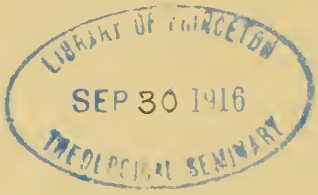

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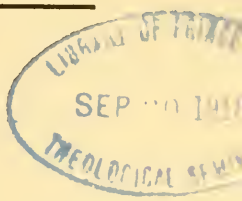

Phases
of
Early Christianity

Six Lectures

by

J. Estlin Carpenter, D.Litt.

Wilde Reader in Natural and Comparative Religion in the University of Oxford, and Late Principal of Manchester College

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
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[1] This course was not published by the Committee, but will form part of Prof. Jackson's volume on the Religion of Persia in the series of *Handbooks on the History of Religions*, edited by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., and published by Messrs. Ginn & Company of Boston. Prof. Jastrow's volume is, therefore, the eighth in the series.

1911–1912—Prof. Franz Cumont.[1]—*Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans.*

1914—Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter.—*Phases of Early Christianity.*

The lecturer for 1915 was the Unitarian Theologian, J. Estlin Carpenter, Principal Emeritus of Manchester College, Oxford. Born in 1844, Professor Carpenter served as pastor of the Oakfield Road Church at Clifton, 1866–69, and of the Mill Hill Chapel at Leeds, 1869–75. From that date down to 1906 he held the position at first of lecturer at Manchester College, London and Oxford, and then of Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. Among his more important published works may be mentioned: *Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, 1879; *The First Three Gospels and their Relations*, 1890; *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, 1903; *James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher*, 1905; *The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ; Buddhist and Christian Parallels* in *Studies*

[1] Owing to special circumstances, Prof. Cumont's volume was published before that of Prof. DeGroot. It is, therefore, the ninth in the series and that of Prof. DeGroot the tenth.

in the History of Religions presented to C. H. Toy, 1912; *Comparative Religion*, 1913. He was joint editor with Professor Rhys-Davids of the *Digha Nikaya*, 1890, 1902, and with G. Harford Battersby of the *Composition of the Hexateuch according to the Revised Version*, 1900, and with P. H. Wicksted of *Studies in Theology*.

The series of lectures contained in the present volume was delivered either wholly or in part before the following bodies: The Lowell Institute, Yale University, The First Unitarian Congregational Church of Brooklyn, N. Y., Union Theological Seminary, The First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia, Rochester Theological Seminary, Auburn Theological Seminary, Meadville Theological Seminary, Oberlin College, Western Reserve University (Cleveland).

RICHARD GOTTHEIL
CRAWFORD H. TOY
Committee on Publication.

April, 1916.

PREFACE

THE period selected for illustration in the following Lectures extends roughly over a century and a half, 100–250 A.D. Christianity had been launched into the Roman Empire; it was already involved in the conflict with imperialism and popular mythology, and exposed to the various influences of Hellenic philosophy and Oriental religions. In the attempt to delineate in brief the phases of its inner development much had to be taken for granted and much left unsaid. Where every step has been the subject of eager debate among generations of controversialists, the adequate treatment of disputed issues in a small space is of course impossible. Students, however, will be at no loss for guides to supplement or correct what is offered here; and if this book finds any readers unfamiliar with the field which it traverses so rapidly, the citations from early Christian literature will provide them with clues for further enquiry. The central theme is that of "salvation," and the growth of Christian Doctrine and the rise of Christian Institutions are considered in relation to it.

My obligations to the innumerable writers on this subject—the most important in the whole

range of the history of religions save that of the origins of Christianity itself—will be obvious on every page; but my special acknowledgments are due to the Rev. Dr. J. E. Odgers, late Lecturer on Church History in Manchester College, Oxford, England, who most kindly read the whole work in manuscript, and allowed me to profit by his wide range of knowledge and his literary skill.

J. E. C.

PHILADELPHIA,
November 8, 1915.

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Phases of Early Christianity

Phases of Early Christianity

LECTURE I

CHRISTIANITY AS PERSONAL SALVATION

IN September, 111 A.D., Gaius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus reached Bithynia with the special title of "Legate Proprætor with consular power." He had not been long in office before he found it necessary to consult his imperial master, Trajan, on the treatment of the professors of a "wicked and arrogant superstition" endangering many of both sexes, of all ages and every rank.[1] Its infection had spread from the cities to the villages and the country districts. The temples had been almost deserted; the ceremonies of religion had been long neglected; the farmers who brought fodder to feed victims for the temple sacrifices found the markets almost without purchasers. What crimes were alleged against those who had wrought this change? They were the followers of a new faith. They met on a fixed day before the dawn and sang in turn a hymn to Christ as to a god; and they bound

[1] *Ep.*, X, xcvi.

themselves by an oath—not for any deeds of darkness—but to abstain from theft and robbery and adultery, and to restore upon demand money entrusted to their care. At a second meeting they shared a common meal of harmless food; but in deference to the imperial prohibition of clubs this custom had been suspended. Of one grave offence, however, they were guilty. Confronted in court with the images of the gods, they declined to repeat a prayer at Pliny's dictation; when wine and incense were handed to them with which to invoke Trajan's name before his statue, they refused.

The Christian movement might be checked by vigorous repression in Bithynia, but it bore within itself the impulses of constant expansion. Its missionaries followed the wide Dispersion of the Jews which ranged from the highlands east of Mesopotamia, in Elam and Media and the distant Parthian kingdom, to the Libyan coast and Rome.[1] The Jerusalem community was, indeed, scattered. Before the city fell under the Roman arms, the disciples had crossed the Jordan and sought refuge in Pella. In Cæsarea they still held their own; at Antioch Ignatius presided over a thriving church. Asia Minor had welcomed apostle and evangelist at one centre of population after another along its great trade routes, and Ephesus and Smyrna were the seats of active propaganda. The Pauline churches in Macedonia still cherished their founder's memory; and Corinth was in frequent

[1] *Acts* ii, 9–11.

communication with Rome. There Christianity had made its way into high quarters, if the "atheism" of which Flavius Clemens was accused be rightly identified with it. A cousin of the Emperor Domitian, he served as consul with him in the year 95, and at the end of his period of office suffered death. His wife Domitilla, the Emperor's niece, was banished to one of the islands west of Italy[1] where exiles wore out their lives in squalor. To Rome came the preachers of all faiths and the teachers of all philosophies; and from Rome, probably, Christianity was carried at unknown dates by missionaries whose names have perished, to Gaul and Spain. Tradition ascribed the introduction of Christianity in Alexandria to Mark; the famous *Codex Bezæ* describes Apollos as already instructed there in the way of the Lord before he visited Ephesus.[2] Along the African coast Jews had followed the Phœnician traders, but the origin of the church at Carthage is obscure. Ignatius of Antioch on his way to execution at Rome—perhaps in Pliny's own time—can joyously speak of "the bishops who have been appointed to the ends (of the earth)"[3]; and Justin, a lad at Flavia Neapolis (the ancient Shechem) when Ignatius suffered, will plead afterwards for "those of every

[1] Pontia, say the Christian historians, Eusebius and Jerome; the Roman historians give Pandeteria. Eusebius does not claim Flavius Clemens as a Christian, though modern scholars like Gwatkin and Harnack affirm it as certain.

[2] *Acts* xviii, 25. D. ἐν τῇ πατρίδι; It. Gig. *in patria sua.*

[3] *Ephes.* iii, 2.

race who are unjustly hated and abused," and will tell the Jew Trypho that there is not a single people, barbarian or Greek, even to the nomad Scythians or the pastoral herdsmen, among whom prayers are not offered through the name of the crucified Jesus.[1] Through that name also did they cultivate piety and righteousness, faith, hope, and the love of man; through that name did the martyr endure the headsman's axe, the cross, the wild beast, chains, and fire; persecution generated belief, and the worshippers of God were multiplied.[2]

A religion so widespread had naturally begun to produce its own literature. From the synagogue it had inherited a precious group of sacred books, the fountains of ancient wisdom, and the guarantee through prophecy and psalm of the claims of Christ. But beside the authority of the Jewish Scriptures the Church of the early decades of the second century was beginning to set the "Word of the Lord." As Papias tells us, the tradition that might be gathered from living lips was still treasured as more valuable than any book. No Gospel yet is cited under any name, though our first three were certainly approaching if they had not definitely reached their present form in Pliny's day. The Fourth Gospel had hardly yet emerged out of the limited circle in which it first appeared. The churches founded by the Apostle

[1] 1 *Apol.*, i; *Dial.* cxvii, cp. cx, "we who have believed in Jesus *over all the world.*"

[2] *Dial.* cx.

Paul had doubtless preserved the letters addressed to them, and neighbouring communities would exchange their possessions. When Clement writes in the name of the Roman church to Corinth, he bids the disputants take up the letter of the blessed Paul the Apostle[1]; what had been *his* advice at the beginning of his preaching? When the Philippians wrote to Polycarp for copies of the letters of Ignatius,[2] they doubtless had already a collection of those of Paul. Behind Clement stands the author of the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews, a sermon without a name transformed by some additions into a letter without an address. A similar homily is probably to be found in the Epistle of James, fitted with a revered name like those of Peter. There are other documents belonging (within wide limits) to this age, such as the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the Epistle of Barnabas, the letters of Ignatius. They all gather more or less definitely round the person of the Founder. The initiates into the Mystery-religions might believe themselves rooted and grounded in trust begotten of incommunicable personal experiences; the followers of Christ could produce the title-deeds of a historic faith.

