *θεανδρική ἐνέργεια*, the *Divine-human operation* of Christ’s will. Of the two natures in Christ there is an “association always,” so that all His acts partake of that composite character which may in some sense be ascribed to His personality. He is the God-man, and His acts accordingly are *Divine-human*. On this expression we have already commented elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

The chief technical terms employed to describe the mystery of the Incarnation have now been briefly discussed. The terminology went through a long and slow process of elaboration, each term being tested, disputed, and carefully defined before it was finally adopted. Thus in regard to terminology we may readily admit that there has been a process of development, whereas in regard to the substance of the faith there has been none. The exact phraseology of the Creed was intended merely to guard the central fact which Christians knew to be the essence of their faith. Whatever tended to secure the reality of that redemptive union between God and man which was a matter of intimate experience to Christian hearts; whatever tended to guard it amid the shocks of intellectual disputation; whatever commended it to the minds of thoughtful men, was only adopted after patient scrutiny as the fitting vehicle of a saving truth. And thus in the exact and luminous definitions which we meet with in later Greek theology we may well

<sup>1</sup> See p. 431; cp. [Hippol.] c. *Beron. et Helic. Fragm. viii.*: μηδὲν θεῖον γυμνὸν σώματος ἐνεργήσας· μηδὲν ἀνθρώπινον ὁ αὐτὸς ἔμπορον δράσας θεοειήτος.

recognise "that the great thoughts of the Greek mind were guided by a higher power, and consecrated to a nobler end, than ever their authors dreamed of."<sup>1</sup> We may readily admit that the process of definition was carried perhaps to the extreme limit of what was useful and salutary, but we ought to frankly acknowledge that the process was an inevitable one if the faith of Christians was ever to receive intellectual expression; inevitable, because (in the words of the writer already quoted) "thoughtful men must meditate upon the things which they believe, and endeavour to give articulate expression to what is implicitly contained in the principles by which they live."<sup>2</sup> Yet nothing can be more explicit than the declaration of Christian writers that the subject of theological inquiry transcends not only the capacity of language, but thought itself. "Inasmuch as our thought," says Augustine, "when we meditate on the Divine Trinity, feels itself very far from equal to the subject on which it thinks, nor can conceive that subject as it really is, . . . I ask help of God, and pardon if in aught I offend. For I am mindful, not only of my good intent, but of my infirmity."<sup>3</sup>

The philosophical habit of mind which the Greek Fathers inherited was to a certain extent naturalised in the Western Church, and it is thought by some writers to have been a disastrous factor in the development of theology, overlaying the original facts of Christianity with an accretion of mere inferences and human speculations.<sup>4</sup> But it is a mistake to forget that the philosophical temper of the great Greek theologians, and of their successors in the Latin Church, was constantly kept in restraint both by a profound apprehension of the

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Illingworth in *Lux Mundi*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *de Trin.* v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 137.

fundamental Christian facts, and by a devotional temper to which dogmatic statements ever appeared secondary in importance to the truths enshrined in them. Athanasius expressly declares that "formal modes of statement (*λέξεις*) are not prior to realities (*οὐσίαι*), but the realities are first, and secondary to them the formulæ."<sup>1</sup> In any case it should be borne in mind that the high elaboration of the terminology corresponds to the complexity of the Christian facts themselves. The Incarnation is one of those mysteries "which unless it were too vast for our full intellectual comprehension would surely be too narrow for our spiritual needs."<sup>2</sup> Consequently we have no just reason to be surprised if the theological terms and definitions by which precision is given to a particular doctrine, wear a somewhat formal and scholastic appearance. On the other hand, one advantage of a closer acquaintance with patristic literature is that the student gains an increasing sense of the perennial motive which underlay the efforts of Christian teachers to construct a scientific terminology. That motive was the desire more intelligently to grasp and more securely to guard the revealed facts on which the doctrine and ethics of the Church ultimately rest. Augustine truly says: *Non impudenter in illa quæ supra sunt divina et ineffabilia pietas fidelis ardescit; non quam suarum virium inflat arrogantia, sed quam gratia ipsius creatoris et salvatoris inflamat.*<sup>3</sup> The technical language of theology is no mere product of "an instinctive tendency to throw ideas into a philosophical form."<sup>4</sup> For throughout the process of definition philosophic interest was quickened by religious faith, and the love of speculation was restrained by the temper of reverence.

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Balfour, *The Foundations of Belief*, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> *de Trin.* v. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hatch, *l.c.* p. 133.

4. *The Athanasian Creed*<sup>1</sup>

It seems natural at this point to say something of the formulation of the two august doctrines which have been under review, as it appears in the Athanasian Creed.

This exposition of the Creed seems to have been first promulgated in Southern Gaul. Waterland was inclined to assign the authorship to an individual, possibly Hilary, abbot of the monastery of Lerins, and afterwards bishop of Arles. If this supposition be correct the date of the Creed would be about 430. Recent investigation tends to confirm both the original unity and the fifth- or sixth-century origin of the document, in spite of the fact that no clear indication of its existence in its present form appears before the eighth century, and that the earliest Greek version of the Symbol belongs to the thirteenth. All that can at present be said with certainty is, that since the age of Charlemagne the Creed has been ascribed to Athanasius and used in different parts of the Western Church; that it displays the influence of Augustine's writings (especially his *Sermons* and his treatise *de Trinitate*), and perhaps also that of Vincent's *Commonitorium*; and, finally, that its formal acceptance dates from a period a good deal subsequent to its composition.<sup>2</sup> It deals with the doctrines (1) of the Trinity chiefly in relation to unitarian and tritheistic<sup>3</sup> error; (2) the Incarnation, in opposition to Nestorianism and monophysitism.

<sup>1</sup> The Creed should rather be called a *canticle*, or *exposition* of the Creed.

<sup>2</sup> For Waterland's view, see his *Works*, vols. iii. and iv. On the origin and date of the Creed, see the well-known works of Mr. Ommaney and Dr. Burn; also the art. by Loofs, "Athanasianum" in *Real-Encyclopädie* (ed. 3). The most attractive of recent suggestions is the view put forward by Dom G. Morin, that the *Fides Sancti Athanasii* was composed by Cæsarius, Bp. of Arles (d. 543). See a brief account in Mr. C. H. Turner's paper, *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*, etc. (S. P. C. K.), ch. iv.

<sup>3</sup> A doctrine indistinguishable from tritheism was professed by John Acousnages of Constantinople in the reign of Justinian. See Hagenbach, § 26.

(1) The equality and unity of the three Divine Persons is stated in verses 3–20 of the symbol. After excluding (v. 4) the Sabellian *confusion of persons*, and the Arian *division of the Divine substance*, in language akin to that of Augustine, “*hæc omnia nec confuse unum sunt, nec disjuncte tria,*” the Creed proceeds to state the doctrine of the Trinity in a form which appeared in the Latin Church during the second half of the fourth century: *Et tamen non tres æterni sed unus æternus, etc.* (vv. 11, 12). The Eastern Church appears never to have adopted this mode of expression. It seems to be first used by Ambrose in 381, and is explained and defended by Augustine in the *de Trinitate* (v. 9). This mode of speech served to meet the Arian charge that the catholic doctrine was *tritheistic*; it also guarded against the Arian assertion that the three Persons of the Trinity differed in kind and degree of perfection. The Catholics by “one Divinity” mean “equal, undivided, inseparable Divinity.” *In illa summa Trinitate . . . tanta est inseparabilitas ut cum Trinitas hominum non possit dici unus homo, illa unus Deus et dicatur et sit; nec in uno Deo sit illa Trinitas, sed unus Deus.*<sup>1</sup> The three Persons of the Godhead do not differ in kind, or attributes, or perfections. Thus “omnipotence” or “incomprehensibility”<sup>2</sup> is one attribute common to the three.

The distinctions between the Persons are given in vv. 20–23. The property (*ιδιότης*) of the Father is “to be of none” (*ἀγεννησία*). This is expressed in the words *Pater*

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* xv. 43. So v. 9, “Trinitas unus Deus.” Cp. Leo Magn. *Serm.* lxxv. 1 and 2: “Huius enim beatæ Trinitatis incommutabilis deitas una est in substantia, indivisa in opere, concors in voluntate, par in potentia, æqualis in gloria” (quoted by Hagenbach, § 95).

<sup>2</sup> *Immensus* = either (1) “not to be comprehended by the mind,” or possibly (2) Gk. ἀκατάληπτος, “not contained within local bounds,” “omni-present.” Cp. Aug. *de Trin.* v. 9: “Sicut non dicimus tres essentias sic non dicimus tres magnitudines; sed unam essentiam et unam magnitudinem.”

*a nullo est factus*, for which Waterland suggests *a nullo est [neque] factus*, in accordance with one Greek copy which has ὁ πατήρ ἀπ' οὐδενός ἐστι, omitting ποιητός altogether. The Son is described as *a Patre solo*, in contradistinction to the Holy Spirit, who is *a Patre et Filio*. With regard to the expression *nec genitus* applied to the Holy Spirit, we should notice that *non genitus*, "unbegotten," came to be distinguished from *ingenitus* (ἀγέννητος) absolutely "underived," which could only be predicated of the Father. Waterland quotes Abelard as saying *solum Patrem ingenitum dicimus*, h.e. *a seipso non ab alio*.<sup>1</sup>

In the verses (24–26) which sum up the doctrine of the Trinity, the words *in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus* refer not to order or office, but only to duration and dignity. Later theology does not altogether ignore the doctrine of subordination (ὑποταγή τάξεως), which is recognised in the Augustinian doctrine that the distinctions of the three blessed Persons are distinctions of relationship, though not of nature.

(2) The doctrine of the Incarnation is expounded in vv. 29–39. In general we should observe (a) the absence of any expression that directly recognises two natures in Christ, or absolutely excludes the monophysite view; (b) the absence also of any mention of Christ's human nature as being *consubstantial* with ours, which is a mark of post-Eutychian theology. Waterland seems to argue correctly that this portion of the Creed probably is earlier than 451.<sup>2</sup> He points out that the phrase *non conversione Deitatis in carnem* (v. 35) would have been more cautiously expressed in post-Eutychian theology: the error aimed at is clearly Apollinarian, as in *perfectus homo*, v. 32. The phrase *unus Christus* is

<sup>1</sup> Op. Aug. de Trin. iv. 27

<sup>2</sup> Works, vol. iv. p. 246.

derived from Augustine.<sup>1</sup> It is meant that Christ is *one person*, though His two natures remain distinct (*φυσικὴ διαφορά*). This truth is illustrated in v. 35 by the celebrated comparison *sicut anima rationalis, etc.* This comparison meets us in Gregory Nazianzen,<sup>2</sup> Augustine,<sup>3</sup> and others. It played an important part in theological controversy. The Eutychians used the simile to illustrate their tenet that there was only *one nature* in Christ. The point of its use by catholic theology is simply this: in *man* we see two distinct substances combined—a material and mortal substance, with an immaterial and immortal. So in *Christ's* one person are inseparably united two distinct substances, the human nature and the Divine. The simile is in fact an illustration of the distinctness of the two natures (*φυσικὴ διαφορά*), but it is not more than an illustration. Petavius acknowledges that the point where the simile fails is that soul and body are two *imperfect natures*; neither apart from the other has personality (*προάγουσαν ὑπόστασιω*); whereas the two natures conjoined in Christ are *perfect*. He is "perfect God and perfect man"; whereas body and soul are but parts of one whole,—human nature. If not overpressed, however, the simile is important: it illustrates the unity of personality, with the distinctness of natures.<sup>4</sup>

The following verses describe the historical manifesta-

<sup>1</sup> *Tract in Joh.* lxxviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. ad Cled.* i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See *Aug. Ep. ad Volus.*: "Nam sicut in unitate personæ anima unitur corpori ut homo sit; ita in unitate personæ Deus unitur homini ut Christus sit. In illa ergo persona mixtura est animæ et corporis; in hac persona mixtura est Dei et hominis," etc. *Cp. Enchir.* xxxvi.; *Serm.* clxxiv.; *Maxim. de diab. nat. Chr.* 2: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ταυτότης μὲν ἐστὶ προσώπου, ἑτερότης δὲ οὐσιῶν· ἐνδὲ γὰρ θντος ἀνθρώπου ἄλλης οὐσίας ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἄλλης ἡ σὰρξ· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ· ταυτότης μὲν ἐστὶ προσώπου, ἑτερότης δὲ οὐσιῶν· ἐνδὲ γὰρ θντος προσώπου ἦτοι ὑποστάσεως, ἑτέρας οὐσίας ἐστὶν ἡ θεότης, καὶ ἑτέρας ἡ ἀνθρωπότης.

<sup>4</sup> See *Petav. de Incarn.* iii. 9, where the point is fully discussed.

tion of the Son, on the lines of the Nicene Creed. With regard to the last clause, Waterland remarks that "this is to be understood like all other such general propositions, with proper reserves and qualifying constructions." The positive truth implied is man's accountableness for his belief as well as his practice,<sup>1</sup> and the dependence of character on creed. "If," says Augustine,<sup>2</sup> "we believe falsely concerning the Trinity, our hope will be empty, and our charity not unsullied."

### § III. THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST

#### 1. *The Perfection of Christ's Human Nature*

The definitions of the Church which excluded the tenets of Apollinaris and Eutyches were so framed as to guard the *reality, integrity, and permanence* of that human nature which the Son of God by an act of infinite condescension assumed. Only if human nature in its completeness had been taken into the Godhead was the fact of salvation assured. The Son of God became perfectly human (τελέως ἄνθρωπος). Thus human nature was in Him, in virtue of His person and work, really redeemed.<sup>3</sup> He assumed our nature in its entirety, "was made like unto us in all things sin only except." He was *ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα*.

Such was in fact the teaching of the Gospels concerning the historical Christ. Jesus Christ had a body subject to the ordinary laws of nurture and growth; liable to sinless human infirmities, weariness, hunger, and pain, but not to defects or disease. He *partook of flesh*

<sup>1</sup> So in verse 26, *ita sentiat de Trinitate* is to be observed. A man is to be thus minded, "if not thus explicitly or in every particular yet thus in the general or implicitly" (Waterland, quoting Wycliffe).

<sup>2</sup> *de Trin.* viii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. ad Epict.* vii. *ὅλου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σωτηρία ἐγένετο.*

*and blood*; and the flesh which had become to mankind the sphere and organ of sin was by Him assumed as the instrument of service and obedience, of healing power and atoning sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> Christ also had a human soul, the seat of His human affections and emotions, compassion, distress, fear, so that a real experience of trial and suffering was possible for Him. Before His passion His soul was *troubled*, and *exceeding sorrowful even unto death*.<sup>2</sup> Further, He was endowed with a real human will, to which there are repeated allusions in the Gospels, and which is indeed implied in the fact that our Lord frequently prayed. The human will in Christ was real, though it was ever united to the Divine will, and subject to its control. The temptation however is a proof that this subjection did at times involve painful and prolonged effort and struggle.<sup>3</sup> Finally, our Lord possessed a true human spirit. He is said to have *waxed strong in spirit*; to have *sighed in spirit*; and in His death He *commends His spirit* to the Father. The spirit in man is that element in his nature which is capable of communion with God; that by which he enters into relation with God; that on which the Spirit of God acts. This element our Lord possessed in its integrity. It was His spirit which could be possessed, reinforced, enabled, sustained by the Holy Spirit. *In the power*

<sup>1</sup> S. Lk. ii. 52, etc. As to our Lord's exemption from sickness or disease, see Bp. Kingdon, *God Incarnate*, pp. 87 ff. It would seem that our Lord accepted all that was common to man without taking on Himself special and individual forms of infirmity. He experienced what was universal, not what was peculiar or eccentric. It was in the passion, we believe, that He sustained actually "all the collective burden of human sickness." Cp. S. Mt. viii. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 24; and see Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 19-23.

<sup>2</sup> S. Jo. xii. 27; S. Mt. xxvi. 38; on which passages Origen remarks, "Unde videtur quasi medium quoddam esse anima inter carnem infirmam et spiritum promptum" (*de Princ.* ii. 8. 4).

<sup>3</sup> See Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 263-267.

of the Spirit He could work miracles. In the moment of dereliction it is the spirit that passes through the experience of desolation. But perhaps the most important point to remember is that it is Christ's human spirit that may be regarded as the seat of His Divine personality.<sup>1</sup>

Thus our Lord's manhood was so completely akin to ours, that it was possible for Him to pass through a complete human experience, and to sanctify each stage of normal human development. This is the point of a beautiful passage of Irenæus.<sup>2</sup> "Jesus Christ," he says, "came to save all through means of Himself. He therefore passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, a child for children, a youth for youths, an elderly man for elderly men, that He might be a perfect Master for all," etc.