Among the works which had been written not long before Trajan sent Pliny to Bithynia, two stand out in remarkable elevation above all the

[1] 1 *Clem.*, xlvii; usually dated about 96 A.D., though possibly a little later.

[2] Polycarp, *Ep. Phil.*, xiii.

rest. The Church of the second century ascribed them to the same author, the Book of Revelation and the Gospel according to John. Each has exerted a profound and far-reaching influence. The Apocalypse stimulated the imagination of Christendom, the Gospel educated its thought. From the seer of Patmos came the impulses which Dante wrought into immortal verse, and Bunyan into an allegory which still speaks to the conscience and the heart; in the philosophy of the Logos the Evangelist provided the Church with a metaphysical foundation for the interpretation of the person of Christ. Strange indeed is it that tradition should have identified them, and that the modern critic relying on scattered fragments of testimony should uphold the identification in spite of fundamental differences of conception and aim. How shall the God who is light, who is love, who is spirit, be represented in the same mind as a Sovereign whose person can be compared to flashing jewels,[1] who sits enthroned in a court of four and twenty elders, with seven burning torches in front of him and a glassy sea beneath? The mysterious relationship of the Father and the Son who can each reside in the other is shattered when the Son is depicted with eyes of flame and feet like burnished brass, with snow-white hair and a two-edged sword issuing from his mouth. Instead of an apocalyptic conflict in the skies the opposition of

[1] *Rev.* iv, 3. The jasper (*iaspis*) is opaque; the Greek word should probably be equated with the opal or diamond.

the Evil Power is vanquished when the Prince of this world is cast out, and his condemnation is effected at the moment when he is confident of triumph. The cross on which he hangs the Son of God to die is the scene of the completion of the work which has been given him to do; and in the very hour of seeming defeat the Messiah can announce that the victory over the world is won. The future then needs no war of angels, no Satan flung from heaven to earth, to wreak his vengeance for a short time, till he is chained in the abyss. The Son who is sent not to judge the world but to save it, never dons the blood-sprinkled robe or tramples the wine-press of the fury of God's wrath. Instead of the rage which flames out against Rome, the imperial city with her lusts and her cruelties as she drenched herself in the blood of prophets and saints, the Evangelist contemplates a world brought finally to harmony and peace, believing and knowing the purpose and meaning of the mission of the Son,[1] for faith and knowledge of the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent are not merely the conditions but the actual reality of "eternal life."[2]

The two books belong in fact to two entirely different modes of religious thought. The Apocalypse describes itself as a Christian prophecy. Its language is steeped in the speech of the ancient seers of Israel. Their religion was worked out in the history of a particular people. It is pervaded

[1] *John* xvii, 21. [2] *John* xvii, 3.

by the element of divine purpose; it realizes a far-reaching intention; it fulfils an age-long plan; it advances steadily towards a goal. Hence it is essentially moral; its crises are determined by Israel's character. The conflict of good and evil is worked out in various forms, but the vicissitudes of discipline have all one aim; they lead to the ultimate victory of good. That is the fundamental postulate of all ethical religion. The will of the righteous God must be finally achieved. And when the nation, at last faithful, is still oppressed, a divine deliverance must set it free. The heavenly forces of justice must enter the visible scene, must overthrow the earthly tyranny, and reshape both the world and its occupants into a veritable "Realm of God." Of this great hope Christianity was the heir, and in the Book of Revelation it received impassioned expression. The great change is near; a note of urgency and suspense sounds through warning and vision from end to end. Watchfulness is the believers' duty; in an unexpected moment, like a thief in the night, the Messiah will arrive; "the time is at hand," "I come quickly."[1]

From this attitude of breathless expectation the disciple passes in the Fourth Gospel into a sanctuary of peace. He is bidden at the outset to contemplate the eternity of the divine Thought, the timeless fellowship of the Father and the Son. The philosophy from which the conception of the

[1] *Rev.* iii, 3; xxii, 10, 20.

Logos was derived occupied itself with the constants of Being that lay behind the ever-shifting scene of human experience. *There* was the infinite Intelligence of which the visible world was the manifestation. The order of Nature was the product of a beneficent Mind. But to the Greek, history presented no such unity as Hebrew prophecy discerned. God was apprehended rather as an immanent principle of Reason than as an ever-active Will. He did not guide the sequences of national destiny; he was no continuous presence presiding over the slow development of a purpose. That sense of a vast Providence watching over the progress of Roman fortunes from the adventures of Æneas to the imperial sovereignty of Augustus, which thrills Virgil with wonder and awe, had no real counterpart in Hellenism. Still less could Greek philosophy conceive itself, like prophetic Israel, as the depositary of truths to be made known through its teaching to mankind at large. The intellectual interpretation of the world deals with its permanences; the dramatic in national story with its successions. Time is essential to the steps of change; but thought comprehends all without moving. The contents and applications of a single law are viewed simultaneously, and reality belongs alone to that which *is*. This is the order of ideas which lies behind the Fourth Gospel. It is founded on the contrast between "earthly" and "heavenly" things, and it presents the Son of God as working indeed within the sphere of sense,

but withal as preserving his eternal identity behind the generations of humanity, "Before Abraham came,[1] I AM." In such a world, where life and light and truth and love dwell in everlasting habitations, the convulsions of apocalyptic expectation have no place. The conventional Martha looks forward to a resurrection at the last day. She is at once corrected: "I am the resurrection and the life," and immortality is the blessed issue of faith.[2] The great assize, therefore, is never summoned. No thrones are set, no trumpet sounds, no books are opened. Judgment is not an event, it is a continuous process; the Lord does not descend from the sky, nor are the living caught up to meet him in the air[3]; the divine fellowship is realized in no outward form; it is transported into the realm of spirit; "If a man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him," "that they may all be one, even as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be in us."[4] And thus humanity itself shall become divine.

Under these two powerfully contrasted types of future expectation was Christianity presented to the world in the first decade of the second century. Both were comprised under one idea, viz., salvation. The word has only to be named, and a host of problems rise at once into view. From whom, from what, were believers supposed to be saved?

[1] *John* viii, 58; or *was born.*
[2] *John* xi, 24–26.
[3] 1 *Thess.* iv, 16–17.
[4] *John* xiv, 23; xvii, 21.

Who was the agent of their deliverance? What were the means by which their rescue was accomplished? Did their condition then remain secure, and how could it be restored if it was injured? What was the ultimate destiny which finally completed the whole process? To unravel all these lines of thought, to exhibit the different types of religious life created by different answers, to trace their connections, their antagonisms, their mutual influences and reactions, till the main lines of Catholic Christianity had shaped themselves in the middle of the third century at Carthage and Rome, is one of the chief objects of the study of early Christian history. It is apt to be thrown into the background by the prominence given to the interpretation of Christianity as a system of doctrine ultimately embodied in creeds, or a scheme of ecclesiastical government under the control of a Church. Beliefs and organizations both enter into it; they are the products of its energy, the modes of its self-expression. But Christianity is first of all a life; it is the life, here and hereafter, of those who may be designated in the language of Jesus "sons of God," or, in the imaginative terminology of the Apostle Paul, "limbs of Christ." "The wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord."[1]

[1] *Rom.* vi, 23. The social applications of Christianity to industrial and international relations, under the modern interpretation of "the kingdom of God," were of course not then in view.

When Christianity was carried beyond the limits of Palestine and planted all the way from Antioch to Rome, and was confronted with the various forms of Hellenic religion, it found the ideas and language of "salvation" already well established. From Homer onwards it had been the function of the gods to "save," to protect and deliver, to rescue and preserve. The worshipper prayed for "salvation" from peril by land or sea, for aid in danger in flood or field, for health in sickness, for victory over enemies, for escape from evil fate. A long list of gods may be easily compiled who bear the title "Saviour" in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece.[1] During the first century of our era the term gained special significance for Christians in respect of two prominent figures, the Roman Emperor and the god Asklepios.

When Demetrius Poliorkêtês liberated Athens from the tyranny of Cassander in 307 B.C., the grateful citizens awarded to him and his father Antigonus the title Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες, "divine Saviours." Altars were erected to them, and a priest was appointed for their worship. With hymns and dances, garlands and incense and libations, the people went forth to meet the Deliverer. "All hail!" they sang:

[1] Such above all were Apollo, Asklepios, and Zeus; Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Helios, Herakles, Hermes, Pan, Poseidon, Serapis-Osiris, and in general the Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες (even Priapus is Σωτὴρ κόσμου, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*, iii, 5961). Goddesses like Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Hera, Hygeia, Isis, Korê, Nikê, Themis, Tychê, could all be invoked as Σώτειραι.