One or two points which seem to present special difficulty may be most appropriately touched upon in this place. And first, in spite of the fact that Christ's human nature was endowed with a spirit and a will, the Church has ever taught that His manhood was impersonal. It was felt that, if Christ was an individual human person, the redemption of human nature would be illusory. As Hooker insists, "that one [individual] should have been advanced and no more," a consequence which would conflict with the fundamental fact of Christian consciousness — the assurance of universal

<sup>1</sup> See Westcott, note on *Heb.* ix. 14; Godet on *Corinthians*, vol. i. pp. 157, 158; Mason, *Faith of the Gospel*, pp. 146 f. The most important passages are S. Lk. ii. 40, x. 21, xxiii. 46; S. Jo. xi. 33. Cp. S. Mk. viii. 12. The word *πνεῦμα* appears to have four distinct meanings in relation to Christ—(1) His human spirit; (2) the Holy Spirit acting in His manhood—see S. Mt. xii. 28; S. Lk. iv. 1; 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19; (3) vaguely the "higher nature" of Christ—see Rom. i. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 16; (4) possibly "the Godhead" in Heb. ix. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. ii. 22. 4.

redemption in Christ. The later Greek theologians even insisted that, if Christ's manhood were personal, a fourth person would have been introduced into the Divine Trinity, and sometimes this very charge was urged against the Nestorians.<sup>1</sup> The human nature of our Lord "loses the privilege of a personality of its own in order to gain the special prerogative of belonging to the second Person of the Trinity." It subsisted in the Divine nature "not existing as we exist, but, so to say, grafted on Him, or as a garment in which He was clad."<sup>2</sup> It will be said that this doctrine is unintelligible and self-contradictory; that will is inconceivable apart from personality, and manhood incomplete, but the answer is that in some way it expresses facts of Christian consciousness which lie beyond analysis, nor can it be said to do violence to the profound mystery which encompasses the whole subject of personality.<sup>3</sup> The fact which the doctrine is intended to guard is that a Divine person actually assumed our nature, sanctified it, and won for it acceptance with God. The personality which took manhood,—“laid hold” of it, as Scripture vividly says (Heb. ii. 16),—remained ever one and the same, supreme, independent, and sovereign over the created nature. Consequently all that the eternal Word did or suffered as man belongs and is attributable to His person. “Being God, He took a body to be His own (*ἰδιον*), and using this as an implement, He became

<sup>1</sup> See Petav. *de Incarn.* v. 10. 3, quoting Proclus, *εἰ ἄλλος ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἔτι τρεῖς ἀλλὰ τέτρας.*

<sup>2</sup> Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. 293.

<sup>3</sup> See Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, note 10 (p. 240). It has been suggested that the absence of human personality may correspond to the fact that our Lord had no human father; that “while the plastic form of humanity is derived from the woman, personality is transmitted in some mysterious way from the father.” Consequently the manhood taken by the Word from Mary's substance would be impersonal. See R. M. Benson, *Comm. on Romans*, p. 187.

man for our sake. And therefore what is proper to the flesh is ascribed to *Him*—hunger, for instance, and thirst and suffering; . . . and the flesh ministers to the operations of the Godhead, for the body was that of God . . . and while *He*, indeed, suffered no detriment therefrom, *we* were being delivered from our own evil affections, and were being fulfilled with the righteousness of the Word.”<sup>1</sup>

This is the real kernel of the Christian belief as it finds expression in the doctrine of the impersonal manhood. But there is another point to be briefly noticed, touching the nature of the manhood assumed. It is the catholic doctrine that the Word took our flesh *physically such as the Fall had left it*. As Athanasius insists, “He took upon Him the flesh which had been enslaved to sin,”<sup>2</sup> subject to corruption, infirmity, and death, “for death was proper (*ἰδιον*) to human beings”; but untainted by sin, which is no true element in human nature, no original defect of unfallen man, but incurred by moral transgression and transmitted by descent. The Word assumed human nature, then, sinless indeed and untainted, but subject to the inheritance of weakness, suffering, and death, which had resulted from sin. For it was the very nature which had fallen under the curse that was to be cleansed, exalted, and redeemed, and accordingly the Son of God came into the world *in the likeness of human flesh*.<sup>3</sup> The very body that was subject to corruption was by Him, the Life indeed, to be lifted into the glory of incorruption; for His control over the body was complete. He had power even to overrule or counteract the proper laws of bodily existence, as when

<sup>1</sup> Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iii. 31. Cp. a fine passage in *Ep. ad Epict.* vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 43, 44. Leo, *ad Flav.* [*Ep.* xxviii.] 3, “Suscepta est ab æternitate mortalitas.”

<sup>3</sup> See below (on the Temptation of Christ), p. 612.

He walked upon the waves or fasted forty days and nights. He had power to check the natural emotions of His human nature.<sup>1</sup> He was troubled, Augustine observes, because He willed it; sorrowed because He willed it; died because He willed it. And this thought forms a natural transition to the next section, in which we shall consider the effects as they are revealed to us of that operation of an invincible and perfect will which we adore in the humiliation of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. *The Self-limitation of the Son of God*

The *kenosis* or self-limitation of the Divine Son is necessarily a mysterious fact of which no adequate conception can be formed from a metaphysical or purely logical *a priori* standpoint. It must throughout be viewed ethically, as the act of a being who is akin to man in that which is highest and most distinctive of moral personality, namely, self-determining will and self-sacrificing love. Further, the Incarnation is only one stage in a process which had already begun in creation. In creation God voluntarily limited Himself. He showed Himself willing to forego part of His absolute prerogative in admitting other beings to a relative independence as over against Himself.<sup>3</sup> The Incarnation is a further self-limitation, conditioned by a purpose of love, the desire to aid mankind by sympathy from within rather than by power from without, or, more strictly, by a blending of pity and

<sup>1</sup> Cp. S. Jo. xi. 34, *ἐνεβριμήσατο*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tract. in Joh.* xlix. 18: "In Illius potestate erat sic vel sic affici vel non affici . . . Anima et caro Christi cum Verbo Dei una persona est, unus Christus est. Ac per hoc tibi summa potestas est secundum voluntatis nutum tractatur infirmitas; hoc est *turbavit semetipsum*." Cp. *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* iii. 57, to the same effect.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 64: *καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν μὲν δημιουργῶν ὁ λόγος τὰ πλάσματα, συγκαταβέβηκε τοῖς γερητοῖς, κ.τ.λ.*

power in one supreme act of condescension. In what manner and under what conditions the Son of God could deliberately forego the natural mode of Divine existence, we cannot conceive. But we believe that He did "become poor" in such sense that He voluntarily laid aside the exercise of those attributes of Deity that would have hindered a real human experience. In taking flesh the infinite Being entered on an existence subject to limits of space, time, and development. But regarded on its ethical side, such self-limitation does not seem to contradict the essence of the absolute personality. Finally, there is a further stage in this Divine process; the act of condescension seems to reach its climax in the mystery of God's indwelling Presence as it is effected through the agency of the Holy Spirit. There is a *kenosis* in what we may call the sacramental life of our Lord, which is an extension of the incarnate life. *God with us* is the preliminary stage of a revelation of self-sacrifice, which culminates in the mystery *Christ in us*, *the hope of glory*.<sup>1</sup>

It has been justly said that we ought to have no interest in minimising Christ's experience of humiliation,<sup>2</sup> because it is in itself morally glorious. It is a supreme display of the moral energy of a righteous and loving will; and there is no necessary limit to the possibility of self-abnegation—at least for a holy being—except such as is imposed by perfect sinlessness. At the very outset we should clearly set before ourselves the nature of the series of acts which we speak of as the humiliation of Christ. The entire process of condescension is a display not of weakness, but of infinite moral strength. What we should venerate in the *kenosis* of the Son of God is the triumphant power of an unswerving will, persisting under the utmost pressure of

<sup>1</sup> Col. i. 27; Eph. iii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 35.

distress and trial in a morally glorious action. As Gregory of Nyssa well says, "That the omnipotence of the Divine nature should have *had strength to descend* to the lowliness of humanity, furnishes a more manifest proof of *power* than even the greatness and supernatural character of the miracles. For something pre-eminently great to be effected by Divine power is in a manner accordant with and consequent upon the Divine nature. . . . But this His descent to the lowliness of man is a kind of superabundant display of power,<sup>1</sup> which thus finds no check even in directions which contravene nature. . . . It is not the vastness of the heavens and the bright shining of its constellations, the order of the universe and the unbroken administration over all existence, that so manifestly displays the transcendent power of the Deity, as this condescension to the weakness of our nature,—the way in which sublimity is actually seen in lowliness, and yet the loftiness descends not."<sup>2</sup> This is a note which was not uncommonly sounded in the age when the deeper questions connected with the mystery of the Incarnation were first raised. Thus Athanasius insists against the Arians that it is an error to insist on what is possible (*τὸ δυνατόν*) for a Divine Being; we must rather consider what is morally fitting (*τὸ πρέπον*).<sup>3</sup> Hilary carries this thought more into detail when he insists that even the sufferings of our Lord were triumphs of love<sup>4</sup> and power,—a conception which is plainly suggested by the language of S. Paul (Col. ii. 15), and which seems to be specially present to S. John's mind when he records those utterances of the Saviour in which

<sup>1</sup> Περιουσία τίς ἐστι τῆς δυνάμεως.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. cat. mag.* xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. also Greg. *op. cit.* c. ix.

<sup>4</sup> *de Trin.* bk. x. 48. Cp. Chrys. *hom. i. in Act.*: οὐκ ἂν δέ τις ἀμάρτων καὶ τὸ πάθος πρῶξιν κάλεσας· ἐν τῷ γὰρ παθεῖν ἐποίησε τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον ἐκεῖνο, τὸν θάνατον καταλύσας, κ.τ.λ.

the passion is regarded as glorification.<sup>1</sup> All will depend on our point of view; what was a stumblingblock to the Jew was, in the eyes of S. John, the manifestation of transcendent glory. If Love is the supreme attribute of the Divine nature, the metaphysical difficulties raised as to the "unchangeableness" of God<sup>2</sup> seem to give way to moral considerations; the abstract attributes of Deity must in the last resort be compatible with a real power of condescension, a real display of pity.

The question, however, next arises, How is the *status exinanitionis* to be understood? and we must clearly understand that it is only possible to speak on this point with the utmost reserve. Various ideas have been stated on the subject by early Fathers of the Church; and as we have seen, the subject of Christ's humiliation was the subject of keen disputation in Germany during the earlier period of the Reformation,—some contending for a concealment of the Divine attributes in Christ (*Kryptiker*), the possession but not the use of them, others for a kind of *self-depotentiation* of the Divine nature (*Kenotiker*). But instead of discussing these conflicting theories we shall content ourselves with stating what seem to be fixed points, leaving all that lies beyond those points as hid among the *secret things* of God. Thus it is safe to lay down the following propositions.

(1) The *status exinanitionis* implies a real voluntary act of condescension: *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* (Phil. ii. 7), *ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὢν* (2 Cor. viii. 9). The point here is that to the Son of God His self-humiliation was a free

<sup>1</sup> Cp. S. Jo. vii. 39, xii. 23, 28, 32, xiii. 31, xvii. 1, 5; Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 35; Martensen, *Christ. Dogmatics*, § 133.

<sup>2</sup> This difficulty is discussed by Aug. *de Trin.* v. 17,—an important passage. So in vii. 5: "Factus est nobis via temporalis per humilitatem, quæ mansio nobis æterna est per divinitatem. . . Semetipsum exinaniavit, non mutando divinitatem suam, sed nostram mutabilitatem assumendo." Cp. Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 173.

and deliberate act of *will*. "He allowed economically the limitations of humanity to prevail over Himself," says Cyril;<sup>1</sup> they prevail then over the Logos, but *by His own consent*. According to Gregory of Nyssa, an essential faculty of the Logos is the power of deliberate choice; it is the main element indeed in rational existence.<sup>2</sup> The frequent habit of theologians since Cyril of Alexandria has been to represent the human growth and development of Christ docetically, because they have argued logically and have been apt to overlook the element of voluntariness in the *kenosis*. This tendency was carried, as we have seen, to disastrous lengths by John Damascene and Thomas Aquinas. They have forgotten the considerations so eloquently urged by earlier writers like Gregory of Nyssa as to the moral sublimity of the *kenosis* if viewed from the standpoint which asks not what is possible for God, but what is worthy of Him. The humiliation of Christ is to be regarded therefore—nay, it is surely revealed in Scripture—as being a voluntary act of love; a state maintained by a continuous act of unwearied will; a "voluntary perseverance in the mind not to assert equality [with God] on the part of one who could do otherwise."<sup>3</sup> It was the great merit of some early Fathers, notably of Hilary, that they gave prominence to this truth. They represented our Lord's self-abasement as the effect of continuous loving acts of will. They insisted that the Son of God remained at every moment in absolute possession of power over Himself,<sup>4</sup> and accordingly they revered in the incarnate Christ the tenacity and persistence of a holy will.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Quod unus etc.* Migne, *P.G.* 75, p. 1332.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. orat. mag.* 1: *εἰ οὖν ζῆ ὁ Λόγος ὁ ζῶν ὢν, καὶ προαιρετικὴν δύναμιν ἔχει πάντως.* <sup>3</sup> Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Dörner, *Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 411.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?* i. c. 10. "Acceptæ bonæ voluntatis spontanea et amata tenacitas."

(2) These considerations lead us to believe that there was occasionally at least a "quiescence" of the Divine nature of Christ; in His temptation, in His endurance of suffering, in His passion, we must think that there was a real self-restraint of the "beams of Deity"; the support of His Godhead was in a measure withdrawn.<sup>1</sup> This would be compatible with the possibility of a real human experience. "If," says Bishop Martensen, "the Incarnation and the idea of Christ's mediatorship are to be realities, it must also be a reality that God felt the limitations of human nature as His own limitations, that He experienced the states of human nature as His own states."<sup>2</sup> A Divine Being in the Incarnation assumed our manhood really, and not in semblance; passing through each stage of it; exalting but not extinguishing its proper faculties and functions; exercising a true human will; suffering the trials of a human spirit. In a word, in the *status exinanitionis* God was really acting and working under conditions of manhood. The protest of S. Ignatius against the docetists of his day must be repeated whenever the attempt is made to impugn the reality of the self-sacrifice which the Christian creed ascribes to God. There is moral sublimity in deliberately refraining from the exercise of faculties, and the use of capacities or privileges, which a Divine Being rightly claims. We must not in any case rob the words *ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὢν* of their legitimate force, because we are not able to explain the conditions under which such a fact was possible.

<sup>1</sup> See the celebrated passage of Irenæus, iii. 19. 3: ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν· συγγινομένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρηστεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. [Ambrose] explains *exinanitionis* as "potestatem suam ab opere retraxit" (*Comm. in Ep. ad Phil.* ii. 7). Hilary speaks of the Logos as "tempering Himself" to conformity with the habit and capacity of human nature: *de Trin.* xi. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Dogmatics*, § 186.

(3) There is, we frankly admit, real difficulty in forming a conception of a single personality occupying, as it were, a double sphere of consciousness: at once Divine and human, omniscient and nescient. There are, indeed, facts which may be said to appease the sense of mystery;<sup>1</sup> but perhaps an illustration is our best aid in forming some conception of a dual consciousness such as seems to be presupposed in the *kenosis*. We may, for instance, imagine the case of the ruler of a vast empire conversing with his young children. In this case there are two different spheres, one within the other, so to speak: the sphere in which powers of reason, wide knowledge of human affairs, and trained political capacities, are required and exercised; the other, in which all that is necessary is the gift of sympathy—the power of bringing a highly-developed and well-stored mind within the range of the ideas and capacities of children. In the narrower sphere, that of the father with his children, there would be a deliberate abstention from the use and exercise of the faculties necessary in the wider sphere; there would be a simplicity of dealing prompted by love—a self-limitation imposed by sympathy. There would be accommodation, reserve, nescience—in so far as the wider knowledge and experience gathered in the large sphere would be useless or unintelligible in the smaller one. It would seem that illustrations of this kind, drawn from the moral and social experience of mankind, are more likely to be helpful than abstract considerations and deductions from the observed phenomena of personality; for personality, after all, is a field which as yet is only partially explored. Such lines of thought seem in fact to suggest the conclusion that the *kenosis* consisted in a deliberate abstention on the part of the Logos from the exercise of

<sup>1</sup> See Newman, *Paroch. Sermons*, vol. iii. no. 12: "The humiliation of the eternal Son."

Divine powers that might at any moment have been resumed. From the first to the final stage the *status examinationis* was maintained by a persistent and invincible will. Thus, as Gregory pointed out, the submission to mortal infirmity was throughout an act of Divine power.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. *Christ's submission to temptation*

*He hath suffered being tempted; in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.* In such terms does an apostolic writer<sup>2</sup> insist on the truth that our Lord had a moral nature akin to ours; that He was *perfected* through moral discipline; that He *learned obedience* and submitted to the ordinary laws of human probation. Temptation was a part of that average human experience by which our Lord was prepared for the effective fulfilment of His high-priestly work. It was a training in the power of sympathy, and of equitable judgment in regard to human sin, which befitted one who reveals Himself as Saviour and Judge of mankind. The capacity for feeling sympathy depends, not on such intuition as a Divine being might have of the force of temptation, but

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Aug. *de Trin.* viii. 11. There is a passage in Cyril's works which suggests the same idea of one and the same person appearing in two different capacities, spheres, or relationships, which is worth quoting:—

“For just as the earthly emperor, if he should ever wish to appear in the guise of a consul, does not therefore cease to be emperor, nor in any degree lose his existing authority, but continues one and the same person, holding the consular office in addition to the imperial dignity; and were one to designate him ‘emperor,’ one would be aware that it was actually he who was also investing himself with the guise of the consul; and conversely, were one to call him ‘consul,’ one would be aware that he was also emperor;—so likewise our Lord Jesus Christ was ever Son of God, being by nature very God; but having in the latter days assumed also the nature of man, He yet remaineth one and the same person, whether He be called God, or man, or Jesus” (*Quod B. Virgo deipara sit*, xiv. Migne, *P.G.* 76, p. 272).

<sup>2</sup> Heb. ii. 18, iv. 15; cp. v. 2, 8, 9.

on actual experience of its pressure. So S. Chrysostom observes, "Not merely as God does He know, but also as man. He learned through the trial wherewith He was tried."<sup>1</sup> It is part of the perfection of His example that He willed to undergo the common discipline of human life, that the tempted might be upheld not only by the aid of His grace, but by the assurance of His fellow-feeling.

The following are the most important doctrinal points in relation to this subject:—

1. Christ's human nature was sinless. This is a truth required not only by the facts of His life and the impression produced on His followers by His words and works, but, as Christians have universally acknowledged, by the very conditions of a true redemption. The redemption of man means the union of His nature with God. It was necessary that He who came into saving contact with human nature should be none lower than *the Holy One of God*. It is a reasonable conclusion that the entail of transmitted sin should be cut off by the supernatural birth: for sin belonged to man by descent; it was not an original defect of human nature, but an acquired taint. The flesh of the Redeemer was sinless, though He came into the world *in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chrys. *hom. ad Hebr.* ii. 18, quoted by Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 59. Cp. Orig. *in Num. hom.* xiv. 2: "Non probata vero nec examinata virtus nec virtus est."

<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 3. See Aug. *op. imperf. c. Jul.* iv. 57, and *de Trin.* xiii. 23. Cp. also the statement of the synod of Ancyra: *ομοιωματι σαρκος ἀμαρτίας γενόμενον γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ἀμαρτίας, πείνης φαιμέν καὶ δίψης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, μὴ γενέσθαι δὲ ἐν ταύτοισι τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμαρτίας* (ap. Epiph. lxxiii. 8). So 9: *ὑπομένων δὲ τὰ σαρκὸς προειρημένα πάθη οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμαρτητικῶς ἐκινῶτο*. On the supernatural birth of our Lord, it may suffice to refer to Bp. Gore, *Dissertations*, No. 1; Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ* (London, 1907).

Further, the manhood of Jesus was exempt from any inward propensity to sin, any capacity of sinful self-assertion. He was sinless because He could not *will to sin*. He had indeed in their balanced perfection and purity all the human faculties to which temptation makes its appeal; but there was nothing within Him which responded to the appeal; no tainted disposition which lusted after evil. *In Him is no sin*, says S. John.<sup>1</sup> In Him accordingly as the perfect Son of Man is revealed the fact that sin, as we know it, is the disorder<sup>2</sup> and corruption of nature, not its essential truth or necessary condition. Christ possessed our nature in its primal perfection, without that which is its fault and defect. In Him the will, the defect of which constitutes sin, was essentially good and upright, and was kept from swerving by the power of the Word to which it was absolutely surrendered. S. Augustine very clearly states the truth: "We say not that Christ could not feel evil concupiscence in virtue of the blessedness of possessing a flesh removed from our senses [docetism]; but we maintain that He had no evil concupiscence in virtue of His sinless holiness, and the fact that His flesh was not begotten according to the ordinary law of generation . . . Yet Christ might have experienced this concupiscence had He possessed it; and He might have possessed it had He willed so to do; but God forbid that He should will."<sup>3</sup> In a word, Christ could not *will to sin*. As Tertullian expresses the same truth, to Him belonged the very flesh

<sup>1</sup> 1 S. Jo. iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *ἀνομία*, 1 S. Jo. iii. 4; cp. *Luz Mundi*, App. ii. "The Christian Doctrine of Sin." [Ath.] c. *Apoll.* l. 12, 14, insists that it is Manichæism to hold *φύσικόν εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν*.

<sup>3</sup> The passage (slightly paraphrased above) occurs in Aug. *op. imperf.* c. *Jul.* iv. 48. The last words are the most important: "Hanc cupiditatem Christus et sentire posset, si haberet; et habere, si vellet. Sed absit ut vellet." Cp. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?* ii. 10.

which in fallen man is sinful; He was exempt, not from the substance and material of human flesh, but from its corruption and fault. "In wearing our flesh, He made it His own; in making it His own, He made it sinless."<sup>1</sup>

2. Yet temptation to Christ was real, though it was sinless in origin, and left Him sinless in the result. For He was not exempt from the ordinary, simple, and sinless instincts of human nature; those physical and mental affections<sup>2</sup> and innocent instincts, to which some things are necessarily desirable and others abhorrent, existed in Him in their simple integrity; such affections as hunger and thirst, weariness and desire of repose, capacity for toil and sorrow, repugnancy to suffer, and the shrinking from death. Thus temptation in its strict sense would result whenever the gratification of even one innocent affection was contrary to the Divine will, either in respect of time or occasion. "Every such conjuncture must produce a conflict between duty and these necessary instincts of humanity, sufficient to constitute temptation in the strictest sense."<sup>3</sup> Although therefore, as we have pointed out, there were no *tendencies* to evil in Christ's human nature, though every natural power and faculty was ever kept in perpetual fidelity to the will of God, though sin could have for Him no "enticing" power,<sup>4</sup> and could produce no excitement or illusion in His mind, He could nevertheless share with the tempted the fixed attitude of resistance to moral evil; and the maintenance of that attitude would depend in His case, as in ours, on a continuous exercise of will under manifold and painful

<sup>1</sup> Tert. *de Carne Chr.* xvi., xvii. (an important passage).

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ φυσικά καὶ ἀδιάβλητα παθήματα. Jo. Dam. *de orth. fid.* iii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Mill, *Sermons on the Temptation*, no. ii. p. 35. Cp. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 48. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. S. James i. 14.

pressure. For Him too obedience took the form of effort and self-sacrifice. His will battled with desire, though it was desire always innocent, natural, necessary. He was really tempted to evade the law of holy obedience,<sup>1</sup> and it would accordingly seem to follow that in some sense the Deity of Christ was "quiescent in His temptation."<sup>2</sup> The Deity conferred on His human nature just such strength as was "infallibly sufficient, but not *more* than sufficient to sustain Him in conflict and bear Him through the fearful strife."

3. Thus the victory of Christ is an ethical and real one, not "necessary" in the sense that the power of the indwelling Deity overbore the free moral liberty of Christ's human will. He was free, though His victory was inevitable in virtue of the unction of the Holy Spirit that rested upon Him. He cannot be thought to have repelled the enemy's assaults "like smoke."<sup>3</sup> Rather His human nature in the power of the Spirit was enabled to prevail over temptation, just as in a lower degree His members are enabled to prevail, through the power of the Spirit, yet not without acute suffering and even an agony of conflict. Throughout His trial the will of Christ was acting as ideally man's will ought ever to act. It was truly "free," just because it clung with unswerving fidelity to the will of God, in spite of His capacity for suffering temptation, and His possession of the faculties which ordinarily are employed in sinful

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, note C. Cp. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, pp. 266 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Irenæus, *ut sup.* Cp. Bruce, *l.c.* p. 269.

<sup>3</sup> As Jo. Damasc. asserts, *de orth. fid.* iii. 20. Hilary maintains the same position in effect when he teaches (docetically) that our Lord was not subject to pain or fear. See p. 384 above. On the relation of the work of the Holy Spirit to the temptation, see Mill, *op. cit.* pp. 37-48.

action.<sup>1</sup> But we must remember that there was present with Christ's human nature a countervailing force which enabled Him to conquer the temptation by which He was beset, not coercing His human will, but acting upon it morally in the way of constraining appeal.

It is partly in virtue of this unswerving fidelity to Divine control and direction that our Lord is called in Scripture the *captain* or *leader of faith*: *faithful to Him that appointed Him*.<sup>2</sup> That He suffered as we suffered, that He was tried and tempted, and was subject to human limitations, are facts of the Gospel narrative to which we must be true, in spite of the difficulties which *a priori* suggest themselves when we confess that Christ is very God. "We may construct what appear to be conclusive arguments to show that since the Lord Jesus Christ was a Divine person, He must have known all things, must have been inaccessible to temptation, could never have had occasion to pray."<sup>3</sup> So men have reasoned in effect—even thinkers so illustrious as Thomas Aquinas. But demonstrations of what must have been can avail little, at least in the judgment of instructed Christians, against the express testimony of Holy Writ. "Let this be our wisdom—to be sure

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 30. 3: "Primum liberum arbitrium quod homini datum est, quando primum creatus est rectus, *potuit non peccare*, sed potuit et peccare; hoc autem novissimum eo potentius erit quo *peccare non poterit*. . . Primum liberum arbitrium *posse non peccare*; novissimum, *non posse peccare*." Of our Lord both assertions are true (1) "Potuit non peccare": hence He possessed the faculty of sinning, had He willed to exercise it. (2) "Non potuit peccare." His human will, reinforced by the fulness of the Divine Spirit, could not choose to sin. As to these "old alternatives" Dr. Dale justly points out that "they are metaphysical, not moral, alternatives; they are philosophical abstractions, and do not cover the whole of life. . . Paradoxical as it may seem, moral inability may be the highest form of moral freedom" (*Christian Doctrine*, note H, p. 293).

<sup>2</sup> Heb. xii. 2, iii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> R. W. Dale, *Christian Doctrine*, p. 75.

that the earnest desire to seek truth is a safer way than the presumption that we know what we know not."<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *Christ's growth in knowledge as Man*

We find that the Gospels bear witness to a real development in our Lord's human nature, and it is important to collect the various statements which bear on this point before attempting to construct any theory as to their meaning.

The evangelists, then, attest the natural growth of Christ's bodily and mental faculties. *He advanced* (*προέκοπτεν*) *in wisdom and stature* (S. Luke ii. 52). There was growth in the powers not only of body, but also of mind and intellect. Moreover, the Gospels represent Christ as occasionally asking for information,<sup>2</sup> and occasionally surprised;<sup>3</sup> while as to one matter in particular He professes ignorance.<sup>4</sup> All these facts point to a certain limitation of knowledge; but they are to be qualified by those passages which ascribe to our Lord a supernatural illumination of mind. Thus He is spoken of as possessing a power of supernatural intuition into the hearts and thoughts of men.<sup>5</sup> There are, indeed, passages which imply more than this. Christ occasionally speaks as one who is conscious of an eternal Sonship,<sup>6</sup> as one who has an immediate knowledge of the Father, such as can only come to other men, in their measure, mediately, through union with Him.<sup>7</sup> Speaking generally, however, the phenomena recorded

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* ix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> S. Mk. vi. 38, viii. 5, ix. 21; S. Lk. viii. 30; S. Jo. vi. 5, 6, xi. 34.

<sup>3</sup> S. Mk. vi. 8, vii. 18, viii. 17-21.

<sup>4</sup> S. Mt. xxiv. 36; S. Mk. xiii. 32.

<sup>5</sup> S. Jo. i. 48; S. Mt. xii. 25; S. Jo. xvi. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 253.

<sup>7</sup> S. Mt. xi. 27; S. Lk. x. 22; cp. S. Jo. i. 18, *iii.* 35.

in the Gospels point to a human consciousness in Christ, subject to natural limitations, but supernaturally intensified and illuminated. The insight and foresight vouchsafed to our Lord's human spirit seems in fact to be analogous to that exercised by prophets and apostles. The indwelling presence of Deity does not altogether annihilate the action of human faculties, but intensifies and heightens it.<sup>1</sup> The fulness of the Divine Spirit which sustained and illuminated our Lord's human faculties does not appear to have involved a Divine omniscience, nor to have suspended altogether the ordinary laws and limitations of human intelligence.

We are then face to face with two divergent series of considerations: those which the Gospel narrative generally appears to suggest, and those which might be deduced *a priori* from the truth of Christ's Divinity.

It may be well briefly to describe the different lines of treatment accorded to the facts by ancient thinkers.

(1) It was somewhat inconsistently taught by a party of monophysites in Egypt (the *Agnoetæ*) that the human soul of our Lord was like ours in every respect, even in ignorance. It does not appear that they actually attributed ignorance to the Logos.<sup>2</sup> They seem, however, to have been regarded as heretics, though their teaching ran counter to the general current of monophysite opinion.

(2) Others reasoning *a priori* took what we can only call a docetic view. Our Lord's "advance" or "growth" in knowledge and wisdom was only exhibitivè. His human soul possessed perfect knowledge in virtue of its union with the Divine Logos. Accordingly His "growth" was nothing more than a *progressive manifestation* of the

<sup>1</sup> See on all this subject, C. Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 147 ff., and *Dissertations*, no. 2; also Dale, *Christian Doctrine*, note F.

<sup>2</sup> So, e.g., Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 470; but see Gore, *Dissertations*, pp. 155 f. Cp. p. 440 above.

omniscience which He actually possessed. Thus Cyril of Alexandria attributes to Christ what he calls an "economic" ignorance: that is, such ignorance as properly accorded with the manhood He had assumed. Christ accordingly "seems" ignorant of that which, as man, it did not behove Him to know. Cyril even declares that He "pretends" not to know the day of judgment.<sup>1</sup> Of this theory it may be remarked (a) that it conflicts with the simple impression made by the Gospel narrative, which certainly does not suggest any notion of a merely simulated limitation of faculties; (b) that as actually held by Cyril it involves an inconsistency with his general conception of our Lord's humanity, which in the *physical* sphere at least he admits to have been subject to the ordinary laws of natural development; (c) that Cyril's view is dictated by his anxiety to vindicate the reality of the union of the human with the Divine nature which Nestorianism denied. To allow that Christ was really ignorant on any matter would have seemed to Cyril to favour the Nestorian idea that He was a human person intimately associated with the Logos,—not personally one with Him. We are in fact bound to admit that Cyril's theory appeared to be justified by the acknowledged dogmatic truth of which he was the most conspicuous defender. Moreover, the same general line of treatment is found in the Western Father Hilary.<sup>2</sup> In its more developed form this view of Christ's human nature meets us in John of Damascus, who goes so far as to declare peremptorily that whoever teaches that Christ really advanced (*προέκοπτεν*) in knowledge is practically a Nestorian, and

<sup>1</sup> The most important passages are given in Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, Appendix, pp. 366 f. Cp. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 469, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Hil. *de Trin.* ix. 62, quoted by Swayne, *Enquiry into the Nature of our Lord's Knowledge as Man*, p. 32.

holds the doctrine of a mere relationship between the Logos and the human nature; a special indwelling, and no more (σχητικὴ ἔνωσις, ψιλὴ ἐνοίκησις).<sup>1</sup> Consistently with this, Thomas Aquinas denies to our Lord, even in His human nature, the graces of faith or hope, because they involve a certain state of imperfection. His knowledge was from the first "infinite in the sense of embracing all reality, though not all possibility"; and of course did not admit of growth.<sup>2</sup> It may be added that this has been the prevalent doctrine on the subject since the thirteenth century. Petavius, and our own Hooker, closely follow Aquinas in distinguishing between the knowledge of the world of *ideas* and the knowledge of all *facts* past, present, and future. This latter knowledge they believe to have been communicated to our Lord as man, though not the former, which belongs only to God Himself.<sup>3</sup>

(3) A view that appears to do more justice to the recorded facts is that of Athanasius and the Fathers who preceded him. Such writers as Irenæus and Origen, intent on establishing the truth and reality of the human nature in Christ, allow a true human development and limitation of knowledge. Thus Origen, in a passage of great beauty, says, "We cannot indeed say of wisdom in itself that it was ignorant and acquired knowledge by learning; but this is certainly true of wisdom as it was manifested in flesh. For Christ must needs learn to stammer and speak like a child with children."<sup>4</sup> The general line,

<sup>1</sup> *de orth. ful.* iii. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Bruce, *op. cit.* p. 80; cp. *Summa*, iii. 7. 3 and 4. Christ had not *faith*, "cum a primo instanti conceptionis suæ plene per essentialiam Deum viderit"; nor *hope*, "cum a principio suæ conceptionis plene fruitionem divinam habuerit"; see also qu. ix. artt. 1-4; x. art. 2; xi. artt. 1, 5; xii. artt. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Petav. *de Incarn.* xi. 2, § 12; Hooker, *E.P.* v. 54. Cp. Swayne, *op. cit.* p. 27; Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. 162 f. See also Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 151 ff. and note 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Hom. in Jerom.* i. 8, quoted by Dorner, *div. i. vol. ii. p. 136.*

indeed, of early writers, especially Athanasius, is to draw a sharp distinction between the two natures without pressing further than necessary the question of the limitations of the inferior nature. The passage of Origen just quoted expresses in a simple and homely way the conclusion which is repeatedly insisted on by Athanasius. "In the Godhead there cannot be ignorance; but ignorance is proper to the flesh" (*ἴδιον τῆς σαρκός*).<sup>1</sup> He seems, in fact, to allow the possibility of a real ignorance in our Lord as man; but there is a certain hesitancy in his statements which is to be explained, partly by genuine reluctance to speculate on a subject so full of mystery, partly by the fact that his main purpose is to defend our Lord's true Deity.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most valuable suggestion of Athanasius is the simple one that the limitations of Christ's humanity were conditioned by a purpose of love.<sup>3</sup> To the same effect is the teaching of Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xxx. 15). It would seem on the whole that a return to the facts recorded in the Gospel will incline us to agree with these earlier Fathers in leaving the subject of Christ's human knowledge in the mystery with which the scriptural statements surround it, contenting ourselves with the following conclusions:—

i. The limitation of our Lord's knowledge, whatever was its degree, was a fact resulting from *love*. We have no right to set arbitrary limits to the possibilities of

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Orat. c. Arian.* iii. 37, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Athanasius gives more than one explanation of S. Mk. xiii. 32. (1) Christ *knew* the day, as He shows by predicting all that was to happen before it. He said He knew not as *man* (*σάρκα ἀγνοῦσαν ἐνεδύσατο σαρκικῶς ἔλεγεν οὐκ οἶδα*, *Orat. c. Arian.* iii. 42-46). (2) He knew, but may have said He knew not, *τῆς ἡμῶν ἕνεκα λυσιτελείας* (this is very tentatively suggested). (3) He said it to stop questioning.