"The other gods dwell far away, or have no ears,
Or are not, or pay us no heed.
But thee we present see,
No god of wood or stone, but godhead true.
Therefore to thee we pray."[1]

The style was adopted by the sovereigns of Egypt and Syria, perpetuating the ancient idea of the monarch as the impersonation of deity. The tyrant Antiochus who endeavoured to compel his Jewish subjects to abandon their religion, took the name Epiphanes ("God manifest"). A century later the Athenians once more designated Julius Cæsar "divine Saviour," and at Ephesus Ares and Aphrodite were assigned to him as parents, for was he not "God manifest, and the common Saviour of human life"? In the midst of the deities of Egypt on the island of Philæ Augustus was honoured as "great Saviour Zeus"; Olympia was proud to call him "Saviour of the Greeks and of the whole world."[2] The imperial birthday (September 23d) was adopted as a general holiday in Asia Minor, and a group of inscriptions (discovered by a German archæological expedition) in the cities of Priênê, Halicarnassus, Apamea, and Eumeneia, welcomes it as the inauguration of a new era like the beginning of all things. He is the end and limit of sorrow that ever man was born; he has been filled with virtue by Providence (πρόνοια) for the good service of mankind; he has been sent

[1] Frazer, *Early History of the Kingship* (1905), p. 138.
[2] Wendland, *Zeitschr. für N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1904, p. 335 ff.

as a Saviour to put an end to war and set all things in order; earth and sea are at peace; he is the Saviour of the whole human race; is it surprising, therefore, that the birthday of the God should be hailed as "the beginning of glad tidings" (εὐαγγελίων, "gospels") for the world?[1] Language of this kind prepared the way for analogous honours for the Messiah. The heavenly citizenship (πολιτεία) was set over against that of earth.[2] Upon the vast variety of nations which Rome gathered beneath her sway, she so completely stamped her culture, her law, her trade, her government, that the genius of her empire could be summed up in one word, *Romanity*.[3] At the head of it stood the Cæsar; at the head of Humanity, the Christ. Augustus and Jesus could both be designated "Son of God"[4] and *Theos Sotêr*.

This type of imperial salvation was not without its place in Jewish hope. It had found expression for centuries in prophecy and psalm. After the overthrow of the Syrian tyranny it received fresh utterance in the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs"; when Pompey lay dead on the Egyptian shore it broke forth again in the "Psalms of Solomon." The glory of the past should be re-

[1] The inscriptions are dated by Mommsen in 11 or 9 B.C. *Mitteilungen des Kaiserl. Deutschen Archaeol. Instituts*, Athenische Abteilung (1899), xxiv, 275 ff.

[2] *Philip.* iii, 20. [3] *Romanitas*, Tert., *De Pallio*, iv.

[4] "Divi Filius," Θεοῦ *υἱός* (in papyri and inscriptions). Cp. Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (1902), pp. 131, 167, and Dalman, *Words of Jesus* (1901), p. 167.

stored on a more splendid scale. From the ends of the earth the scattered Israelites should gather in their ancient land. The tyranny of the oppressor should be overthrown; the sovereignty of David should be re-established, or Levi should be endowed with a perpetual priesthood till God himself should come and dwell in the holy city. The ungodly nations should be destroyed, or (with a larger charity) should be converted; the divine salvation should subdue all rivalries and the whole earth should become one people with one speech. Out of such visions rose the glowing expectations of the early followers of Jesus, enshrined in the hymns which celebrated the joy of the Maiden Mother and the long childless Zacharias. Had not God "put down princes from their thrones" and "raised up a horn of salvation in the house of his servant David"—salvation from their enemies and from the hand of all that hated them? Deliverance from the oppressor had at last arrived. It was natural for the disciples, gathered around the risen Christ, to enquire, "Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?"[1]

These dreams of empire might be national in form, but they were inspired by a deep ethical and religious demand. The sovereignty of a righteous God required a holy service from his subjects. Under the priesthood of Levi sin should come to an end, and the lawless should cease to do evil.[2] The

[1] *Acts* i, 6.

[2] *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, tr. Charles (1908), Levi, xviii, 9.

enmities of race must be subdued; "the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan unto men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God unto men's salvation."[1] The Son of David should purge Jerusalem and make it holy, and tend the Lord's flock with faith and righteousness.[2] Such deliverance really implied a change of heart. Did they desire the salvation which resulted when darkness was dispelled, the eyes were enlightened, and knowledge had been imparted to the soul? Its first condition was "true repentance after a godly sort."[3] The development of an advanced doctrine of immortality gave added intensity to such a summons. New influences played on Israel, and begot new thoughts. The range of vision expanded from earth to heaven. The succession of generations was changed into a multitude of blessed spirits. The great drama of humanity culminated in scenes of resurrection and judgment, the passage of an age of evil and dissolution into a new world of incorruption and joy, while the guilty were dismissed to their merited doom of pain. In this transcendental sphere salvation acquired a new meaning. When Enoch had been translated into the heaven of heavens, and amid the myriads of angels beheld the Head of Days with the Son of Man seated at his side, his angel guide disclosed the secret of eternity:

[1] *Testaments*, Gad, iv, 7.
[2] *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii, 33, 45.
[3] *Testaments*, Gad, v, 7.

He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come;
For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and for ever.
And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsaketh him;
With him will be their dwelling-places and with him their heritage,
And they shall not be separated from him for ever and ever and ever.[1]

In this faith Joseph might well be bidden to name the wonder-Child "Jesus, for it is he that shall save his people from their sins."[2]

But what, after all, was the cause of sins? It was a fruitful subject of speculation, and in the century preceding the birth of Christianity imagination fixed upon evil spirits, the hideous progeny of the defiling unions of the Sons of God or "Watchers" with the daughters of men.[3] Had not Azazel and Semjâzâ revealed to them all kinds of sins? And did not the demons which issued from them perpetually cause trouble and work destruction, only to be arrested at the consummation of the age by the great

[1] 1 *Enoch*, lxxi, 9–16, tr. Charles (1912).

[2] *Matt.* i, 21. "Jesus" is the Greek form of the Hebrew "Joshua" (later Jeshua), meaning (as usually interpreted) "Yahweh is salvation."

[3] *Gen.* vi, 1–5.

Judgment?[1] The corruption of their lawlessness extended even to cattle, beasts and birds, and everything that walks upon the earth. All crimes of violence were their work,[2] though only a tenth of them were left after the Flood.[3] The whole world was in fact full of such powers, some good and some bad. There were spirits of fire and wind, of clouds and darkness, of snow, hail, and frost, even of cold and heat and the four seasons.[4] These wrought their daily work in faithfulness; but at the end the spirits of cloud and mist and dew and rain would be summoned to testify against the wicked, for they would be mindful of their sins.[5] Man himself was tenanted by similar agencies. Spirits of life, of the senses and of sleep, presided over his bodily functions.[6] Under the leadership of Beliar[7] the human person might be infested with seven "spirits of deceit," fornication, insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, injustice[8]; there were spirits of envy and hatred, of jealousy and vainglory,[9] and four potent demons lurked in wine, lust, hot desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre.[10] Here was an active machinery of causation for all evil; and in the parallelism which was soon established between

[1] 1 *Enoch*, ix, 6–8; xv, 9–xvi, 1. For the "consummation of the age" cp. *Matt.* xiii, 39, 49.

[2] *Jubiles*, v, 1–2; vii, 27. [3] *Ibid.*, x, 1. [4] *Ibid.*, ii, 2.

[5] 1 *Enoch*, c, 11. [6] *Testaments*, Reuben, ii, 3–iii, 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, Issachar, vii, 7; Dan, i, 7; Benj., iii, 3.

[8] *Ibid.*, Reuben, iii, 3–6.

[9] *Ibid.*, Simeon, iii, 1; Gad, i, 9; iii, 1; Simeon, ii, 7; Dan, i, 6.

[10] *Ibid.*, Judah, xvi, 1.

maladies of the body and of the soul, a close connection was recognized between disease and sin.[1]

When Jesus instructed his disciples to pray, "Deliver us from the evil" (ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ), how are his words to be interpreted? Is the phrase simply a generalization of the various forms of "illth"?[2] Rabbi Judah, we are told, was wont to pray (a hundred years later)—"Let it be thy good pleasure to deliver us from an evil man, from an evil chance, from an evil affection, from an evil companion, from Satan the destroyer, from a hard judgment, from a hard adversary."[3] Or does Jesus point to a Tempter, the active leader of seduction from the narrow way? Interpreters have been divided from the third century to the present day, and the precise application may be left undecided. There is enough evidence elsewhere that the rule of God was opposed by the rule of the Adversary, whose demon agents were the mischief-working causes of sickness and calamity. Salvation, therefore, had to begin from the physical side. When Jesus straightens the bent form of the woman in the synagogue, he declares that

[1] This lies at the foundation of the story of the cure of the paralytic in *Mark* ii, 1–12.

[2] Ruskin's counterpart to welfare or "wealth." The neuter gender is supported by the variant *ἀπὸ τῆς πο[ν]ηρ[ίας]* in an amulet containing the Lord's prayer discovered by Wilcken at Heracleopolis Magna in 1899, reproduced by Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (1910), p. 134.

[3] *Berakhoth*, 16 b, cp. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (1877), p. 142.

she had been for eighteen years in Satan's grip; and the cure is a triumphant instance of the authority vested in the preacher of the approach of God's kingdom.[1] To the blind man whose sight he restores at Jericho and to the sinful woman who had washed his feet with her tears, he uses the same words, "Thy faith has saved thee,"[2] as though physical and moral cure were but corresponding rescues from the same hostile power. In one of the fascinating chapters of his *Expansion of Christianity*,[3] Harnack has traced the significance of the Gospel of Healing. Sicknesses of the body and of the soul—Jesus carried them both in his immense love for the sufferers. In the proverb to which classical wisdom supplies so many parallels, "they that are whole have no need of a doctor, but they that are sick," he ranged his own function with the art of medicine, just as the Buddha had been known in a former birth as the "Great Physician." In this character he was brought into immediate connection and contrast with Asklepios whose sanctuaries were established all round the eastern Mediterranean. His worship had been introduced in Rome as far back as 290 B.C.; a temple was built for him on the Insula Tiburina. Coins and inscriptions abundantly attest his title "Saviour" (*Sotêr*). The Centaur Cheiron had been his teacher, and his skill won back so many to life that Zeus translated him to the skies lest

[1] *Luke*, xiii, 10–17.
[2] *Luke*, vii, 50; xviii, 42.
[3] Book II, chap. ii.

men should escape death altogether. But from his seat among the stars he showed himself the best friend of man[1]; he healed the sick, he revealed himself to the believer, he foretold the future.[2] When Celsus, writing in the second century A.D., impeached the worship of Jesus, but demanded belief in the appearances of Asklepios, Origen replied a hundred years later with an appeal to the successful cures wrought by the Christians, who needed no demonic aid, but simply invoked the names of the God of the universe and Jesus with a brief summary of his career.[3] The Stoic and the Neo-Pythagorean both proposed to treat the spiritually sick; Porphyry (in the third century) defined the object of philosophy as the "salvation of the soul,"[4] and pleaded that its teachings should only be imparted to those who had arranged their plan of life with a view to that high end. The double aspect of salvation is clearly indicated in the pages of the New Testament. "The prayer of faith," says *James* v, 15, "shall save (cure) the sick"; and "whoever converts a sinner from the error of his ways, shall save a soul from death" (v, 20).[5]

[1] φιλανθρωπότατος, cp. *Tit.*, iii, 4.

[2] Cp. the inscriptions at the great sanctuary of Epidaurus in Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. iii, p. 249; and the oracle's phrase, "O born to be the world's great joy," Book II, xxvi, 6.

[3] Origen, *Contr. Cels.*, III, xxiv. Asklepios was also designated "Saviour of the World," σωτῆρ τῶν ὅλων.

[4] *Ad Marcellam*, xxxi; Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, IV, vii, 1; viii, 1.

[5] On the parallel between bodily and spiritual healing, cp. Tert., *De Baptismo*, v.

But there was another aspect of the healing of disease which acquired great prominence in connection with the salvation offered by the primitive Church. The belief had spread far and wide along the Mediterranean that many forms of human infirmity were due to possession by Demons. The ancient magic of Babylonia and Egypt had been largely concerned with the spells and exorcisms needed to avert their hateful influence.[1] Among the many elements which met in later Judaism this had taken a deep hold, and the healing ministry of Jesus is explained again and again in its language. The true home of the Demons lay in the "abyss"; they had their own ruler, the prince Beelzebub; they were a part of the great host of evil ranged under the banner of the Adversary, the Sâtân. Above them stood yet mightier powers, for the Gods of the nations belonged to the same order. Those marvellous forms of strength and grace in which Greek art had striven to express the glory of the Immortals, were only the abodes of Demons of higher degree. To take part in banquets in their temples, to eat food which had been offered to them, was to enter their sphere of influence, to be associated with them in fellowship; their power lurked in the consecrated meat, and was full of danger to the

[1] Celsus affirmed that the Egyptians divided the human body into thirty-six parts, each with a special Demon which must be kept from mischief by appropriate worship. Origen, *Contra Cels.*, VIII, lviii.

Christian. "You cannot partake of the Lord's table and of the table of Demons," writes the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians[1]; and two centuries later Origen meets the arguments of Celsus with the same plea.[2]

Philosophy had to make what terms it could with this belief. Hesiod had long ago recognized an order of Demons of elevated rank between the Heroes and the Gods; but experience suggested that they were of varied character, and Plato and other teachers had admitted that there were among them evil as well as good.[3] The pious and gentle Plutarch, cherishing the rites of his ancestral priesthood in his native city of Chæronea, feels some incongruity between his conception of Deity and the functions of the altar. For God, he asserts, as he interprets the mysterious letter carved over the narrow entrance of the temple at Delphi,—God is pure Being, he alone absolutely is, immutable, timeless, eternal.[4] How then can it be supposed that he is present at sacrifices or concerned with ceremonies?[5] The unchanging One cannot be brought into the scene of human vicissitude: the supervision of its events has been entrusted to his officers, the Demons, who have prescribed the sacred offerings, and whose varying characters are reflected in their strange diversity; "for there is a difference of virtue between these

[1] 1 *Cor.* x, 21.
[2] *Contra Cels.*, VIII, xxiv.
[3] Plutarch, *De Defect. Orac.*, xvii.
[4] *De E*, xx.
[5] *De Defect. Orac.*, xiii.

Demons as much as between men." Here was the explanation at hand of oracles and divination, of omens and prognostications; here the source of the odious fables of mythology, and the still more odious representations of them on the stage. The philosopher, no less than the Christian, felt himself environed by Demons; and the Neo-Platonist Porphyry, the follower of Plotinus in the third century, described their activity in the utmost detail.

> Every house is full of them, and on this account when they are going to call down the Gods, they purify the house first, and cast these Demons out. Our bodies also are full of them, for they especially delight in certain kinds of food. So when we are eating, they approach and sit close to our body; and this is the reason of the purifications, not chiefly on account of the Gods, but in order that these evil Demons may depart. But most of all they delight in blood and in impure meats, and enjoy these by entering into those who use them.[1]

Such was the evil in which the Christian saw the whole world plunged. The Demons dwelt in the temple, the theatre, the home. They flitted round the sacrifices and the blood. They occupied the statues like the human body. They lurked in shady springs, in brooks and ponds, in cisterns and baths.[2] They passed with food into the person,

[1] Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, IV, xxiii, tr. Gifford.

[2] Minuc. Fel., *Oct.*, xxvii; Tert., *Apol.*, xxvi; *De Baptismo*, v; Orig., *Contr. Cels.*, III, xxxvii.

and at death carried away the soul thus brought within their keeping into whatever place they pleased.[1] But the believer was not without help. He had been delivered out of the power of Darkness, and translated into the kingdom of the Son of God's love.[2] There was a protection to which he could always appeal; for Jesus Christ, said Justin, had been made man for the destruction of the Demons.[3] In his name, therefore, dwelt an energy for their overthrow. To utter it over a sufferer, and recite the facts of his life, death, and ascension, was sufficient to expel the malignant enemy. Such exorcisms, it would seem, might be practised by all Christians.[4] The whole world, exclaims Origen triumphantly, contains evidence of the works of Jesus; his name can still remove distractions from men's minds, and drive out Demons and take away diseases. "By prayer and other means which we learn from Scripture, we expel them from the souls of men, and even sometimes from the bodies of animals."[5] It was natural that some men should be more successful than others. To them was given a special "healer's grace."[6] Hence in due time arose a definite order of exorcists, incorporated in the minor ranks of the clergy. The Church of Rome in the middle of

[1] *Clem. Homil.*, ix, 9. [2] *Col.* i, 13.

[3] 2 *Apol.*, vi; this was the significance of his name Jesus as Man and Saviour. Cp., *Dial.*, xli.

[4] Justin, *Dial.*, xxx, lxxvi, lxxxv; Tert., *Apol.*, xxiii.

[5] *Contra Cels.*, I, lxvii; VII, lxvii.

[6] Minuc. Fel., *Oct.*, xxvii.

the third century found employment for a large number.[1] Above the Demons rose the power of the Ruler (or Prince) of this age, the "Black One" as Barnabas familiarly called him.[2] He was for ever attempting to effect an entry into the believer, and hurl him away from the new life, thrusting him out of the kingdom of the Lord.[3] The Christian's life, therefore, was a daily warfare with the Devil; at every turn the mind of man had to meet his onset.[4] But the messenger of God, the Power sent through Jesus Christ, was ever at hand for rescue to drag them out of the fiery trial, and guide them into his eternal kingdom.

Over against this danger stood another graver still, the Wrath of God. It was an ancient prophetic conception, associated with the awful Day of penal doom upon the guilty Israel.[5] It had inspired the piercing question of the Baptist, "Ye viper's brood, who warned you to flee from the coming Wrath?"[6] The Apostle Paul is driven from city to city to proclaim a message of rescue, and preach "Jesus who delivers us from the coming Wrath."[7] "Saved from the Wrath" is his promise to those who have been justified by Christ's death; in the impending judgment they shall be acquitted.[8] As the end draws near the seer of the Apocalypse

[1] See the letter of Cornelius (251–252) in Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xliii, "fifty-two exorcists, readers, and door-keepers."