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.* iii. 43 (*φιλανθρωπία*). See reff. to Iren. and Greg. Naz. in Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 468, 469. Cp. Newman, *Ath. Treatises*, ii. pp. 161 f. Swayne, *op. cit.* 26-32.

self-sacrifice and self-humiliation for a Being whose essence is love. It is ethically conceivable, though on metaphysical grounds insuperably difficult, that a Divine Being should accept even the limitations of human knowledge. Thus it has been well suggested by Lange that Christ's voluntary acceptance of the mental conditions of a true human lot, is a just rebuke to the curiosity—the readiness to grasp at a higher knowledge—which has been to human beings so often the occasion of sin.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, if we contemplate the whole subject from this point of view, we shall not allow speculative difficulties to rob us of important ethical lessons. The action of love is antecedently incalculable both in its nature and effects. It is the truest wisdom on this, as on many other subjects, to check the promptings of restless curiosity; to remember that *He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love.*<sup>2</sup>

ii. Our Lord in His human nature possessed an *infallible knowledge*, so far as was required by the conditions and purpose of His incarnation. His mission was to reveal God, the destiny, needs, and true condition of man, the way of redemption, the laws of the spiritual world. On these subjects the purpose of love, which inspired His coming, required that He should teach with absolute and infallible authority. He is *the Truth*; and all things that it is needful for men to know for the conduct of life, and for the apprehension of God, He teaches infallibly. "He used and displayed an infused and perfect wisdom."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lange, *Leben Jesu*, p. 1280 (referring to S. Mk. xiii. 32): "Er setzt sein nicht-wissen von jenem Moment als ein heiliges nicht-wissen-wollen dem sündhaften wissen-wollen seiner Jünger entgegen, die göttliche Erhabenheit dieses nicht-wissens der menschlichen Kleinlichkeit eines vermeintlichen wissens dieser Art."

<sup>2</sup> 1 S. Jo. iv. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Swayne, *op. cit.* p. 42.

## THE INCARNATION

But as we do not know the requirements of the "economy," so we have no need to answer the question, whether outside its necessary scope our Lord might or might not be subject to the ordinary limitations of human knowledge. It might be suggested, for instance, that "the love which required Him to know that Lazarus was dead, did not require that He should know where Lazarus was buried." But here again it is better to fall back on the assurance that if He was ignorant on any point, He was ignorant through His willingness perfectly to share in our human experience. Thus both His infallible knowledge and His human nescience spring from one and the same root of Divine love. If in any degree He willed to partake, as the Gospels seem to suggest, of a creaturely ignorance, He did so from motives of pity and sympathy for man, and because such nescience was in no sense a hindrance to the purpose of His incarnation. We are struck, indeed, not only by the range and profundity of His disclosures concerning the nature and kingdom of God, but also by His great reserve in teaching. There are many points on which He refuses to pronounce, as if they lay outside the scope and requirements of the "economy." He does not pronounce on social or political questions; nor reveal facts which it lay within the province of ordinary human faculties to ascertain—facts of science, history, or criticism. This circumstance has hardly received the attention it deserves.<sup>1</sup> There may have been things which, as man, our Lord did not know; but His nescience was the result of a deliberate act of His own will. His consciousness, as we may surmise,

<sup>1</sup> See, however, the admirable introductory chapter of Mr. Latham's *Pastor Pastorum*. The writer forcibly points out our Lord's invariable respect for human personality and His carefulness to stimulate the action of men's faculties. "With Christ," he remarks, "the part that the man had to do of himself went for infinitely more than what was done for him by another" (p. 6).

was limited, but such limitation did not necessarily mean that He was Himself deceived; still less that He could mislead others. For we must believe that He would always be conscious of such limitation, and His perfect fidelity to the Holy Spirit of truth would assuredly restrain Him from making any pronouncement on points lying outside the range of His human knowledge.<sup>1</sup> His perfect truthfulness thus appears as much in His silence as in His utterances. It would be in accord with His usual method of sympathy to confine Himself to the ordinary modes of expression current in His own age, and even to accept its scientific or literary conceptions. The question is whether a Divine and perfect knowledge on such points was really necessary for His purpose; whether ~~nescience~~ <sup>nescience</sup> in any degree interfered with His true work,—the revelation of the glory and love of God, the spiritual enlightenment and healing of mankind. Thus we may connect the fact of Christ's conscious and voluntary reserve in teaching with the fact of His true development under human limitations. This reserve is a difficulty and stumblingblock only to those who argue that our Lord, being Divine, must have intended to teach positively on all subjects which He incidentally touches, whereas we have good reason for thinking that as man He did not transcend the ordinary knowledge or conceptions of His time in matters not affecting the primary purpose of His coming. It is admitted that He never teaches positively on points of science; analogy makes it equally probable that He never taught as to the authorship of different books of Scripture, or their mode of composition. As it is likely enough that we may overrate the importance of certainty on these points, so it is certain that there are no statements of our Lord which indisputably prove either that He was possessed

<sup>1</sup> See Swayne, *op. cit.* pp. 16-18.

of modern critical knowledge, or that He intended to finally endorse the traditional views of His countrymen in regard to the nature of their Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion at which we may most safely arrive is that in regard to this mysterious subject a sense of our own ignorance ought to play "a much larger part than it usually does."<sup>2</sup> We may well shrink from constructing any general theory as to our Lord's human knowledge. We are too apt to discuss and dispute where we should wonder and adore. It is the general aim of this book to recall students to the temper of sobriety and holy fear which marks the greatest among the ancient theologians. The subject we have been studying is one of those of which Augustine says: *de credendis nulla infidelitate dubitemus, de intelligendis nulla temeritate affirmemus.*

#### § IV. THE WORK OF CHRIST IN RELATION TO HIS PERSON

There are three aspects of our Lord's work which have to be considered in close connection with the catholic doctrine concerning His person. These aspects must be dealt with in close mutual connection, if their true significance is to be understood. As our example, Christ is the revealer of the will and mind of God; as our High Priest, He represents humanity before God in offering an atoning and all-sufficient sacrifice; as the second Adam He infuses into His members the re-creative energy of His own exalted manhood.

I. First, then, Christ is the perfect revealer of God; the teacher of truth; the Word of God *in whom are hid*

<sup>1</sup> On this subject, see Driver, *Introd. to the O.T.* prof. xviii, xix; Plummer in *Expositor* for July 1891; besides the works of Dr. Dale and Bp. Gore already referred to. See also some valuable words of Dr. Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 417 ff. as to the "law of parsimony" which underlies revelation.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 268.

*all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*; the Truth itself. In the exercise of His prophetic office He preaches the kingdom of God, and reveals its principles and mysteries. He elucidates the moral law, and proclaims the Divine requirements for man. Both in His authoritative teaching and in His example He makes known the will of God; and in following the footsteps of His most holy life we are taught *how to walk and to please God*.

What, then, is the significance of Christ's example? Athanasius observes that owing to man's mutable nature he needed an immutable example "in order that he might possess the unalterable righteousness of the Word as a pattern and example in the pursuit of virtue."<sup>1</sup> Consequently the true value of Christ's example from one point of view depends on His being unlike other men; and, indeed, the true pattern of manhood must be sinless, because sinlessness is a necessary element in the truth and perfection of human nature. In Christ is embodied the ideal of humanity—that which it was intended to be according to God's creative purpose; and His example assures us that sin is no essential part of human nature. While, therefore, as the pattern of manhood Christ is very man, yet as the archetype and restorer of human nature He must needs embody it in its ideal perfection.<sup>2</sup>

The question here naturally arises whether an example is of any avail unless there be *absolute identity* of moral circumstances; how can the sinless man be an object of imitation to the sin-stricken? In answer to this difficulty two considerations may be urged: (a) The

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. c. Ar.* l. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Aug. *de Trin.* iv. 4: "Non enim congruit peccator justo, sed congruit homini homo. Adjungens ergo nobis similitudinem humanitatis suæ, abstulit dissimilitudinem iniquitatis nostræ."

circumstances of Christ's human life are *sufficiently* similar to our own to enable Him to be in a true sense our pattern. It is the main object of the Epistle to the Hebrews to bring out this general similarity of conditions between Christ and those whom He deigned to call His brethren. The force of example, it may be admitted, does depend on general equality in the conditions; but these, it may be urged, are fulfilled in the human life of Jesus Christ. He like other men was subject to suffering and to the sinless infirmities of human nature; He was capable of being tried and tempted, and so far was not exempt from the ordinary laws of moral probation. He was like us in possessing a nature not exempted by its union with the Word from keen distresses and the assaults of temptation. Accordingly the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is justified in speaking of Him as *in all things made like unto His brethren*.<sup>1</sup> His was a normal life in respect of its general conditions and experiences; "it was a universal human life in all its aspects of work and prayer, of waiting and action, at home and abroad, in popularity and ignominy, with poor and with rich, in success and in failure, through all the stages of human growth."<sup>2</sup> His was a normal human life, "for if He did not consist of the same nature as ours, in vain does He enjoin us to imitate our Master. If He was of some different substance to us, why does He bid me, with my natural weakness, act like Him? and how can He be good and righteous?"<sup>3</sup> (b) Again, it must be borne in mind that, together with the presentation of an example, Jesus Christ reveals to us the means and conditions of renewal after His image and likeness. Pelagianism,

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See an article on "Our Lord's Human Example" in *Ch. Quarterly Rev.* no. 32; Martensen, *Christian Ethics* (general), § 72.

<sup>3</sup> Hippol. *Philos.* x. 33.

which believed in man's inherent ability to raise himself, only asked for an example which man could follow in his unassisted strength. But Pelagianism was based on a shallow conception of sin, as an evil not of such gravity as to need satisfaction or atonement; as a misuse indeed of human freedom, but one resulting rather from weakness and miscalculation than from a radical defect of nature;<sup>1</sup> and the average experience of human nature shows that the question whether man needs an example, is inseparable from the further question whether he needs a Saviour. The mystery of salvation, of man's reunion with God, forms the dogmatic counterpart to the mystery of sin and the severance it has wrought between the Creator and the creature. The Church's doctrine of man's re-creation is based on a profound conception of all that is involved in human sin. Looking at man's actual condition, we see that if Jesus Christ had been revealed only as a pattern of righteousness, His coming would have plunged mankind into deeper despair than that in which they were already held captive. But the example exhibited by one, who is also Saviour and Restorer, stimulates us to imitation. And the assurance of Divine aid is the more welcome when we realise that men are called to follow not merely the footsteps of an earthly life, but the perfections of a risen and exalted Saviour. The Christian life, so far as it is conformed to its true pattern, will not consist merely in the fulfilment of every known duty which different relationships impose; it will bear the marks of a life *hidden with Christ in God*: separation from the world, consecration, heavenly tranquillity and freedom.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dieringer, *Lehrb. der Kath. dogmatik*, § 94. An illustration of the Pelagian temper is found in Abelard. See Bern. *de error. Abael.* vii. 17, ix. 23; cp. also Aug. *de gratia*, esp. 43-45.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, pp. 173 ff.

II. Next, Christ is our High Priest, that is our Redeemer; and this aspect of His work brings us to the doctrine of the atonement, the history of which has been already briefly traced. For our present purpose nothing more can be attempted than to indicate the main points to be studied in connection with the redemptive work of Christ.

i. The necessity of atonement.<sup>1</sup>

Rom. iii. 25 teaches that the Divine patience with a sinful world had its ground in the future coming of Christ. The Divine holiness had never been completely vindicated or manifested, even in the great historic judgments in which inspired prophecy had traced the avenging hand of God: the Divine resentment against sin—the law of God that it must suffer—had not before Christ's coming been allowed to have free course. A signal display *then* of Divine righteousness was rendered necessary by God's past pretermission of human sin. The need of atonement thus lies in the outraged holiness of God; sin being His mortal enemy, and the necessary cause of man's alienation from Him, there falls upon Him the moral necessity of "asserting the principle" that sin deserves to suffer. The atonement is, in fact, in its primary aspect, the manifest embodiment of God's judgment against human sin.<sup>2</sup> And sacrifice is the recognition by man's conscience that such an atonement for sin is natural and necessary; it witnesses to his instinctive anticipation of punishment.<sup>3</sup> The institution of sacrifice indeed, which had existed from the dawn of human history, had gradually come to have a spiritual

<sup>1</sup> The question has often been asked, Why God could not restore man by a mere *fiat* of His will? An outline of answers that might be, or have been, given will be found in an appended note, p. 646.

<sup>2</sup> See generally Dale on *The Atonement*.

<sup>3</sup> See a striking passage on the witness of conscience in W. Bagehot, *Literary Studies*, vol. ii. 65.

significance. As the sense of guilt was deepened in man, as his conscience became more perfectly educated, sacrifice had lost its earliest character as an oblation of creaturely gratitude and joy, and assumed the aspect of a propitiatory offering for sin; and so far in sacrifice was embodied man's recognition of the fact that sin deserves suffering.

ii. The essence of atonement.

Man stands over against God as a moral being, and accordingly atonement is essentially a moral fact: the reunion of sundered wills, the reconciliation of hearts, the restoration of a broken harmony, the removal of the causes of moral alienation. The system of sacrifice, as organised and developed in the priestly law of Israel, was the visible and speaking embodiment of three main ideas: those of willing and entire self-surrender in a life of unbroken obedience (typified by the whole burnt-offering); the submissive acceptance of death as the righteous penalty of sin (the sin-offering); the renewal of fellowship with God in a feast of communion (the peace-offering). Here, then, are prefigured the moral elements in the atoning work of Christ. The only possible reconciliation between God and man is one that involves the surrender of man's will to God.<sup>1</sup>

iii. The atonement fulfilled by Christ.

In Christ man presents himself before his Maker offering submission: *When He cometh into the world, He saith . . . Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God.*<sup>2</sup>

For Christ wears our human nature, and is our natural representative before God. In Him humanity is comprised; His acts are ours; His submission, His acceptance of death, His exaltation are ours. He fulfils each

<sup>1</sup> "The supremacy of God's will is the supremacy of good. . . . Salvation can only come by sin being vanquished, by the surrender of the sinner to God, not of God to sin" (Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 481).

<sup>2</sup> Heb. x. 5, 8.

necessary condition of atonement. First, His life is one of spotless, unswerving obedience, a life perfectly well pleasing to the Father. His active fulfilment of the Divine will is a no less essential element in His atoning work than His suffering. Scripture lays continual stress on the perfect voluntariness and freedom of Christ's work. In His obedience to the law of God, in His fulfilment of the obligations of humanity, His self-oblation was free; all rested on His own self-determination. If the first Adam died because he must, the second Adam died because He willed.<sup>1</sup> The great characteristic of His life is summed up by S. Paul in the one word *obedience*;<sup>2</sup> and it is noticeable that this feature in the atoning work has never been overlooked even by those who lay special stress upon the sacrificial death upon the Cross.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, He accepts death on our behalf as the due penalty of human sin. His thoughts about sin are those of God; He hates it, and judges it in union with the heart and mind of God. And by the surrender of His life He makes an act of homage and representative submission to the justice of the Divine sentence on sin, retaining throughout His perfect freedom of will; He died, says Augustine, *quia voluit, quando*

<sup>1</sup> Dieringer, *op. cit.* § 92.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. v. 19. Cp. the reference of Ps. xl. to Christ in Heb. x.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?* i. 10, 11, and the Lutheran *Formula Concordiæ*, p. 634: "Eam ob causam ipsius obedientia non ea tantum, quâ Patri paruit in tota sua passione et morte, verum etiam, quâ nostrâ causâ sponte sese legi subiecit eumque obedientia illa sua implevit, nobis ad justitiam imputatur, ita ut Deus propter totam obedientiam, quam Christus agendo et patiando in vita et morte sua nostra causa Patri suo cælesti præstitit, peccata nobis remittat, pro bonis et justis nos reputet et salute æterna donet." 697, "Fides nostra respicit in personam Christi, quatenus illa pro nobis legi sese subiecit, peccata nostra pertulit, et cum ad Patrem suum iret, solidam, absolutam, et perfectissimam obedientiam jam inde a nativitate sua sanctissima usque ad mortem Patri suo cælesti pro nobis miserimis peccatoribus præstitit" (ap. Winer, *Confessiones etc.* p. 131).