[2] Ignat., *Eph.*, xvii, 1; *Magn.*, i, 2; Barn., *Ep.*, iv, 9; xx, 1.

[3] Barn., *Ep.*, ii, 10; iv, 13.

[4] Cypr., *De Mortal.*, v.

[5] Cp. *Zeph.* i, 14–15.

[6] *Matt.* iii, 7; *Luke*, iii, 7.

[7] 1 *Thess.* i, 10.

[8] *Rom.* v, 9; cp. i, 18; ii, 5.

beholds the dreadful wine-cup of God's Wrath prepared for the worshippers of the Beast; the wine-press of the Wrath is trodden till the blood mounts to the horses' bridles[1]; the contents of the seven deadly bowls of the Wrath are flung on earth and sea, on sun and air; till at last the leader of the armies of heaven appears, the white-horsed warrior "Faithful and True," himself to "tread the wine-press of the fierceness of the Wrath of Almighty God."[2] No early Christian teaching could disengage itself from this dread expectation. The echo of it is heard in the fourth Gospel where the Wrath of God abides on those who do not obey the Son.[3] "These are the last times," urges Ignatius, "fear the coming Wrath" "or love the present Grace, one of the two."[4] Shelter from "the coming judgments," warnings to prepare for the "fiery trial," predictions of the appearance of the "signs of the truth," expectation of the kingdom from hour to hour, reminders that the Day of judgment is already approaching, and entreaties to consider it, threats of its fire for the wicked,—sound with every variety of note from deep undertones to shrill exhortations through the literature of the first half of the second century.[5] The writer of 2 *Peter* has to encounter the doubters, and

[1] *Rev.* xiv, 15, cp. *Enoch*, c. 3, "The horses will walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners."

[2] *Rev.* xix, 15. [3] *John* iii, 36. [4] *Ephes.* xi, 1.

[5] For instance, 1 *Clem.*, ii, 7; *Didachê*, xvi; 2 *Clem.*, xii, 1; xvi, 3; Hermas, *Shepherd*, Vis. III, ix, 5; *Martyr. Polycarp.*, xi; Justin, 1 *Apol.*, lxviii.

invent apologies for the delay; until at length the Church begins to adjust itself to permanent occupation of the world, and Tertullian can actually attempt to stay the persecutor's hand by pleading that the Christians pray for the Emperors and the postponement of the final consummation.[1]

To this mode of thought belonged certain concrete hopes which gave definite shape to the expectation of salvation. Strange words were incorporated in the traditions of the teaching of Jesus, promising twelve thrones to the Twelve Apostles, from which they should judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel.[2] The Apostle Paul, extending the scope of the judgment to the angels, reminds the Corinthians that they will have their share in conducting it, and founds on this expectation an argument against carrying their suits against each other into secular courts.[3] Dim hints of their "reign" drop from his pen, and sound through later language in his spirit,[4] till the Apocalypse presents a picture of the resurrection of the faithful who reign with the Messiah for a thousand years.[5] Jewish imagination had long been concerned with speculations about the duration of the world.[6] The end, it might be supposed, must bear some kind of relation to the beginning. To

[1] Tert., *Apol.* (197 A.D.) xxx, xxxii.

[2] *Matt.* xix, 28; *Luke* xx, 30.

[3] 1 *Cor.* vi, 1–3.

[4] 1 *Cor.* iv, 8; *Rom.* v, 17; 2 *Tim.* ii, 12; cp. *Ep. Polycarp.*, v, 2.

[5] *Rev.* xx, 4–6.

[6] The calculations in *Dan.* ix, founded on the seventy weeks of Jeremiah, seem to have started these exercises of imagination.

make the world had required six days, and on the seventh God had taken his rest. So, it was suggested, the world might last six days, each of the Psalmist's length, one thousand years, and the Sabbath, reckoned at the same period, was set apart for the kingdom of the Christ.[1] This hope seized the imagination of whole generations. In six days, that is six thousand years, Barnabas affirms, everything will be consummated; the Son will bring the time of the Lawless One to nought; the wicked will be judged; the sun, moon, and stars will all be changed; and the true rest on the seventh day will begin. It will be a season of general renewal and of holy peace.[2] Justin at Rome is confident that there will be a resurrection of believers, and fixes on Jerusalem, rebuilt and enlarged with every prophetic decoration, as the scene of the millennial reign. Not till that was completed would the general resurrection set in, and the last judgment arrive.[3] Irenæus carries the same faith to Gaul. Papias of Hierapolis, who had a great repute as a collector of traditions about apostles and elders who had known the Lord, handed on a prediction of the marvellous fertility of the coming days (gravely extracted by Irenæus from his fourth book), when vines should have ten thousand branches, each branch ten thousand twigs, each twig ten thousand shoots, each shoot ten

[1] Cp. *Jubiles*, iv, 30, and the *Secrets of Enoch*, xxxiii, 1, with Charles's notes.

[2] *Ep. Barn.*, xv, 4–7.

[3] *Dial.*, lxxx, lxxxi.

thousand clusters, and each cluster ten thousand grapes, each one of which should yield twenty-five *metretes* of wine.[1] Such would be the abundance of the earth when the kingdom was planted in Jerusalem, argues Irenæus, rebuilt after the pattern of the Jerusalem above.[2] The "New Prophecy" which marked the enthusiastic movement known as Montanism[3] in Asia Minor in the latter part of the second century, contemporary with Irenæus at Lyons, was passionately excited by this prospect. It spread along the Mediterranean and captured Tertullian at Carthage. Had not Ezekiel foretold the glorification of the Holy City, and the Apostle John beheld it? Nay, had it not actually appeared quite recently during an expedition to the East? For heathen witnesses affirmed that morning by morning for forty days a city was seen in Judæa suspended in the sky, its walls fading as the day wore on.[4] By such reports was the faith of believers nourished. The Apocalyptic scheme with its Antichrist and its millennial kingdom held its own for a century or two among the Latin writers of the West whom the Alexandrian culture did not touch. The combination of literary criticism and spiritual theology might undermine the authority of the Book of Revelation in the East. Its apostolic origin was never doubted under the influence of Rome.

Such hopes confronted a world where almost every variety of belief or disbelief could find

[1] Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, V, xxxiii, 3. [2] *Ibid.*, V, xxxv, 2.
[3] See Lect. III. [4] Tert., *Adv. Marcion.*, xxiv.

expression. "Snatched away in the bloom of early years," ran an inscription on the island of Thasos, "a flower-girl's body herein is entombed. But her soul is at home in the councils of the Immortals among the stars, and dwelleth in the holy place of the blessed."[1] Hope of reward below with Queen Persephonê,—if such there be,—freedom from hurt by sickness, by summer's heat or winter's cold, among the flowers on the Elysian plains, aspirations after the upper realms of the ether and the home of the gods, are not lacking among the sepulchral records. In the second century of our era the wider diffusion of philosophical monotheism, the spread of the mystery-religions, and the influence of higher ethical teaching, all contributed to strengthen the longing for assurance concerning the great secret. The mortal form might be abandoned, but the spirit soared to another world. Here is a new note of confidence. "The body kin with me is in the ground, but the heavenly soul has come to a home that does not fade. My corruptible form lies in the earth, but the soul which was given me dwells in the home on high."[2] "Wherefore the immortal gods gathered thee to themselves, for as many souls as have lived reverently and well, say not that these die, but call them immortal."[3] The distinction here is complete.

[1] Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, ii, 2161 b.

[2] Kaibel, *Epigr. Græca*, No. 261; Corcyra, not later than second century A.D.

[3] *Ibid.*, 268; Sicini (in the Egean), second century.

Pictorial representation in the hands of the great masters could not indeed avoid investing the souls of the dead with memories of corporeal form. The guilty before the judgment-seat in the world below bear the visible scars of sin, and Plato's flaming river is an emblem of physical torment. The criminals in Virgil's Tartarus suffer bodily pain; the heroes of ancient days in the fair bowers of Elysium rejoice in song and dance and chariot race. Plutarch can tell (through Thespesius of Soli)[1] of lakes of boiling gold and cold lead and scaly iron, and anvils where limbs were bruised and broken and disjointed in preparation for other lives. Christian imagination employed similar figures. In the *Revelation of Peter*, long popular in the Church, Paradise was depicted full of unfading flowers and incorruptible fruits, where the blessed were clad in shining raiment, and sang songs of praise. Lakes of flaming mire, of pitch and blood, held the condemned; women were hung by their hair, men by their tongues; or they were hurled from a great cliff, and forced to climb and to be hurled again incessantly.[2] In what did the Christian expectation differ from the Greek? Apart from the question of duration the new teaching affirmed with the utmost emphasis the future resurrection of the body.

[1] *De Sera Num. Vindicta*, xxii.

[2] See the fragment discovered by the French Archæological Expedition at Akhmim in Upper Egypt (1886), and published in 1892.