*voluit, quomodo voluit*,<sup>1</sup> and the acceptable element in His self-oblation was not the suffering, or the shedding of the sacred blood, but the unswerving will of the sufferer. *Non mors, sed voluntas placuit sponte morientis.*<sup>2</sup> But in the ancient sin-offering the death of the victim was only an initial stage in the great sacrificial transaction; and in conformity with the legal type, Christ, living through and beyond death, must needs pass within the veil as our perfected high-priest. The atoning work is not complete until, by His ascension, Christ passes into the Holy of Holies, which is *heaven itself*,<sup>3</sup> there to be manifested in the presence of God for us as our representative. For as of old the blood of the sin-offering was sprinkled on the mercy-seat, on which the Divine presence vouchsafed to manifest itself, so the representative life of Christ is at the ascension finally brought into fellowship with God and consecrated to the life of Divine service; the ascended Lord taking with Him those for whom He died, "presents them in Himself to the eternal Father."<sup>4</sup> Finally, the atoning sacrifice freely offered once for all, becomes the groundwork of a feast of communion. The "benefits which Christ by His precious bloodshedding hath obtained for us," are continually imparted in the sacrament of Holy Communion as the means of our spiritual sustenance and continual renewal; and the gift which He bestows is that of His precious body and blood; the very human nature which has been spiritualised by the passage through death, becomes *quickenning Spirit* by which man is

<sup>1</sup> *de Trin.* iv. 16, 17. Cp. *Isai.* liii. 7 (Vulg.), "Oblatus est quia ipse voluit."

<sup>2</sup> Bernard, *de err. Ahael.* viii. 21. Cp. Anselm's "acceptæ bonæ voluntatis spontanea et amata tenacitas" (*Cur Deus Homo?* i. 10).

<sup>3</sup> *Heb.* ix. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, p. 179. So Christ *παριστήσεται θεῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (*Iren.* iii. 18. 7). Cp. Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebr.* p. 263: "The end of the restored fellowship is energetic service to Him who alone lives and gives life" (*λατρεῖν θεῷ ζῶντι*).

cleansed, healed, and hallowed.<sup>1</sup> Only so is the fulfilment of the Old Testament types rendered complete. The atonement culminates in the indwelling of the Redeemer in the redeemed.

iv. The Redeemer's person regarded as the ground of the efficacy and of the Divine acceptance of the atoning work.

Christ is the true mediator between God and man in that He shares the nature of both; He is "that mean between both which is both"; and the catholic doctrine of the atonement can only be understood, and indeed can only justify itself to our conscience and reason, by being studied in close connection with the other cardinal truth of Christianity.

Thus if Christ is *God*, we are at once relieved of some moral difficulties which are urged against the doctrine of the atonement on the basis of humanitarian views of Christ's person. Christ being very God, it is impossible to imagine any severance of will or purpose between the Father and the Son. The same zeal for holiness, the same resentment against sin burns in the heart of both Father and Son; the tender mercy of the Father, not less than the compassion of the Son, shines forth in the sacrifice on Calvary.<sup>2</sup>

"No; one in essence, one in majesty,  
 Father and Son must one in counsel be;  
 Not readier this to judge, or that to bless;  
 In each all love, in each all holiness.  
 The Father's pitying care the cross ordained;  
 His own high law of right the Son sustained."<sup>3</sup>

Further, the Deity of the Son is a sufficient pledge of the validity and the efficacy of the atoning work.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 45; cp. S. Jo. vi. 51-57.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Aug. *de Trin.* xiii. 15; and see Isai. lxiii. 5, "My fury, it upheld Me."

<sup>3</sup> W. Bright, *Hymns and Verses*, poem on "The Atonement."

"What owes its being to God," it has been justly said, "must be well-pleasing to Him";<sup>1</sup> while the "infinite worth of the Son of God" is a guarantee of the infinite efficacy of His work. His Divine person imparts immeasurable grace and power to the actions and sufferings of His humanity. For "our nature is His own; He carried it with Him through life to death, He made it bear and do that which was utterly beyond its own native strength. His eternal person gave infinite merit to its acts and its sufferings."<sup>2</sup> And indeed the various effects ascribed to His death by New Testament writers are only such as we should expect, He being what the Church believes Him to be: the removal of guilt, the conquest of death, the overthrow of Satan, the reconciliation of man to God, the opening of heaven to all believers.

On the other hand, if Christ is *very man*, in the truth of our nature, His sacrifice necessarily wears the character of a representative act. It is the head of the human race who is sinless, who is perfectly well-pleasing to God, who makes a supreme act of reparation and satisfaction to the Divine holiness. He suffers *for many*, not only as a substitute who, from pure love to man, takes his burden upon himself, pays his debt, and suffers in his stead; but also as representative, offering the sacrifice which man was too sin-stained to present, discharging the obligations which we were too weak to fulfil. Thus Christ was our substitute, not through some arbitrary arrangement by which the innocent was compelled to suffer for the guilty, but in virtue of His representative character as the head and flower of our race, in whom humanity is "summed up," and in whom consequently man not only makes an

<sup>1</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 486.

<sup>2</sup> Liddon, *Univ. Sermon.* ser. 1, serm. ix. "The Divine Victim." Cp. *Aug. de Trin.* iv. 19 (a great passage).

act of acceptable submission to the Father's righteousness but is exalted to the very throne of God.<sup>1</sup>

v. The effects of the atonement.<sup>2</sup>

Holy Scripture and the Fathers describe, under different aspects and in different modes of speech, the full effects of Christ's atoning work; and there has sometimes been danger of overpressing one particular phrase or metaphor, to the neglect of others. We find the death of Christ generally described in Scripture under the following aspects: as a means of procuring man's forgiveness; a satisfaction; a ransom; a propitiation; a vicarious death; a reconciliation.

(a) The atoning sacrifice of Christ is said to have procured our forgiveness. *Without shedding of blood there is no remission*, and that which the shedding of blood symbolises—acceptance of penalty, submission to the Divine will concerning sin—must of necessity precede forgiveness; the Divine law of righteousness must be satisfied before sinful man can be accepted with God. Christ accordingly, on behalf of man, representatively offers the submission by which alone man can find acceptance.

(b) The sacrifice of Christ is also a satisfaction for sin, an act of reparation offered to the Divine holiness. This is the point of view which is chiefly distinctive of Anselm; a debt of homage and obedience is owing on man's part to God, and sin means withholding or withdrawing from God that which is His due (*ablatus honor*). The work of Christ is restoration to God of His due; the fulfilment of His just claim (*τὸ εὐλογον*) on man; the payment of man's debt; the act of reparation for the wrong done by the creature to the Creator. Christ, in a word, takes upon Himself the whole of man's obligations in order by the

<sup>1</sup> See Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 41-45.

<sup>2</sup> See generally Aquinas, *Summa*, p. iii. qu. 49.

merit of His lifelong obedience to completely discharge them.

(c) Christ's sacrifice of Himself is also a ransom<sup>1</sup>—a costly price by which redemption is achieved, *i.e.* the deliverance of humanity from slavery to sin and Satan and from the eternal punishment of sin. The words *λύτρον* and *ἀπολύτρωσις* are largely coloured by Old Testament associations. "The idea," says Bishop Westcott, "of a ransom received by the power from which the captive is delivered is practically lost in *λυτροῦσθαι*." The word, in fact, seems to imply two things: exertion of a mighty force and acquisition at a great cost.<sup>2</sup> Christ's death is in both respects a ransom: in the work of redemption we see the triumphant and irresistible display of Divine power;<sup>3</sup> the result of redemption is only achieved at a mighty cost—we were *bought with a price*, redeemed with *the precious blood of Christ*.<sup>4</sup>

(d) The word propitiation (*ἱλασμός*)<sup>5</sup> does not originally imply, as we are accustomed perhaps to suppose, the act of appeasing one who is angry; the Greek word expresses the alteration of circumstances or conditions which have produced the alienation. God is unchanging; and when we ascribe to Him the affection of "anger," we express in human fashion the fact of His necessary resentment against sin.<sup>6</sup> God cannot welcome the impenitent sinner; He cannot treat sin as something other than it is. "Propitiation," in the New Testament sense, means an act which, so to speak, neutralises or "covers" the sin of him who is "in Christ"; who by sincere repentance

<sup>1</sup> S. Mt. xx. 28; cp. 1 Tim. ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 296. Cf. Chrys. *ad Rom.* iii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Eph. i. 19 f.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 20; 1 Pet. i. 19.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Jo. ii. 2, iv. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* v. 17: "Sic etiam cum iratus malis dicitur et placidus bonis, illi mutantur, non ipse; sicut lux infirmis oculis aspera, firmis lenis est, ipsorum scilicet mutatione, non sua."

renews his union with the Redeemer, and "in Him" finds acceptance.<sup>1</sup>

(e) The death of Christ is also "vicarious," in the sense that He suffered not only as our representative, but in our stead. He suffered something which we were too weak<sup>2</sup> to endure, yet which had to be endured if atonement was to be achieved. It is at this point that we touch the element of supreme mystery in the atoning work of Christ. We do not know either the precise nature of His sufferings or the exact degree in which His submission to them has exempted us from the penalties of guilt. But in any case the substitution of Christ for the guilty race depended upon, and corresponded to, the actual relation in which He stood to men as the result of His Incarnation. His representative character enabled Him to be the natural substitute for sinners, so that *He suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God.*<sup>3</sup>

(f) Once more, the effect of our Lord's death was a reconciliation between God and man;<sup>4</sup> an "at-one-ment" (*καταλλαγή*), putting an end to the state of alienation or enmity which resulted from human sin. "In vain it is objected that the Scripture saith our Saviour *reconciled men to God*, but nowhere teacheth that *He reconciled God to man*; for in the language of the Scripture, to reconcile a man to God is, in our vulgar language, to reconcile God to man—that is, to cause Him, who before was angry and offended with him, to be gracious and propitious to him. . . . In the like manner we are said to be reconciled unto God when God is reconciled, appeased, and become gracious and favourable unto us;

<sup>1</sup> See Westcott, *Epistles of S. John*, p. 83 f.; Trench, *Synonyms of the N.T.* p. 293 f.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Pet. iii. 18, ii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 18; Col. i. 20.

and Christ is said to reconcile us unto God, when He hath moved and obtained of God to be reconciled unto us, when He hath appeased Him and restored us unto His favour. Thus *when we were enemies we were reconciled to God*—that is, notwithstanding He was offended with us for our sins, we were restored under His favour *by the death of His Son* (Rom. v. 10).<sup>1</sup> In short, the word “reconciliation,” like “propitiation,” is a description, in the terms of a human analogy, of the objective change in the relation between God and sinful man which was brought about by our Lord’s death. It has already been pointed out that the anger of God is our mode of conceiving and describing that necessary resentment with which the God of holiness must regard moral evil. Sin must inevitably be banished from the Divine presence.

Such, then, are the terms in which Scripture usually describes the effect of the Son’s atoning work. No doubt many other aspects of His sacrifice are recognised in the New Testament. Some of them are comprised in the following summary of Bernard in his treatise on the errors of Abelard: *Non mors sed voluntas placuit sponte morientis, et illa morte expungentis mortem, operantis salutem, restituentis innocentiam, triumphantis principatus et potestates, spoliantis inferos, ditantis superos, pacificantis quæ in celo sunt et quæ in terra, omnia instaurantis.*<sup>2</sup> Christ’s sacrifice is of universal validity. He died for all, but men do not always actually appropriate the virtue of the passion, which becomes effectual for those only who by an act of faith identify themselves with the submission made on their behalf by Christ, and who are by baptism

<sup>1</sup> Pearson’s *Exposition of the Creed*, art. x. Pearson is arguing against the Socinian statement that in Scripture we are said to be reconciled to God, but God is not said to be reconciled to us. Cp. a passage in *Ang. de Trin.* xiii. 21, and a note in Sanday and Headlam on *Romans*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *de error. Abel.* viii. 21.

really incorporated into Him, becoming thereby living members of the second Adam. The righteousness of Jesus Christ, and the virtue of His death, are really imparted to Christians in the sacrament of the new birth (Rom. vi). They are accounted righteous, as being actual living members of a righteous person.<sup>1</sup>

vi. The nature of Christ's sufferings.

It may be regarded as an axiom that Jesus Christ suffered, because He willed to suffer, all that a holy being could suffer on our behalf. "If the hypostatic union communicated to His sacred humanity a strength infinite in the Giver, it was only that He might suffer in proportion. . . . He suffered everything that it was possible for a human nature united to the Divine to suffer."<sup>2</sup> There is therefore reason to suppose that He could suffer the mental agony of a true and perfect contrition for the sins of men; He could sorrow for them as laid upon Himself, with a capacity of "appropriative penitence" beyond our power to realise. "He felt the heinousness of sin as being one with God; and He felt the awfulness of the curse resting upon sin as being one with each individual sinner."<sup>3</sup>

Further, Christ could endure in a real sense the penalties of sin; not indeed that we can allow, with Calvin and others, that He suffered the torments of the lost *intensively* if not *extensively*. For there is necessarily a

<sup>1</sup> Aquin. *Summa*, iii. 49. 1 resp.: "Sicut naturale corpus est unum ex membrorum diversitate consistens, ita tota ecclesia quæ est mysticum corpus Christi, computatur quasi una persona cum suo capite, quod est Christus." *Ibid.* 49. 3 ad 3: "Satisfactio Christi habet effectum in nobis in quantum incorporamur ei, ut membra suo capiti."

<sup>2</sup> Grou, *Manual*, etc. [Eng. tr.], p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Benson, *Ep. to the Romans*, p. 216. Cp. Newman, *Discourses on various occasions*, serm. on "The mental sufferings of our Lord in His passion." Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, p. 317 f., seems too critical of this view. In Macleod Campbell, *The Atonement*, it perhaps assumes disproportionate importance; cp. Bruce, p. 351.

limit to what a sinless soul can suffer, and the atoning value of His sufferings depends, not on their quantitative or qualitative relation to the sins of men, but on the infinite dignity of the sufferer, on the perfection of His obedience and self-humiliation, and on the depth and intensity of His love. Nevertheless, Christ could indeed *taste of death*;<sup>1</sup> nay, only the sinless one could taste it in its full bitterness, as vividly apprehending that which is the sting of death—the wrath of God.<sup>2</sup> The horror of death which marked the true Israelite (*e.g.* in Ps. xxii.) would be His in the fullest degree; and the dereliction would be heart-breaking to a sinless soul. It may therefore be allowed that Christ endured all the *signs*, but not the *affection* of Divine displeasure; but in any case it is vain to speculate as to the precise measure of those *ἄγνωστα πάθη* which He alone, in virtue of His holiness and love, was capable of enduring for our redemption.<sup>3</sup>

vii. The descent into hell.<sup>4</sup>

The following points are of special importance:—

1. Neither the soul nor the body of the Redeemer was for a moment parted from His Divine person.<sup>5</sup> “The humanity of the Son of God was neither wholly in the sepulchre, nor wholly in Hades; but in the

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Delitzsch on *Hebrews*, *in loc.*; Mason, *Faith of the Gospel*, c. vi. § 19; Aug. *de Trin.* iv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> It must suffice to refer to the treatment of this subject by Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 46. artt. 5, 6, 7, 8. Cp. Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> On the history of this article, see Pearson. It first appears in the creed of Aquileia (*circ.* 400), but is generally found in the earlier Fathers. Cp. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 69; H. Browne on *Thirty-Nine Articles*, art. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See (*e.g.*) [Ath.] *c. Apoll.* ii. 14, 15; *Ep. ad Epict.* v.; Greg. Nyssa. *Antirr.* xvii. etc.; Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 50. 2 and 3; also Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. v. note 76 (quoting Fulgentius, *ad Thrasim.* iii. 34, as above).

sepulchre Christ lay dead as touching His true flesh, as touching His soul He descended to Hades; and as touching the same soul He returned from Hades to the flesh which He had left in the sepulchre. But as touching His Deity, which is not subject to limitations of space, nor comprehensible within bounds, *totus fuit in sepulchro cum carne, totus in Inferno cum anima; ac per hoc plenus fuit ubique Christus; quia non est Deus ab humanitate quam susceperat separatus, qui et in anima sua fuit, ut solutis Inferni doloribus ab Inferno victrix rediret, et in carne sua fuit, ut celeri resurrectione corrumpi non posset.*"

2. "Hades" is apparently a general name embracing two states: a blessed but not perfect condition or sphere called *Paradise*;<sup>1</sup> and a suffering but not perfectly miserable sphere assigned to the wicked, and generally called *Hades*. The mysterious work of the Redeemer seems to have been the visitation of either sphere. With the soul of the penitent malefactor at His side, He entered *Paradise*;<sup>2</sup> and He also visited that place or state where "some at least were confined who had died an apparently impenitent death by the visitation of God."<sup>3</sup> Beyond this it is only possible to speak with the strictest reserve; and it is difficult to endorse the confident language of Cornelius à Lapide: *Certum est Christum cum latrone . . . descendisse ad limbum patrum; ibique eis visionem suae divinitatis impertisse, itaque eos beasse; quare tunc Christus eorum sortes mutavit; fecit*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 318, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> S. Lk. xxiii. 43. Ath. *Expos. fid.* 1, maintains that Christ, with the soul of the robber, *re-entered* the very *Paradise* whence Adam was expelled for his sin. See generally Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 52, esp. artt. 2 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> Mason, *Faith of the Gospel*, p. 212. See 1 Pet. iii. 18, iv. 6. We should notice the prominence given to the history of Noah in our Lord's teaching, which seems to have deeply impressed S. Peter (S. Mt. xxiv. 37 f.; S. Lk. xvii. 26 f.).

*enim ut limbus esset paradisis, ut inferi essent superi, ut infernus esset cælum. Ubi enim est Christus, ibi est paradisis; ubi est visio Dei et beatitudo, ibi et cælum.*

3. The article is important as proving the verity and completeness of Christ's manhood; the descent into Hades shows that He had a human soul as well as a human body. It was accordingly customary among the Fathers who opposed the error of Apollinaris to lay special stress on the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell.<sup>1</sup>

viii. The high-priesthood of the Redeemer.<sup>2</sup>

The Epistle to the Hebrews, of which Christ's priesthood is the central theme, treats the Incarnation, and the conditions of Christ's human life, as the essential preparation for His high-priestly function and ministry. The main purport of the Epistle is to show that Christ fulfils the functions of a double high-priesthood—the Aaronic and the Melchizedekian.

1. Christ embodies the Aaronic or Levitic type of priesthood. He brings the offering of a spotless victim—Himself. Into this offering enters as a permanent element the "obedience" of His human life. The whole discipline of earthly trial and service was preparatory to a final, culminating act of high-priestly ministry—the self-oblation on the Cross. Christ was *obedient unto death*.<sup>3</sup> Next, He enters once for all within the veil as the Levitic high-priests had done *year by year continually*. Every condition of acceptable atonement having been fulfilled,<sup>4</sup> Christ passes into heaven itself *through His own blood*, and is *manifested in the presence of God for us*.<sup>5</sup> The death

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Pearson, *l.c.*

<sup>2</sup> See an outline for study in Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, p. 70 ff. Cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Phil. ii. 8; Heb. vii. 27, viii. 3, ix. 14, 26, x. 10-12.

<sup>4</sup> S. Jo. xix. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Heb. iv. 14, vi. 20, viii. 12, 16, ix. 12, 24.

of Christ must not be considered apart from His triumph. Only when the whole typical transaction of the Day of Atonement is fulfilled; only, that is, when our Lord has died, risen, and ascended, is the atoning work complete.<sup>1</sup>

2. Christ is also a priest *after the order of Melchizedek*: a priest enthroned, representing man to God and God to man. He who has made atonement (Heb. i. 3), and has cleansed the sphere of human worship (ix. 23), has taken His seat upon the throne and so entered upon the possession of that which by His obedience He has merited. His priesthood is universal and lifted above the limitations of nationality or time. Henceforth He applies to mankind the effects of His atoning work; He gathers the fruits of a victory already achieved; and "through the fulfilment of His work for His Church He moves towards the fulfilment of His work for the world."<sup>2</sup>

The Epistle in various passages indicates the nature and scope of Christ's present work as high-priest.

(a) *Intercession*. Christ intercedes for us by His *presence*: "His perpetual presentation of Himself before the Father is that which constitutes His intercession."<sup>3</sup> It is not specially His passion which He is said to plead. Just as the ancient high priest stood without utterance before the ark in the Holy of Holies on the day of Atonement, so it suffices that Jesus is *manifested in the presence of God for us*.<sup>4</sup> He presents humanity to the Father, consummated in accordance with the truth of

<sup>1</sup> Obs. the doctrinal importance of the resurrection and ascension. The resurrection was the seal of Divine acceptance impressed upon the Son's earthly work (cp. Rom. iv. 25); the ascension, or entry into the Divine presence, completed the work, and imparted to it an eternal validity. Cp. Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, pp. 137-142; Delitzsch on *Hebrews*, vol. ii. p. 82; Sanday and Headlam on *Romans*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 493.

<sup>4</sup> Heb. ix. 24: ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. See Westcott, *ad loc.*

the Divine purpose. It is His very presence which pleads; in Him humanity is enabled to bear the light of the Divine countenance unveiled.

(b) *The grace of access.* Through Jesus Christ the prayers and praises of the faithful are presented, and find acceptance, before God;<sup>1</sup> through Him, and *in His blood*,—compassed as it were and clothed with the merit or virtue of His life and sacrificial death,—Christians have their access to the holy place; they are brought near, as priests and kings, to God; as children they approach the Father; as suppliants they *come boldly to the throne of grace.*<sup>2</sup> Thus in union with Jesus Christ, the faithful enjoy perpetually that which under the old covenant was the privilege of one individual only, on one day in the year.

(c) *Sustenance.* The reference to Melchizedek implies that Christ fulfils a ministry similar to that which was mysteriously exercised by that ancient *priest of the most high God*. He solemnly blesses in the power of the Divine name, and He brings forth bread and wine to be the heavenly food of His people.<sup>3</sup>

(d) *Purification.* In Heb. ix. 13, 14, a contrast is drawn between the external purificatory rites of Judaism, —the purgation with blood on the Day of Atonement, and the removal of ceremonial defilement by means of the ashes of an heifer,<sup>4</sup>—and the inward effectual operation of the blood of Christ. The Mosaic rites availed to renew the covenant fellowship between God and His people which might have been interrupted by sin; they removed the accumulated defilement arising from daily action and intercourse, or from contact with death. But

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xiii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. iv. 16, vii. 25, etc. Cp. Rom. v. 2; Eph. ii. 18, iii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 22. 6 ad 2.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xvi. 18 f.; Num. xix. 17 f.

their effect was outward and transitory; they hallowed but could not purge, the worshipper. Their effect might be described in the word *ἀγιασμός*, which implies merely the renewal of stated covenant conditions, the reconsecration of what had been desecrated or profaned. But the effect of Christ's blood is a true and inward purgation of the character and conscience from moral and spiritual defilement;<sup>1</sup> His blood is a real means of cleansing (*καθαρισμός*), of actual deliverance from the stain of guilt and from the power of sin. It is not merely the means of atonement as the symbol of man's submission to the penalties of sin, but also the source of healing and renewed strength. The communication of the blood of Christ, whether in the gift of absolution, or in the grace of holy communion, is in fact the communication of a Divine life annihilating the stains and reinforcing the frailty of nature.

NOTE.—The question has been asked, Why God did not restore man by a mere *fiat*? why was a redemptive act necessary?

The following outline of answers that have been given may be suggestive:—

1. Athanasius in the *de Incarnatione* holds that though a *fiat* of Divine omnipotence might have called things non-existent into existence, yet when things *actually existent* were perishing and wasting away, a *fiat* would be insufficient. "Christ came to heal things existent (*τὰ ὄντα*); and He became man to that end, and used the body as a human instrument."<sup>2</sup> In the *Orations*, however, he suggests a deeper line of thought. The restoration of man by a mere *fiat* would have been non-moral; it would have been unworthy of a God in whom

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ix. 14; cp. 1 S. Jo. i. 7 (Westcott, add. note).

<sup>2</sup> *de Incarn.* xliv. See above, p. 247.

mere force is subject and secondary to goodness. "We ought to consider," he says, "what is really profitable for mankind, and not in all matters to calculate what is possible for God to achieve. . . . For what He doeth is also expedient for men, and could not with seemliness be otherwise done."<sup>1</sup> In other words, the question is not, why could not God do so and so? but, what is most worthy of one who is perfect love?

2. John of Damascus and others held that the enemy of man would have had a just ground of complaint if he had been crushed by force.<sup>2</sup> This idea that in His dealings with Satan God necessarily adopted the method of perfect justice, is very common in the Fathers. The same noble idea is present in Augustine, namely, that the mere exercise of power is less worthy of God than goodness and justice.

3. Anselm points out that if any other method of redemption had been adopted, man would have had no part in the conquest. Here he follows Irenæus, who teaches that the very nature which had sinned must become victorious over sin; or as Anselm expresses it, the nature which owed the debt to God must pay it.<sup>3</sup> Only one who is very God *can* discharge the debt; man alone *ought* to discharge it

4. Bernard deprecates the question,<sup>4</sup> but gives his own answer, which is characteristic. Man, he says, in consequence of the Incarnation, is more likely to be perpetually *mindful* of God's goodness. Living as they do, in a *land of forgetfulness*, men might have become ungrateful and forgetful of their benefactor, but for redemption. So in one of his sermons, he says: "Some one may say,

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *de orth. fid.* iii. 18; cp. *Aug. de Trin.* xiii. 13, and see Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Cur Deus Homo?* i. 22, ii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* 190, *de error. Abael.* viii. 19, 20.

'God was not able to restore His work without all this difficulty'; nay, He was able, but He preferred to do it at the cost of suffering to Himself, rather than needlessly occasion the odious fault of ingratitude in man."<sup>1</sup> Aquinas, in discussing the fitness of the Incarnation, suggests somewhat similar considerations. The Incarnation was a great means of instruction; man learned from it his duty to his Maker, and the dignity of his own nature; his hope was aroused, his pride subdued, his deliverance from sin effected.<sup>2</sup> Both Bernard and Aquinas seem to recognise the element of truth in Abelard's subjective view of the atonement as a Divine incentive to love.

5. The consideration has been justly urged in modern times that no restoration of man is worthy of God that does not fully respect man's freedom as a moral being. Annihilation of the sinner would be a mere confession of failure, so to speak, on God's part; and any compulsory restoration, which should override man's will and deal with him as a broken machine or instrument, would be only another form of annihilation; for freedom is an essential element in human nature, and man's restoration is not worth while achieving unless he is freely won to submission and obedience.<sup>3</sup>

### III. It remains to consider another momentous depart-

<sup>1</sup> *in Cant.* xi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Summa*, iii. 1. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 466. The same idea is suggested by Iren. v. 1. 1: "Quoniam injuste dominabatur nobis apostasia et quum natura essemus Dei omnipotentis, alienavit nos contra naturam, suos proprios faciens discipulos; potens in omnibus Dei Verbum et non deficiens in sua justitia, juste etiam adversus ipsam conversus est apostasiam, ea quæ sunt sua redimens ab ea; non cum vi, quemadmodum illa initio dominabatur nostri, ea quæ non erant sua insatiabiliter rapiens; sed *secundum suadelam, quemadmodum decebat Deum, suadentem* (et non vim inferentem) accipere quæ vellet, etc." The point here is that the *method of persuasion* alone is worthy of God, though Irenæus regards the *suadela* as employed towards Satan rather than man.

ment of the Redeemer's work : the re-creation of human nature through grace.

In the early days of Christianity, when the impression produced by the forlorn and helpless condition of humanity was profound and widespread, when human corruption seemed to have arrived at its zenith<sup>1</sup> and the world to be verging towards entire ruin and decay, Christian apologists eagerly welcomed that aspect of the Incarnation under which it was proclaimed as the renewal of all things, the gift of a new life to perishing humanity. Sin was contemplated less perhaps in its moral aspect as a radical defect of human nature, than as the source of corruption and decay to creation at large. The unspeakable joy of the early Christian Church was its sense of a Divine power at work in the world, really making all things new. The vivid experience of individual souls, combined with the consciousness of disturbance and upheaval in the pagan society surrounding them, led Christian thinkers to dwell particularly on the work of redemption as one of re-creation. Nor were they slow to apprehend the wisdom and fitness of the Incarnation as a movement of Divine love, whereby the great Creator Himself undertook the work of re-creation. Athanasius, for instance, repeatedly insists that only the Creator can renew fallen humanity ; only the Creator can penetrate to the very roots of the nature which has become subject to corruption and sin ; accordingly the Word of God, by whom all things were originally brought into being, comes to the assistance of His perishing creature ; and by taking flesh becomes the restorer of humanity and the head of the new creation.<sup>2</sup> By an act of condescension correspond-

<sup>1</sup> "Omne in præcipiti vitium stetit" (Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 149).

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρχὴ τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως (*Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 70, etc.). Cp. Just. M. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 138 : ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς . . . ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γέγονεν τοῦ ἀναγεννηθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πίστεως καὶ ξύλου.

ing to that whereby He originally called the universe into existence, the Word deigned to become the first-begotten of creation and to lift it into the state of adoption.<sup>1</sup> His characteristic work was the renewal of the first creation, and its sustentation in the renewed state.

Now it is the doctrine of the New Testament that this work of renewal is accomplished by the ascended Christ, acting through the medium of His glorified humanity. "The human nature of Christ is raised by the Spirit of God into the resurrection might. Spiritualised,<sup>2</sup> quickened with new capacities of life, but not *dehumanised*, the God-accepted, God-united humanity is lifted to the Divine glory, to be thence, as the second Adam, through the ministry of the Spirit, the source of regenerating, re-creating life to His body, the Church."<sup>3</sup> *The last Adam became a life-giving Spirit* is the pregnant statement of S. Paul;<sup>4</sup> in its glorified state Christ's manhood becomes the medium whereby the fulness of the Divine life is communicated to man; by the resurrection and ascension it acquires an inexhaustible power of self-communication to man. And so, as Leo tersely expresses it, Christ *cœpit esse divinitate præsentior qui factus est humanitate longinquior*.<sup>5</sup>

To this aspect of Christ's operation on humanity corresponds the familiar patristic doctrine of man's "deification." Human nature is "deified" through the real indwelling of Christ's presence in His members. He has ordained and instituted *media* through which He vouchsafes to enter into them and to inhabit them

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 64: συγκαταβάντος τοῦ Λόγου, υλοποιεῖται καὶ αὐτῆ ἡ κτίσις δι' αὐτοῦ. See the chapters which follow.

<sup>2</sup> Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 54. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Art. in *Ch. Quart. Review*, no. 32, p. 292. So Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, p. 167 f.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 45. Cp. Iren. iii. esp. 18. 1, 7, 21. 10, 22. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Serm. de res. Dom.* ii.

personally. The Word dwells, as S. John teaches, *in us*; the graces and excellences of His manhood overflow into the members of His body; *of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace.*<sup>1</sup>

The agent in this mystical process of re-creation is the Holy Spirit "accomplishing the presence" of the ascended Lord. In the presence of the indwelling Spirit, who proceeds forth from Christ's exalted manhood, the Lord Himself is present. "By reason of the grace of the Spirit given unto us, both we are in Him and He in us; and since the Spirit is God's, through His indwelling in us, we, possessing the Spirit, are reasonably accounted to be in God; and so God actually is in us. . . . By our participation in the Spirit we are united to the Deity."<sup>2</sup> The Spirit is, in fact, the true *vicar of Christ*;<sup>3</sup> it is His work to manifest Christ, and the things of Christ, to men; His to convey to individual souls the enriching energies of Christ's manhood.<sup>4</sup> He who "as power is immanent in nature, as spirit is immanent in man."<sup>5</sup>

In accordance with the principle involved in the Divine Incarnation, the mode of the Spirit's operation

<sup>1</sup> S. Jo. i. 16. Cp. esp. Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 39, 43, ii. 47, iii. 34, 39. In iii. 33 he uses the striking expression *λογωθελους τῆς σαρκός*; in i. 52 he speaks of Christ as *χορηγὸς ἀπερῆς*; cp. i. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. *Orat.* iii. 24 (very explicit); cp. i. 46, ii. 14. So Iren. iii. 17. 1, speaks of the Holy Spirit in men as "voluntatem Patris operans in ipsis et renovans eos a vetustate in novitatem."

<sup>3</sup> Tert. *de præscr.* xxviii. Iren. iii. 17. 3, says that to the Spirit Christ commended man who had fallen among thieves: cp. iii. 24. 1. Hugh of S. Victor (*de Sacr.* ii. 2) says with great beauty: "Primum Filius venit ut homines liberarentur; postea Spiritus Sanctus venit ut homines beatificarentur. Primum ille a malo liberavit; postea hic ad bona revocavit. Ille abstulit quod sustinebamus; hic reddidit quod perdideramus."