This was one of the main themes of the missionary, and Scripture and philosophy were alike enlisted in its defence. The analogies of nature, the successions of day and night, the sequences of seed and fruit, might be invoked to support it; even the example of the fabled phœnix might be summoned from Egypt[1]; but the real emphasis lay on the example of Christ and the assimilation of the believer to his risen glory. Ignatius pleads against the Gnostics that Jesus truly died and was truly raised, "as in the same manner his Father shall raise up in Christ Jesus us who believe in him, without whom we have no true life."[2] And this took place in the flesh. Did he not say to Peter and his companions, "Take, handle me, and see that I am not a disembodied spirit"?[3] Did he not eat and drink with them; did they not touch him and believe? Here was the distinction of the Christian message. There were, indeed, some so-called believers (but they were really godless heretics, says Justin), who denied the resurrection of the dead, declaring that souls passed straight to heaven.[4] But if so, he plaintively asks, what new thing did the Saviour bring beyond what they had learned from Pythagoras and Plato and all their band?[5] The bodies of all men that have

[1] 1 *Clem.*, xxiv–xxvi; Tert., *De Resurrectione Carnis*, xii–xiii.

[2] Ignat., *Trall.*, ix.

[3] Ignat., *Smyrn.*, iii. Recorded, says Jerome, in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

[4] Justin, *Dial.*, lxxx.

[5] *De Resurrect.*, x.

lived, he assures the Emperor Antoninus, the Senate, and the whole Roman people, shall be raised; the righteous for immortality, the wicked for everlasting fire.[1]

The grounds of this expectation were various. Christ became flesh, said the preacher, to bring us the summons to salvation, and the inference was that "As you were called in the flesh, so you shall also come in the flesh."[2] It was for this end that he had raised the dead, to show what the resurrection would mean.[3] Man had been made in the image of God, in his whole person; and it was absurd, therefore, to declare that the flesh was worthless.[4] "God forbid [cries Tertullian, with the shrill voice of rhetoric] that he should abandon to everlasting destruction the labour of his own hands, the care of his own thoughts, the receptacle of his own spirit, the queen of his creation, the inheritor of his own liberality, the priestess of his religion, the champion of his testimony, the sister of his Christ![5]" Salvation, it was pleaded, must include the whole man, not merely a part: the Father's "hands," the Son and Holy Spirit, had made him in God's likeness, and the perfect man

[1] 1 *Apol.*, lii. In the prayer ascribed to Polycarp (*Martyr.*, xiv), the saint gives thanks for a share in Christ's cup, "unto the resurrection to everlasting life both of soul and body in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit."

[2] 2 *Clem.*, ix, 4, 5. [3] Justin, *De Resurr.*, ix.

[4] *Ibid.*, vii. Tertullian emphasizes the argument by referring the "image" to the coming Christ. *De Resurr. Carnis*, vi.

[5] *De Resurr. Carnis*, ix.

was more than soul and spirit, for these were blended with the fleshly nature moulded after the divine image.[1] Nay, it was added, the body has been the occasion of man's sin, it is a partner in his guilt, must it not also share his punishment? And are there not moral elements inseparably bound up with it, courage and fortitude, temperance and self-control?[2] It was unfair, argued Tertullian, that one should do the work, and another reap the reward. And so Scripture and Ethics combined to strengthen Faith: "the Resurrection of the dead is the Christian's trust."[3]

The scope of the salvation thus interpreted might be conceived from different points of view, the purpose of God in creation, the significance of the mission and death of Jesus Christ, or the actual facts of daily experience as Christianity was accepted by some and rejected by others. The Fourth Evangelist had presented the Christ as

[1] Iren., *Adv. Hær.*, V, vi, 1. So Justin before him, *De Resurr.*, viii, and Tertullian after, *De Resurr. Carnis*, xxxiv and lvii, "If God raises not men entire, he raises not the dead."

[2] Athenag., *De Resurr.*, xviii, xxi. Cp. the argument on the end of man's creation, *ibid.*, xiii, xxv. The argument for the resurrection of the body founded on its share in good or evil deeds was also current in Judaism; cp. the parable of the blind man who carried the lame man to rob an orchard in Midrash on *Levit.* iv, 1 (tr. Wünsche, p. 28).

[3] Tert., *De Resurr. Carnis*, i, lvi. After the terrible persecution at Lyons, 177 A.D., the bodies of the martyrs were burned and their ashes thrown into the Rhone, expressly to frustrate the hope of resurrection which was recognized as the power that enabled them to face death with joy. See the well-known Church letter, Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, i, 62, 63.

"the Saviour of the world"; the Apostles had been commissioned to go and teach all nations. Hermas is informed by the Shepherd that "all the nations which dwell under heaven, when they heard and believed, were called after the name of the Son of God"; and the apostles and teachers who had thus been the agents of their conversion had continued their work after death, and proclaimed the good news to those who had fallen asleep before them, and given them the seal of the preaching.[1] Had not the Redeemer himself preached to the spirits in prison (1 *Pet.* iii., 19)? In the "Gospel according to Peter" three wondrous figures issued from the tomb on the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, the head of the chief reaching beyond the heavens, and a cross following him. The guards heard a mysterious voice pealing from the sky, "Thou hast preached to them that sleep," and the cross answered "Yea."[2] So firmly fixed was this belief, so strong also was the assurance of the prediction of all fundamental Christian facts in prophecy, that Justin could accuse the Jews of having erased from the book of Jeremiah the announcement that "the holy Lord God remembered his dead people of Israel who slept in their graves, and he descended to them to preach to them his own salvation."[3] This pious faith was to beget the late narratives of the saints who rose

[1] Hermas, *Simil.*, IX, xvii, 4; xvi, 5. [2] *Ev. Petri.*, 9, 10.

[3] Justin, *Dial.*, lxxii. Irenæus refers to the same passage, *Adv. Hær.*, V, xxxi, 1, and attributes it to Isaiah, III, xxiv.

and appeared in Jerusalem (*Matt.* xxvii, 53), and told how the great light had appeared in Hades.[1]

The universality of the Gospel was, however, exposed to severe practical limitation. Tertullian might indeed boast that the Christians, though but of yesterday, had filled city and island, the village and the market-place, the camp, the palace, the Senate, the forum: "We have left you nothing but the temples of your gods."[2] In reality, however, there remained the vast mass of the unconverted. Out of these the believers had been gathered by no merit of their own. They could only explain it as the choice of God. The call had come to them, and they could not resist; they were mysteriously enrolled in the number of the elect. The Christian's duty was to strive untiringly on behalf of the whole brotherhood that this number should be saved.[3] The blessing of forgiveness was bestowed on those who had been chosen by God through Jesus Christ; the believer's prayer was that the Creator of the universe would preserve unhurt the number of his elect[4]; and his obligation was to practise unceasing vigilance in this high vocation: "Let us never rest as though we were 'called,' and slumber in our sins."[5] The result of such a call might be expressed as a new birth, effected in baptism,[6] which secured

[1] Cp. the liberation of the souls in bonds of darkness, *Odes of Solomon*, xlii.

[2] *Apol.* xxxvii.

[3] 1 *Clem.*, ii, 4.

[4] 1 *Clem.*, l, 6–7 ; lix, 2.

[5] *Ep. Barn.*, iv, 13.

[6] Justin, 1 *Apol.*, lxi, lxvi; *Dial.*, cxxxviii. Cp. Lect. IV.

forgiveness for past sins; or in the figure of renewal or new creation, when the soul was remade after another pattern, and shaped afresh like a child.[1] It was accomplished through the "angel of repentance," and brought life to those who had no hope.[2] But its result was to set the disciple under a "new law," the new law, namely, of Jesus Christ.[3] So completely had Christ himself impersonated this ideal, that it could be identified with "God's son"[4]; Christ is "the new law," eternal and final, whom Justin proclaims to the Jew Trypho.[5]

This conception presented salvation as the reward of righteousness. It was the divine recompense of the faithful life. Clement might indeed echo the language of the Apostle Paul, and declare that the "called" were not justified by their own wisdom or piety, or their works wrought in holiness of heart, but by faith.[6] Yet but a little before he had urged the Corinthians to remember that they were the "portion of a Holy One," and must do the deeds of consecration, and be justified by deeds not words.[7] This emphasis upon the Christian character pervades the literature of the first half of the second century with ardent iteration. The present life is the athlete's training that he may win the crown in that which is to come.[8] "Confess the Lord in your works [urges the same preacher], by

[1] *Ep. Barn.*, vi, 11. [2] Hermas, *Shepherd*, Simil., IX, xiv, 3.
[3] *Ep. Barn.*, ii, 6. [4] Hermas, *Shepherd*, Simil., VIII, iii, 2.
[5] *Dial.*, xi, xii, xxiv, xxxiv, xliii. [6] 1 *Clem.*, xxxii, 4.
[7] *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 3. [8] 2 *Clem.*, xx, 2.

mutual love, by self-control and pitifulness; prayer from a good conscience will rescue from death, but fasting is yet better, and almsgiving best of all. Keep the flesh pure, and the seal of baptism undefiled, that you may obtain eternal life."[1] Barnabas traces the "Way of Light," which demands more than the Gospel in requiring whoever walks therein to love his neighbour more than his own life; and bids him seek each day the society of the saints, striving to save souls by the ministry of the Word.[2] The "Way of Life" enjoined in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" enters into fuller detail, but is laid out on the same lines. Here, too, the disciple is instructed as a member of a community; and the ideal of generosity and helpfulness is strenuously enforced. Sometimes an echo of the Stoic morality falls on the ear: "Receive the accidents that befall thee as good, knowing that nothing happens without God."[3] So Epictetus might have spoken, when he pleaded that to have God as our Maker and Father and Guardian should release us from sorrows and fears.[4] And as he bade masters remember that their slaves were kinsmen, brethren by nature, and offspring of Zeus,[5] so the Christian "Teaching" prohibits bitterness towards the slave who hopes in the same God, for he comes not to call men with respect of persons.[6] The true

[1] 2 *Clem.*, iv, 1; xvi, 4; viii, 6. [2] *Ep. Barn.*, xix, 5, 10.
[3] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, iii, 10. [4] *Arrian*, I, ix.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, xiii. [6] *Teaching*, iv, 10.

athlete, says Epictetus, strives for kingship, for freedom, for security from perturbation.[1] And the goal? Wait for God's signal to quit this service, and then go to him.[2] The wise man must at all costs preserve his equipoise. Epictetus is the counsellor of the blameless life, pitched high in independence, but he does not propose to seek and save the lost; and he inspires no martyrs to refuse to burn incense to the imperial name. It is the constancy of the Christian in the face of death which wins the philosopher Justin to the faith.[3] "Do you not see," writes an unknown correspondent to an unknown Diognetus, "that the more of them are punished, the more others multiply?"[4]

A religion of this strong ethical type conceived future blessedness as something due to the believer's merit in accordance with God's promise, rather than as vouchsafed freely by divine grace. One consequence of this was seen in the stern repudiation of the Stoic doctrine of Fate, and the vigorous assertion of human liberty. True, Epictetus had placed the Good in a right determination of the will[5]; but his theory of the dependence of the moral life on correct or incorrect notions makes it

[1] *Arrian*, II, xviii.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, ix; cp. III, xiii. "Whither?—to nothing terrible, but to the place from which you came, to what is dear and kindred, to the elements. What there was in you of fire goes to fire," etc.

[3] 2 *Apol.*, xii.

[4] *Ad Diognet.*, vii, 8. The earliest of the Apologists, Aristides, gives a fine account of the Christian behaviour.

[5] *Arrian*, III, iii.

probable that he did not depart from the fatalism of his school.[1] But Christianity—"our philosophy" as Melito terms it[2]—in the hands of the Apologists laid great stress on man's power of choice, and consequent accountability. What was the meaning of reason within him and of law without but to make virtue a reality and vindicate the divine awards on guilt?[3] Angels and men, accordingly, were both created free, so that the bad man might be justly punished and the good deservedly praised.[4]

A second issue followed in the heightened demand—already rising in the days of Paul—for ascetic purity. It sprang from a view of life already old when Christianity was born. The body with its wants and passions was a hindrance to the higher activity of the soul. It must be tamed and conquered that reason might act freely, and the vision of the mind's eye be clear. The disciplines of philosophy had already laid stress upon that self-control (*encrateia*) which in Christian preaching was specially applied to chastity.[5] The Cynics at the end of the first century, according to the well-known description of Epictetus, had neither home nor wife nor slave. His couch was the ground, his dress only one poor cloak, his food

[1] Zeller, *Eclectics* (1883), p. 267.

[2] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, xxvi, 7.

[3] Justin, 1 *Apol.*, xxiii, xliii; 2 *Apol.*, vii; *Dial.*, cxli.

[4] Tatian, *Cohort.*, vii.

[5] Trypho, in Justin's *Dialogue*, viii, 3, recommends him to remain in the philosophy of Plato or some other teacher, cultivating endurance, *encrateia*, and moderation.

the most frugal; but no one saw him with a sorrowful countenance. He must endure to be beaten like an ass, and must love those who beat him as if he were the father and the brother of all.[1] The ascetic tendency had even invaded Judaism. The Essenes endeavoured to maintain the strictest ritual purity; living in community they eschewed marriage, and their common meals were of the simplest. In Egypt the Therapeuts relinquished all property, ate no meat and drank no wine, and the relations between the sexes (for there were men and women members of the order) were guarded with the strictest morality. The Apostle Paul was unmarried (in contrast to Peter and the brothers of the Lord), and there were Christians at Corinth who held that marriage was undesirable, while the Apostle "recommended the ascetic life to those who could endure it, whether married or unmarried."[2] Most remarkable of all was the arrangement of "spiritual marriage" by which men and women lived together in rigid continence, now recognized under the counsels conveyed in 1 *Cor.* vii, 25–38. It was well known in the second and third centuries, and lingered on in remote quarters into the Middle Ages.[3] The language of

[1] *Arrian*, III, xxii.

[2] See the discussion of 1 *Cor.* vii, by Prof. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 180 ff.

[3] To the references cited by Lake, p. 189, may be added an article by Prof. Jülicher (Marburg), "Die Geistlichen Ehen in der Alten Kirche," in the *Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft*, VII (1904), pp. 373–386.

Jesus had repudiated all conceptions of physical union in the resurrection; and it has even been supposed that Paul, who bade believers realize that they were already risen with Christ and sat in heavenly places, might have conceived that sex was already transcended even before the Parousia, and there was neither male nor female in Christ. Tradition related that on being asked when the kingdom would come the Lord replied, "When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male nor female."[1] The powerful influence of the ascetic impulse is reflected in the vision of one hundred and forty-four thousand virgins who had not defiled themselves with women, surrounding the Lamb upon Mount Zion, *Rev.* xiv, 1–5; and the hortatory literature of the age following the Apostles is full of urgent appeals for manly purity. "Guard the flesh that you may receive the Spirit" was the theme of many a sermon.[2] Among the wonderful gifts of God is continence in holiness; let no one boast of his self-control forgetting who has bestowed it on him.[3] Continence is the daughter of Faith: "whosoever then shall follow her becomes blessed in his life, because he will abstain from all evil deeds, believing that if he refrains from every evil lust he will inherit eternal

[1] 2 *Clem.*, xii, 2. A similar saying is reported from the Gospel of the Egyptians in Clem. Alex., *Strom.* III, xiii, 92; cp. Preuschen, *Antilegomena* (1905), p. 2.

[2] 2 *Clem.*, xiv, 3. [3] 1 *Clem.*, xxxv, 2; xxxviii, 2; lxiv.

life."[1] Salvation is the reward of *encrateia*. It is not surprising that this tendency should have been widespread among those who looked for the speedy end of the world and sought to secure themselves in the hope of future bliss.[2] The strange story of Paul and Thekla, which is believed to contain elements dating from the first century, turns on Thekla's repudiation of her betrothed under the influence of the Apostle, and the trials and persecution which beset her. To Paul is ascribed a new set of Beatitudes:

> Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.
> Blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become God's temple.
> Blessed are they that control themselves, for God shall speak with them.
> Blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall receive God for their portion.
> Blessed are the bodies of virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity.[3]

In the intimacies of Christian brotherhood the Logos demanded that the holy kiss should be given with the utmost care. The entrance of any defiling thought involved exclusion from eternal life.[4]

[1] Hermas, *Shepherd*, Vis. III, viii, 4.

[2] The so-called Encratites were not a sect, they only worked out in stricter personal practice tendencies which had very early affected the Christian life.

[3] *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, v.

[4] Athenag., *Presb.* (177 A.D.), xxxii. From what source the words of the Logos are drawn is unknown.

The supreme sacrifice was that of life. The martyr passed at once to peace and felicity. Stephen had entreated the Lord Jesus to receive his spirit. The Apostle Paul longs to depart and be with Christ.[1] From the rocks of Patmos the seer beholds the souls of those who had been slain for their testimony waiting beneath the altar in the fourth heaven.[2] The time of rest will be brief; soon will they be gathered with the vast number who are coming out of the great tribulation, and join in the song of praise before the throne of God and the Lamb.[3] Clement can count a great multitude of the elect who were taken up to be with Peter and Paul in the Holy Place.[4] That was the way of Christ, and had not he said, "Those who will see me, and attain to my kingdom, must lay hold of me through pain and suffering"?[5] The prospect fills Ignatius with vehement joy. On the journey from Antioch to Rome he writes to the church in the imperial city entreating them to do nothing to hinder his impending death. "Suffer me to be eaten by the beasts, through whom I can attain unto God." He is God's wheat, ground by their teeth that he may be found pure bread of Christ.[6] When the Lady Church summons Hermas to her side, she places him upon the left; the right is reserved for those who have endured stripes

[1] *Phil.* i, 23; cp. 2 *Tim.* ii, 11. [2] *Rev.* vi, 9.

[3] *Rev.* vii, 9–17; cp. Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse* (1913), p. 139.