<sup>4</sup> On the relation of the Holy Spirit to Christ's manhood, see a thoughtful and striking chapter (iv.) in Milligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord.*

<sup>5</sup> Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theol.* p. 488.

is sacramental ; the Incarnation was itself the supreme illustration of the sacramental method, *i.e.* the conveyance of spiritual and Divine gifts through visible and material channels. Matter was for ever consecrated to be the veil and vehicle of spirit ; and it is important to bear in mind the mysterious closeness of connection between the work of the Holy Ghost and the sacraments ordained by Christ.<sup>1</sup> They convey an actual communication of the life of the risen Christ to the soul ; and being moral instruments of grace, their saving operation necessarily depends on the moral condition of the recipient. But the point to be insisted upon here is the perpetual co-operation between the Son and Holy Spirit in the work of man's salvation ; so that while the grace of the sacraments flows from the passion of Christ, their actual operation in the soul depends upon the presence of the Holy Spirit, whose office it is to accomplish the saving union of man's nature with the human nature of the Son. The Spirit is, in a word, the agent through whom the exalted humanity of the Divine Son is applied to our sinful nature for its healing and restoration.<sup>2</sup>

The three aspects of our Lord's work have thus been briefly exhibited in their connection. He who through the obedience of His life became outwardly our example, and who by the sacrifice of the cross removed the barrier which sin had raised between God and His creatures, becomes through the agency of the Holy Spirit the source of a new life, re-creating men after His own image. "For it was not only that Christ exhibited the natural qualities of manhood in their most perfect state, but that He conferred upon it a

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *de Trin.* iii. 10 (of the Eucharist): "Non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Wilberforce, *The Incarnation*, chap. x.

power which was above nature. . . . The union of mankind with Christ is not a mere imitation—the following a good model—the fixing our thoughts upon One who has shown in the clearest manner how God may be served and men benefited; it is an actual and a real union, whereby all renewed men are joined to the second, as they were by nature to the first, Adam. . . . Our salvation therefore does not depend merely on our own efforts, on the self-dependent exertions of men to cure their inherent evils, but on the external influence of that head of our race who mercifully conforms His brethren to His own likeness.”<sup>1</sup>

A few words may be added touching the consummation of the Redeemer's work. The goal of human history is described symbolically in Scripture as a kingdom of perfected human beings, penetrated and possessed by the life and Spirit of God. “The Word became flesh,” says Athanasius, “in order that He might make man capable of receiving Deity.”<sup>2</sup> He who dwelt *with* men aims at dwelling *in* them; only so can be accomplished that entire self-communication of God to His creatures which belongs to the essence of the chief Good,<sup>3</sup> and which alone can satisfy man's upward aspirations. For it belongs to the true idea of human nature not to be independent of God, but to be a temple for the Divine nature; to be penetrated and possessed by Deity.<sup>4</sup> This is the goal towards which our nature strives; it is the condition also of individual perfection. “The Son of God was made son of man,” says Irenæus, “that He might accustom man to receive God, and might accustom

<sup>1</sup> Wilberforce, *op. cit.* pp. 199–202.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. *Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 59: ἵνα τὸν ἀνθρώπου δεκτικὸν θεότητος ποιῆσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. qu. 1, art. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, § 187.

God to dwell in man." And again, "He became man in order that man, embracing the Spirit of God, might pass over into the glory of the Father."<sup>1</sup> "In the time of restitution," says Nazianzen,<sup>2</sup> "we shall be wholly godlike"; ὅλοι θεοειδεῖς, ὅλου θεοῦ χωρητικοὶ καὶ μόνου τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τελείωσις πρὸς ἣν σπεύδομεν.

But this consummation is destined to come about through judgment, and the office of judgment is committed to the Son, in virtue of the relationship in which He stands to our race; in virtue also of His being Himself *the Truth: Judicium . . . ad hominem qui est veritate imbutus pertinet, secundum quod est unum quodammodo cum ipsa veritate, quasi quaedam lex et quaedam justitia animata.*<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile as King Christ sits enthroned *at the right hand of the Majesty on high*, watching and guiding the fortunes of His Church, bearing all things onward in their course towards the appointed end, and extending His dominion by a gradual victory over all that defies or resists His sway. And while He waits in calm expectancy *till His foes be made His footstool*, to His servants He is the ever-living source of *grace to help in time of need.*<sup>4</sup> Thus the New Testament combines with the revelation of Christ's majesty the assurance of His tenderness. "Our Priest is King and our King is Priest. The Son of God is also Jesus the Son of man."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iii. 20. 2, iv. 20. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxx. 6. Cp. Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, pp. 189-195.

<sup>3</sup> Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. 59. 2 ad 1. Cp. S. Jo. v. 27.

<sup>4</sup> See Heb. i. 3, x. 13, iv. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Westcott, *Christus consummator*, pp. 43, 44; cp. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* viii. 4. 6.

## CONCLUSION

WE approached the study of the great doctrine which has occupied our attention in the foregoing pages under the guidance of S. John. In the prologue to his Gospel he describes in general outline the nature, the significance, and the permanent issues of the Divine Incarnation. Our closing reflections may appropriately take the form of a short expansion of another statement of the same inspired writer,—a statement which some would attribute to the Redeemer Himself, but which appears more probably to be a comment of the evangelist on the discourse of our Lord with Nicodemus: *God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*<sup>1</sup>

Speaking generally, that which has secured the hold of S. John's Gospel on the thought and affection of Christendom, is pre-eminently its simplicity. Attention has been so often and so persistently directed to its difficulties,—its profound theology, or its use of abstract modes of expression, that we have in some degree lost sight of that which is not less remarkable—its power of appealing to the simple and unlettered, of presenting Divine truth in a manner level with their capacity, of using imagery the purport of which is plain to ordinary spiritual insight. Certainly in the utterance just quoted, we find the simplest summary of essential truth

<sup>1</sup> S. Jo. iii. 16.

that is contained in the New Testament. Here are combined the simplicity of age and the simplicity of knowledge. When life is far advanced, the realities of the unseen world become clear in proportion to their nearness; the primal facts of life stand out in their true proportions; things that have interrupted or distorted the earliest visions of truth fade and vanish. "To me," the poet makes S. John say,

"To me that story, ay, that Life and Death  
Of which I wrote 'it was'—to me, it is;  
Is here and now; I apprehend nought else.  
Love, wrong, and pain, what see I else around?"

Hence in S. John's writings we find the language of calm assertion taking the place of reasonings, of balanced statements; advancing moral insight finds a new directness of utterance. Accordingly Aristotle bids us pay heed to the unproved statements of the old, because through age they have the eye of experience. Where facts are familiar from long and intense contemplation of them, they admit of being described simply. The mind which apprehends them is content to say, as S. John so often does in his Epistle, "We know." *We know that we are of God. We know that the Son of God is come.* And the simplicity which belongs to age belongs also to knowledge. We cannot be said to know a truth until we can give it expression in terms of the widest and simplest relationships. S. John speaks simply, not only because spiritual truth is most adequately conveyed to others under familiar imagery, but also because he knows profoundly what he teaches.

*God loved the world.* Here is, in the first place, the general point of view from which the mystery of redemption is to be approached and estimated.

The idea of "the world" which meets us in S. John's writings is in many respects peculiar to himself. The

phrase has a moral and also a physical application. It implies that the dwelling-place of man is the scene of conflict between Divine and human will. All that is averted from God, all that ignores Him, all that bids Him defiance—that is “the world” as a moral conception. The habitable globe, marred, darkened, depraved by the power of human will alienated from God—that is “the world” as a physical fact: in other words, “the present order viewed in its alienation from God.” It is this world of which S. John tells us that *God loved the world*.

It has been said that love is gifted with an insight which is ordinarily mistaken for blindness. He who loves discerns in the object of his affection something which is concealed from the gaze of others. He sees what his beloved might be; he sees the ideal nobleness, purity, or power which adverse circumstances repress, or superficial faults of character obscure. So we may venture to think it is with the Divine love for the world. God beholds the world, not as it is in itself, but as it is in Him who is *the beginning of the creation of God*; He looks upon it, and it is only not abhorred because He regards it not merely in its deformity, its ruin, its alienation from Himself, but as it is in idea, and as it may hereafter be in fact. The world is transfigured in the light of the Divine countenance. God sees it as it will be: *a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness*. The transfiguring principle is already at work. *The true light already shineth, and whatever is made manifest thereby is light. Old things are passed away; they are become new*. Just as the individual soul, incorporated into Christ, clothed with Christ, radiant with the light of Christ, becomes a worthy object of Divine acceptance, so in some sense the world viewed in its totality is accepted in Christ, and can become the object of Divine love.

There is a striking passage in *John Inglesant* which describes the emotions excited in a cultivated observer by a constant and continuous observance of mankind—their ways, their follies, their pursuits, their pathetic strivings and failures, their picturesqueness as they group themselves in the play of social life, as they pass one by one from the stage on which they have acted their part. The observer would have them be always what they are to-day; the moral interest insensibly gives way before the æsthetic. He is content to watch them, and to amuse his fancy in the process. "This study of human life, this love of human existence, is unconnected with any desire for the improvement either of the individual or of the race. It is man as he is, not man as he might be, or as he should be, which is a delightful subject of contemplation to this tolerant philosophy which human frailty finds so attractive. Man's failings, his self-inflicted miseries, his humours, the effect of his very crimes and vices, if not even those vices themselves, form a chief part in the changing drama upon which the student's eyes are so eagerly set, and without these it would lose its interest and attraction." This human delight in the world—this "pleased acquiescence in life as it is"—stands in broad contrast to the love which penetrates beneath the appearance of things to their essence and inner reality. That which exercises so subtle and mysterious a fascination upon the human heart is only the passing fashion, the outward surface of the world. The hidden forces at work are too fragmentary, too obscure in their action, too dispersed in their range, for a human intellect steadily to keep in view their tendency and effects. But the love of God is a transforming power actually at work in the world. Through slow and age-long processes it works towards that which was eternally present to

the Divine thought: *according to His good pleasure which He hath purposed in Himself: that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in Him.* In Christ the world again becomes to Divine eyes a rational order, a moral cosmos. S. John's starting-point then is love's view of the world. And we may observe that all action upon character, on a large or small scale, is successful in so far as it is inspired by a similar hopefulness. Christian hopefulness springs partly from a sober contemplation of the original Divine purpose for that which appears to be ruined, or corrupted, or crushed; partly from the assurance of the unfailing, unwearied love which works behind and in all sincere human endeavours.

But next, *God gave His Son.* Here in one word we have a description of the *method* of Divine love, its essential mode of operation—sacrifice. To an infinite and perfect being sacrifice must consist in self-limitation. In creation, Divine love limits itself. It calls into existence free, self-conscious beings, with a view to a free communication to them of itself. And so far the Divine Creator foregoes part of His prerogative. For the creature which is free in the moral sense of the word is capable of resisting and thwarting the Creator's will. In creating free intelligent beings—beings who are capable of going wrong—it would seem that God must needs allow evil a place in His world. But as Plato taught, and as Athanasius loves to repeat, there can be no envy in the Divine nature. Self-communication is of its essence. Love therefore creates. But, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> creation is only the first stage in a continuous process of Divine self-communication. In the Incarnation of God there is obviously, and to a degree quite

<sup>1</sup> See p. 605.

beyond our measurement, a self-limitation of love. And finally, the completest, the most final limitation must consist in indwelling. For this is the goal of the Divine process: *I will walk in them, and dwell in them.* God with man is preparing for a further and final stage, God *in* man. The end of man is to be penetrated, indwelt by God.

Love then manifests itself in sacrifice. Jesus Christ presents Himself to mankind as that *gift of God*, in which was included all that men could need. His coming is the pledge of God's willingness to sacrifice Himself. And on this mystery of sacrifice in God, reverence will content itself with one inevitable reflection, namely, the impossibility of determining *a priori* its limits, or the nature of its effects. This reflection seems to exclude, for instance, the objection urged somewhat crudely a few years ago. The doctrine of evolution, it was urged, has made it difficult to take literally God's sacrifice of His own Son for the advantage of a race located on a third-rate planet, and so "has dealt a deathblow at the assumptions of human self-conceit." It is easy, and also true, to rejoin that the relative ideas of an object's importance that prevail among men are no clue to the possible estimate formed by eternal love. Until men have experienced the power, or patiently watched the methods of love, they have no standard whereby to measure the probabilities, or forecast the direction of Divine intervention. For character is that which can display itself in a little field as in a great. What gives us a clear conception of a royal person's character, for example, is not necessarily or only the capacity for handling with skill and width of grasp large affairs of State,—dealing, for instance, with a conquered nation, or a rebellious faction. We learn the truth of character better perhaps when we hear of a king stooping to relieve the wretchedness of a single family, or of a

queen reading beside the sickbed of a cottager or comforting a newly-made widow. In the same way the peculiar lustre of the love of God is revealed in the very fact that while "magnitude does not overpower Him, minuteness cannot escape Him." To us men the loss of one sheep out of a hundred might appear a loss of insignificant importance. To the Divine compassion the single lost one may seem a worthy object of diligent and toilsome search.

"The sense

Sees greatness only in the *sensuous* greatness :  
 Science in that sees little: Faith sees naught :  
 The small, the vast, are tricks of earthly vision.  
 To God, that omnipresent All-in-each,  
 Nothing is small, is far. . . . .  
 If earth be small, likelier it seems that love,  
 Compassionate most and condescending most  
 To sorrow's nadir depths, should choose that earth  
 For love's chief triumph, missioning thence her gift  
 Even to the utmost zenith."

Again, the mystery of sacrifice as an essential element in God's nature and methods of action may guard us from hasty assertions in regard to the limits of that profound fact which we call the *kenosis*. To forego capacities of action or knowledge may be a difficult process to conceive or express in intellectual terms. But our power of expressing or intellectually conceiving the fact is no measure of what may be a perfectly natural mode of working to Divine love.<sup>1</sup> We may well deprecate, for example, curious or over-minute discussion as to the exact conditions and limits of our blessed Lord's knowledge. This is eminently a mystery which is intelligible only to love. *He that loveth not knoweth not God*; and many Christians must feel their tongues tied by the sense that at the best they do but *desire* to

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 608.

love. The history of Christian doctrine supplies us with but too many instances of the errors into which thought has been led by simply insisting on logical inference and ceasing to be ethical and spiritual; and perhaps Christian character has suffered even more deeply from this tendency than Christian philosophy. The safeguard against premature dogmatism is to reflect steadily on the degree of profound and lifelong communion with the source of all love, which lies behind the quiet words of the apostle of love, *He gave His Son*.

But, as we have said, there is a point in self-sacrifice and self-limitation even beyond that act of condescension by which God made Himself visible to His helpless and sinful creatures. It was an *unspeakable gift* that we should be *taught of God* what was the true ideal of manhood, in the loveliness of a perfect human life. It was an even greater gift that love should approve its character, should vindicate its glory, by submitting to the penalties of outraged moral law. . But there was a gift beyond—the gift of Divine life. *The bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world*. It is this mystery of the interpenetration of the creature by the Creator which was the goal of saintly expectation, the crowning point of prophetic visions, and the true consummation and completion of the Incarnation. Thus mystical writers point to the prominence of the number twelve in the apocalyptic vision of the Church. Twelve, the blending of the Divine number *three* with the number of creation *four*, is a symbol of the indwelling of God in His creatures. And so the city of God has twelve gates and twelve foundations, and twelve times twelve thousand forms the Church of the redeemed.<sup>1</sup> The number symbolically represents a community indwelt by God. *He that sitteth on the throne*

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xxi. 10 f.

*shall dwell among them. The tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell among them and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them and be their God.* Such then is the purpose, such the goal of Divine love. God's gift of His Son not only means the mission of one who could effect the reconciliation of God and man—the removal of that barrier which on any theory is raised between God and His creatures by the self-assertion of human will. The gift is that of an inward life, a renovating power, the grace of an indwelling presence. And it is just at this point, where the thought of atonement leads on to that of indwelling as its complement and consummation, that current religious thought not unfrequently recoils, and says as it said of old, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" Imagination is oppressed by the immensity of the Divine gift, the depth of Divine condescension. The methods of love—its impulse towards a complete and permanent union with its object—are to many minds strange, unfamiliar, and almost unwelcome. That God should come so close to us as to veil His presence beneath visible, tangible symbols, seems to some unworthy of the infinite Creator. They do not realise that in rejecting or depreciating the mystery of sacraments, they are setting arbitrary limits to the self-abasement of Divine love. They ignore the illuminating power of that Spirit which, S. Paul says, we have received for this express purpose—that we may know the things that are freely given to us of God. Our Lord Himself speaks of *the gift of God*<sup>1</sup> as if it were the highest object of human thought and knowledge: *the gift of God*, surpassing all that men ask or think: the gift of the indwelling Christ visiting us in His sacraments of grace, in His ministry, in His Church, in all the operations of the Spirit; the gift of Him who *of God became unto*

<sup>1</sup> S. Jo. iv. 10.

*us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.*

And at this point we may somewhat extend the thought of Divine self-limitation, in order to consider how fruitful and important are the results of reasoning from the analogy of the Incarnation in other great departments of theological inquiry. We have seen that the Incarnation is, in its essence, the communication of a Divine gift to mankind under the veil of a tangible and visible human form;<sup>1</sup> it implies the permanent consecration of matter as the appropriate veil and vehicle of spirit. It hallows what is earthly and material to sacramental uses. "The wisdom of the early Church," says a living writer,<sup>2</sup> "becomes apparent in the tenacity with which, when philosophy meant idealism, and the secrets of matter were all unexplored, she clung to the reality of the human nature of her Lord. . . . For the leaven of the Incarnation leavened the whole lump. And in taking flesh upon Him and transfiguring it by dying, the Word came into new contact, not only with the few in Palestine whom He breathed upon and sighed over, and healed by the trailing of His garment and the imposition of His hand, but with the human body everywhere, and its modes of material affection,—sanctifying water to the mystical washing away of sin, consecrating bread and wine to holier purposes of sustenance, hallowing symbolic and ceremonial teaching, deepening the parables of nature and the significance of art." The whole sacramental system of the catholic Church, viewed as an organised kingdom of *media*, divinely intended to bring human souls into vital union with God, finds its sanction and explanation in the Incarnation of the Son of God.

<sup>1</sup> 1 S. Jo. i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Illingworth, *University and Cathedral Sermons*, p. 203. This point has been already noticed above, p. 652.

He Himself is, in Hooker's phrase, "that mean between both [God and man] which is both"; in the Church the principle of mediation is extended, in wise adaptation to the complex needs of human nature; visible human persons, things, and ordinances become the channels of the Divine goodness; and so the principle, already clearly marked in the Old Testament dispensation, finds a new and more complete expression,—“the principle that when man is brought near to God it is with the entirety of his manhood; that God is to be glorified alike in the body and in the spirit, and that His mercy really is over all His works.”<sup>1</sup> The Incarnation is in fact the crowning example, or rather the sufficient justification, of the Divine use of *media*. God reveals Himself in it as willing to take things common, and to make them instruments of Divine power; He gives to great spiritual energies and gifts *a body as it hath pleased Him*.

So, again, the analogy of the Incarnation may be extended to the question of the nature and limits of inspiration. What does the fact of the Incarnation *a priori* suggest as to the probable character of Scripture? We shall antecedently expect to find in the records of revelation that twofold character which marks the revelation of God in human form. Scripture will wear a twofold aspect. It will not surprise us if on one side it appears “perfectly human.”<sup>2</sup> We shall remember that in the incarnate Christ there was very much that was simple, plain, ordinary. It has been pointed out by Bishop Milman<sup>3</sup> that the great trial for our Lord's contemporaries—the trial under which the average Jewish faith actually broke down—was the simplicity and the ordinariness of His outward appearance. *Is not*

<sup>1</sup> Dean Paget in *Lux Mundi*, p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> Robertson Smith, *The O.T. in the Jewish Church*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *The Love of the Atonement*, cc. vii. and viii.

*this, men asked, the carpenter's son, the brother of James and Joses and Juda and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us? And they were offended at Him.*<sup>1</sup> Now similarly Scripture is found to have a literary history, exceptional indeed, but not to all appearance entirely mysterious or inexplicable. In proportion as our literary and critical knowledge becomes enlarged, we come to feel that in its letter, in its outward aspect, Scripture appears, so to speak, more and more completely human. It displays to a large extent traces of human workmanship analogous to those which we find in other literature. It seems in considerable portions to embody a collection of fragmentary materials gathered together, none can say with certainty how, when, or by whom; and so far it appears to be parallel in construction to other great products of national genius. There is always danger however, lest this ordinarieness of external aspect should make men practically blind to the higher claims and proper use of Scripture. Our Lord did not at first sight bear any mark or quality to distinguish Him from others, except His transcendent holiness, and the tone of moral authority with which He taught. Something of the same kind attracts our attention in Scripture. Here, also, under a humble exterior is concealed a special presence of God; here, as in the Incarnation, is the self-unveiling of a Divine Spirit, the operation of Divine power, the manifestation and the appeal of Divine love. These are great realities of the spiritual world, which remind us that the true function of Scripture transcends the range of critical investigation. The appeal of spirit is to spirit; the appeal of power to the sense of dependence and moral need; the appeal of love to the faculties of heart and will. And inasmuch as Holy Scripture bears the very title, *Word of God*, which it ascribes to

<sup>1</sup> S. Mk. vi. 3.

the Divine Son, no supposed thoroughness of scientific knowledge can justify the shallow conclusion that the Bible, as a complete product, is evacuated of mystery. Inspiration, like the fact of the Incarnation, implies the unsearchable operation, the continuous control, and the overruling guidance of the Holy Spirit of God; and where He deigns to act or move, there is and must be an element of unfathomable mystery.<sup>1</sup>

In such instances as these we are justified in using the analogy of the Incarnation to throw light on other verities of Christian belief, and to illustrate their essential coherence with the general body of truth to which they belong. We may now return to the passage of S. John in order to notice one more point of His teaching. He proceeds to declare the ulterior purpose of God's love in giving His Son, namely, *that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

Here we are reminded of that mystery which, as was once said by Dr. Newman, might well make us laugh with amazement and wonder—the mystery of God's personal care for individual souls.<sup>2</sup> Love not only has comprehensive and far-reaching purposes; it not only deals with the natural order on a large scale; it seeks the perfection of details; it sees the relation of part—even the least part—to the well-being of the whole; it gathers up fragments that nothing may be lost; it puts each single portion of the whole to its appropriate use. And it is important to remember that it was apparently a leading purpose of the Incarnation to bring home to us the value of the single soul—of the personal life—in God's sight. A considerable part of our Lord's ministry was devoted to personal interviews. He spends a day

<sup>1</sup> S. Jo. iii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Newman, *Paroch. Serm.* vol. iii. no. 9; Church, *Pascal and other Sermons*, no. xix.

with two inquirers; He devotes a night to Nicodemus; He concentrates Himself on the spiritual needs of the Samaritan woman; He watches Nathanael under the fig-tree; He loves Mary, and Martha, and Lazarus; He commends the devotion of the woman that was a sinner; He points to the example of the poor widow casting her mites into the treasury; He notices and rewards the zeal of Zacchæus; His ear is open, His response immediate, to the prayer of the dying thief. Mary Magdalene is blessed with the vision of the risen One, and named by her name: *Jesus saith unto her, Mary.* And this discriminating tenderness and care seems to be reflected in the system of the Church. For in the first place, the Church adapts her discipline to individual cases. Personal dealing is a necessary part of her method. She recognises and delights in the diversity of the souls under her care. It is her aim to develop and train individuality; and she provides remedies for each spiritual disorder, guidance for every type of character, every variety of temperament; she educates personality without repressing or stiffening or crushing it. The Christian Church is no hothouse, but a garden of God, where the trees are of His planting, and each must be tended according to its need and peculiar capacity. The Church is the home of individuality, where each may feel himself cared for, and none may be unregarded or forgotten; *and whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it, or one be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.* And secondly, the Church aims at keeping each soul in conscious relation to God. The means of grace provided by Divine bounty are not obstacles between the soul and God, but His own appointed *media* of union and reconciliation. The personal communion of the soul with God, the right jealousy of personal access to the Father of spirits in Jesus Christ—these privileges are secured

and guaranteed by life in God's Church. Thus then in the pastoral system of the Church we see the action of love reflected and embodied; men are called one by one, one by one taken into the arms of God, one by one absolved, one by one fed with the Bread of eternal life, one by one warned, chastened, guided with wise care, and with far-seeing providence. For love has its purposes, its hopes, for the unregarded units of the crowd. It makes its appeal, it offers its gifts in ways and on occasions that we know not of; it has its own times of discipline, its own ways of winning or leading human souls. To each it may whisper in the moment of its conscious loneliness, *I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of*. Each may say with S. Paul, *He loved me, and gave Himself for me*.

The love of God for the world, the self-sacrifice of love, the discriminating care of love—these are the three mysteries which S. John describes with such simplicity.

The intellectual apprehension of a great doctrine like that of the Incarnation has its fascination for the mind, but it needs to be supplemented by the insight which only love can give. For one thing which we seem to learn from the study of Christian doctrine is the danger of prejudice, *i.e.* a fixed preconception as to the way in which God will act. We have an instance of prejudice overcome in Nathanael. He asked, *Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* and the answer which he needed, and which Philip gave him was, *Come and see*. Nathanael comes into the presence of Jesus, and there he learns more perfectly to understand the range and methods of the Divine providence. He found that Jesus already knew him; knew his character, his antecedents, his capacities; and actual contact with Jesus dispelled his prejudice. The want of openness of mind has its obvious perils

in regard to all kinds of new knowledge, but especially in the study of religious truth. It cannot be safely forgotten by those who study theology as a science; who are familiar with its history and terminology. Such persons do well occasionally to translate theological truths, as S. John does in this passage, into the language of simple relationships and familiar experiences. To do so guards a student from hardness, from unreality, from crude dogmatism, from want of sympathy. *God loved the world*; and we are to measure the self-revelation and self-abasement of love, not by any mere standard of intellectual completeness, nor by the measuring line of average human character or of reason isolated from character. We have to ask ourselves—and it is not everyone who can safely attempt to answer the question—what is probable, what is consistent, what is worthy of that which is called love? If love be that which attempts the seemingly impossible, which is ever breaking down insurmountable barriers, which is ever giving to colder natures food for wonderment and even for ridicule, which is persistently and almost perversely hopeful, which has no fears of being misunderstood, no arbitrary limit in condescension; which transfigures everything it touches, which clings and forsakes not, making all things possible, and all things perfect,—it is clear that there is a force at work in the world which defies the kind of measurements by which religion is often tried and rejected as wanting; a force the action and method of which will only be intelligible to that which is akin to itself.

Students of theology do well to face the private and personal bearing of what they read or learn from other men. "We may overlook and cloud the fact of the Incarnation with subordinate doctrines, with the theories and traditions of men, with a disproportionate mass of guesses on what it is not given us to know, of

subtleties and reasonings in the sphere of human philosophy; we may recoil from it and put it from us, as something which oppresses our imagination and confounds our reason; but we may be sure that on the place which we really give it in our mind and heart depends the whole character of our Christianity, depends what the gospel of Christ means *to us*.”<sup>1</sup>

*Si quis se existimat scire aliquid, nondum cognovit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire. Si quis autem diligit Deum, hic cognitus est ab eo.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Church, *Pascal and other Sermons*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 2, 3.

## APPENDICES

### NOTE A.—*Images of the γέννησις*

The illustrations most familiar are: *Root and Plant*—*Fountain and Stream*—*Sun and Ray*.<sup>1</sup>

Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii. 33 is valuable as showing the use made of the last illustration (φῶς καὶ ἀπαύγασμα).

The ἀπαύγασμα—

(1) is "proper" to the light (ἴδιον). Cp. iii. 3, 4.

(2) does not divide or diminish the οὐσία of the sun.

(3) is in itself whole and complete (δλόκληρον καὶ τέλειον).

(4) is truly derived—is τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, γέννημα ἀληθινὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

Cp. iv. 10.

(5) is independent of *will*. Cp. iii. 66.

(6) is contemporaneous with its cause. Greg. Naz., *Orat.* xxix. 3, points out that the Son and Spirit are οὐκ ἀναρχα τῷ αἰτίῳ; yet not every αἴτιον is prior to its effects (οὐδε γὰρ τοῦ φωτὸς ἥλιος). The Son and Spirit are therefore ἀναρχα τῷ χρόνῳ.

An old writer (? Zeno of Verona; see Dorner, *div. i.* vol. ii. 187) uses the images of two seas connected by a strait, each being distinct yet inseparably connected with the other, while perpetual interchange of waters is going on.

### NOTE B.—*The Principles of Conciliar Authority*

In conciliar action the Church confronts heresy by an explicit judgment, by a declaration of her true belief.

1. The *nature* of a conciliar judgment.

<sup>1</sup> Est namque ita æterna ac sempiterna generatio sicut splendor generatur ex luce. Orig. *de Princ.* bk. i. 2, § 4.

(a) The Church proclaims no new truth. She is the guardian of a tradition. Bishops attend as *representing* their churches; as competent *witnesses* of what is held and believed. They are "the rulers of the Christian people who received as a legacy the deposit of doctrine from the apostles, and by means of it, as need arose, exercised their office of teaching. Each bishop was in his own place the *doctor ecclesiae* for his people" (*Ath. Tr.* ii. 82). Cp. Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogm.* § 31 (p. 153).

A conciliar decree is, in fact, a declaration in writing of what has ever been held, and taught orally or implicitly, in the Church. Thus Athanasius strenuously resists Arianism as a "novelty," an innovation (*τὸ μὴ ἐκ πατέρων ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐφευρεθέν*. *Orat.* i. § 8. Cp. *de syn.* § 47; *Ath. Tr.* i. 73-77). It is important to observe that in her councils the Church does not lay down new truth, but only declares her true meaning. She *excludes* false interpretations and forms of thought. She does not say "Yes" to fresh truths, but says "No" to novelties. When Arius appears on the scene with negations and limitations, circumscribing the area of truth, the Church by saying "No" to Arianism "guards the latitude of truth." See MacColl, *Nicene Creed*, pp. 1-6; *Lux Mundi*, p. 240.

(b) Consequently the validity of a council depends on the adequacy of its testimony to the true belief of the Church. Vinc. Lir. *Comm.* xxx. adduces the council of Ephesus as an illustration. Its object was to find out from *magistri probabiles* (i.e. from the testimony of bishops and authoritative patristic writings) what was actually the catholic belief as to the person of Christ. The council proceeded by eliminating all that appeared to be local or accidental, and so arrived at the consentient belief of the Church throughout the world. Indeed, no council ever claimed to do more than "give explicit expression to what the Church from the beginning had implicitly believed."

(c) Further, a conciliar decree or dogma guards and summarises the sense of *Scripture*, for the *tradition* embodied in dogma is *Scripture* unfolded. Creeds are a breviary of *Scripture* truths. "Scripture being the proof of the creed, and the creed the interpretation of *Scripture*, the harmony of these is the first

rule of interpretation" (Manning, *Unity of the Church*, p. 35). *Neque illis nova fit revelatio, sed quod in purissimis scripturæ ac traditionis fontibus detegunt, hoc fidelibus proponunt*, etc. (Hooke quoted by Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, ii. 138, note). The same principle is pointed out in such passages as Hippol. *c. Noet.* iii. iv. ix.; Ath. *c. Gent.* 1; *Orat. c. Arian*, i. 9; Leo, *ad Flav.* 1. Cp. Ath. *Tr.* i. 69, 140; Illingworth, *Bampton Lectures*, i. pp. 10-12.

(d) The strength of dogma lies in its being a *balanced* statement. The Church endeavours to guard different aspects of a complex truth; to do justice to both sides of the antithesis involved in such a fact as the Incarnation.<sup>1</sup> This is admirably explained by Novatian, *de Trin.* xi. On the other hand, some writers, e.g. Dr. Hatch, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, overstate the Church's insistence on logical precision in her definitions. The real truth is that ecclesiastical dogmas present complementary aspects of truth, rather than suggest the mode of synthesis. It was the *opponents* of the Church's faith who insisted on logic, and applied the processes of rigid dialectic to Divine mysteries.

Cp. Mozley on *Development*, quoted by Gore, *R. C. Claims*, pp. 2 f.; Wilberforce, *Incarn.* p. 109.

## 2. The conditions of an ecclesiastical judgment.

(a) Sufficient authority. A single Church or individual teacher may put forth an opinion (e.g. the African Church on heretical baptism), but such an opinion cannot bind the Church if it is at variance with her creed. "Our rule should be, *cum ecclesia doctores recipere, non cum doctoribus ecclesiæ fidem deserere*," says Vincent (*Common.* xxviii.). No single Church can speak in the name of the universal Church. Cp. Ath. *Tr.* i. p. 16.

(b) Universal acceptance. The test of a dogma being true is

<sup>1</sup> The true doctrine of the Trinity is, in fact, a mediating statement. Greg. Nyss. says: *διὰ μέσον τῶν δύο ὑπολήψεων χωρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκατέρας τε τῶν ἀρτίσεων καθαιρούσαν, καὶ ἀφ' ἐκατέρας παραδεχομένην τὸ χρῆσιμον.* *Orat. Catech.* c. 3. So Bern. *tract. de err. Abal.* 3. 7: *Novit pietas fidei . . . medium tenens iter, regia incedere via.*

its subsequent reception by the Church. "Œcumenical" as applied to a council means "lawfully called, truly representative, approved and received by the Church." A conciliar decree is only "endorsed through œcumenical acceptance."

See, generally, Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, pt. iv. chap. iii.; Bp. Forbes on *Art. 21*; Gore, *R. C. Claims*, chap. iii.; Moberly in *Lux Mundi*, *ess. vi.*

NOTE C.—*The Christian Fact as guarded by the Definitions of the Church*

The following passage from Mr. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* is of great interest in this connection:—

"Whatever opinion the reader may entertain of the decisions at which the Church arrived on the doctrine of the Trinity, it is at least clear that they were not in the nature of explanations. They were, in fact, precisely the reverse. They were the *negation* of explanations. The various heresies which it combated were, broadly speaking, all endeavours to bring the mystery, so far as possible, into harmony with contemporary speculations, Gnostic, Neo-Platonic, or Rationalising; to relieve it from this or that difficulty; in short, to do something towards 'explaining' it. The Church held that all such explanations, or partial explanations, inflicted irremediable impoverishment on the idea of the Godhead which was essentially involved in the Christian revelation. They insisted on preserving that idea in all its inexplicable fulness; and so it has come about that while such simplifications as those of the Arians, for example, are so alien and impossible to modern modes of thought that, if they had been incorporated with Christianity, they must have destroyed it, the doctrine of Christ's Divinity still gives reality and life to the worship of millions of pious souls, who are wholly ignorant both of the controversy to which they owe its preservation, and of the technicalities which its discussion has involved" (p. 279)

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