[4] 1 *Clem.*, v–vi. [5] *Ep. Barn.*, vii, 11. [6] Ignat., *Rom.*, iv, 1.

and imprisonments, crucifixions and wild beasts, for the sake of the Name.[1] The enthusiasm of the Christians did not escape the barbed wit of Lucian. He made fun of their attentions to the imprisoned Peregrinus: "You see, these misguided creatures start with the conviction that they are immortal for all time, which explains the contempt of death and voluntary self-devotion which are so common among them."[2] The privilege of martyrdom became an object of eager desire. The contagion of impulse drove the believers of a whole province before the judgment seat of Arrius Antoninus, clamouring for execution: "You wretched fellows," he retorted, "if you want to die, you have precipices and halters."[3] Such solicitation drew down the severe rebuke of Clement of Alexandria. It made the Christian guilty of his own death, and an accomplice in the persecutor's crime.[4] But the heroic endurance of unforeseen attack had its own joy. The "noble athletes," as the churches of Lyons and Vienne wrote to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, conquered grandly, and it was fitting that they should receive the incorruptible crown. As Blandina hung upon the stake exposed to the beasts, did not her fellow-sufferers see in her form the very Christ who was crucified for them?[5]

[1] Hermas, *Shepherd*, Vis. III, ii, 1.
[2] *De Morte Peregrini*, xiii (tr. W. Warde Fowler).
[3] Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam* (after August 14, 212 A.D.), v.
[4] *Strom.*, IV, x, § 77, ed. Stählin (1906), ii, p. 282.
[5] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, i, 37, 41.

Visions of wondrous beauty were vouchsafed to Perpetua and Saturus in their imprisonment.[1] The martyrs, it was believed, were changed into angels[2]; and Saturus recorded how in freedom from their mangled bodies he and Perpetua were borne by angels into the presence of their Lord.[3] Such were the hopes and comforts which conquered agony, and opened the way into eternal peace.

Another aspect of salvation reveals it not as a future destiny but as a blessing already realized. Behind the eschatology of the Apostle Paul with its promises of resurrection and change lies the conviction of the mystical union of the believer with his Lord. He is baptized into his death, he shares his risen life. The spirit has actually entered into him; it gradually slays the actions of the body,[4] and prepares it to receive the great quickening which will transmute it into incorruption. Thus renewed the believer has already come within the Rule of God; the life of righteousness and peace and joy[5] is itself salvation. It is the translation of the soul from gloom to brightness: "Ye were once darkness, but are now light in the Lord."[6] In the fourth Gospel these are the terms of a moral dualism in the field of humanity where they were engaged in perpetual struggle. The

[1] Suffered at Carthage, about 202.

[2] Hermas, *Shepherd*, Vis. II, ii, 7; *Martyr. Polycarp.*, ii.

[3] *Passio SS. Felicitatis et Perpetuæ* (Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, 1891), xi.

[4] *Rom.* viii, 13; cp. *Col.* iii, 5.

[5] *Rom.* xiv, 17.

[6] *Eph.* v, 8; cp. *Rom.* xiii, 12; 1 *Pet.* ii, 9.

darkness, indeed, never gained the victory, and with the advent of the Son it passed as the true light shone over the world. Salvation consisted in letting in the light, in opening blind eyes that they might see: and judgment was the self-acting test whether men would submit their works to its illumination or cover them up from its reproof. On the one side was the life of truth and righteousness, knowledge and liberty, on the other the death of falsehood and sin, error and bondage. To pass from one sphere to the other was to secure a new quality of being; it was to be born from above, to be born out of God, to be assured of likeness to him when he should be seen as he is.[1]

To this type of Christian thought a remarkable parallel has been recently discovered in the *Odes of Solomon*[2] known to the Church for several centuries, but long lost to view. That they were written originally in Greek is universally conceded, but when and where? Some of the poems are obviously Christian, for they speak of the Son, the Lord, the Word, and the Beloved, though they never name Jesus, his teaching, or his cross. There is no reference to Church or Sacraments. Nor are there, in hymns untinctured by Christian language, any allusions to the Mosaic Law or Temple

[1] *John* iii, 3; 1 *John* iii, 9, 2.

[2] The publication of these poems from a Syriac text by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1909 excited immediate interest. See the translations and comments of Flemming and Harnack, *Ein Jüdisch-Christliches Psalmbuch aus dem Ersten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1910, and Labourt and Batiffol, *Les Odes de Salomon*, Paris, 1911.

ceremonies. If they are of Jewish origin adapted to Christian use, they reveal the existence of a type of inward experience in the later Israel unknown before. If they must be credited wholly to the new faith, they are no less valuable; the piety which prompts them is not that of a single mind; like the *Imitatio Christi* or the *Theologia Germanica* or the fourth Gospel itself, they rest on the thought and devotion of many hearts. Here are several of the Johannine terms, light, truth, life, love; but the Word is not the Johannine Logos. The imagery is that of Psalm and Prophecy, there are no echoes of Gospel parable or Apostolic exhortation. The Kingdom of God is out of sight. No Gnostic could have written the hymn of creation (xvi); if the collection was designed for the use of catechumens about to be baptized,[1] it is surprising that it is silent concerning sin, repentance, and forgiveness.

Many are the notes in the music of devotion that are heard in these poems, rising above deep undertones of trust and peace. The wonder of relationship to the Eternal begets infinite joy, humility, and thankfulness. "Thou hast given us thy fellowship; not that thou hadst need of us, but that we had need of thee" (iv, 9). This marvel of grace is reflected everywhere, in the beauty of the earth and sky where the eye sees his works and the ear hears his thought (xvi, 9 ff.) in perpetual activity. But it is especially manifested in the

[1] J. H. Bernard, *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1910.

interior life of the soul. All local and national associations drop away.[1] The believer may almost be alone in the universe with God or the "Beloved." In this intense individualism there is hardly room for any human sympathy; only rarely do we learn that there are others also who have passed from darkness to light and belong to a company of saints (xi, 16). Absorbed in the mystery of openings of knowledge and enlightenment, the simple heart finds no way hard; "there is no storm in the depths of illumined thought" (xxxiv, 1, 3); one hour of faith is more precious than all days and years, when God has given his own heart to the faithful (iv, 3). For the secret of religion is that the Lord imparts himself to man. "He became like me in order that I might receive him, . . . like my nature he became that I might learn him" (vii, 5, 8). And this bestowal of himself carried with it the gladness of immortality. "He hath opened my heart by his light, and he hath caused to dwell in me his deathless life" (x, 1). In various figures is this union expressed. "The Lord renewed me in his raiment, and possessed me by his light, and from above he gave me rest in incorruption" (xi, 10). The Virgin Wisdom enters in to make men wise in the ways of truth; "they that have put me on shall not suffer harm, they shall possess the new world that is

[1] A solitary allusion to a temple in iv is interpreted by Wellhausen of the ideal community of believers; by Gunkel of the heavenly sanctuary; by others of the Montanist temple at Pepuza; cp. Lect. III.

incorrupt" (xxxiii, 10). "I love the Beloved [here the tender name for God] and my soul loves him, and where his rest is, there also am I. . . . I have been united [literally "mingled"] with him[1] . . . for he that is joined to him that is immortal will also himself become immortal" (iii, 5, 8, 10). Elsewhere the faithful are changed into Christ: "I went to all my prisoners to loose them, that I might not leave any man bound or binding. And I imparted my knowledge without grudging, and my prayer was in my love; and I sowed my fruit in hearts, and transformed them into myself; and they received my blessing and lived" (xvii, 11–13). Such was the *unio mystica* between the disciples and their Lord.

This type of mysticism is not without its analogies elsewhere. The Orphic teachers had for many centuries held up participation in divine life as the goal of human endeavour. The way to it lay through perfect purity. But they did not so much seek purity, says Miss Harrison,[2] that they might become divinely immortal, they needed immortality that they might become divinely pure. In the remarkable tablets recently found in Italy (and ascribed to the fourth and third centuries B.C.) the soul on its journey to the higher life is addressed, "Hail thou who hast suffered the suffering . . . thou hast become god

[1] Harnack strikes out 9 as a Christian interpolation, "because I love him, the Son, I shall be a Son."

[2] *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 478.

from man."[1] From the long process of purification the disciplined spirit approaches the throne of Queen Persephone, and announces to her and the other immortal gods, "I, too, avow me to be of your happy race," and receives the greeting, "Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be a god (divine) instead of a mortal." This was the consummation of a long ascent through various grades of being. Clement of Alexandria quotes approvingly the lines of Empedocles of Agrigentum[2]:

> At last as prophets, singers, and physicians,
> And chieftains among men, on earth they live,
> Thence grow up to be gods supreme in honours.

Rest in eternity is the reward of the holy life, says Clement,[3] citing Empedocles once more; "to share the hearth and table of the immortals, free from human ills." Empedocles himself had climbed the toilsome way, and at the beginning of his poem on Purifications called his fellow-citizens to witness that he walked among them no longer a mortal, but an immortal god.[4]

[1] *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 663. The term θεός seems to be used here (as in so many other places) in the significance of "divine." In the opening of Plato's *Sophistes* Theodorus repudiates the epithet *theos* applied by Socrates to the Elean stranger and prefers *theios*, "divine." On *theos* in the "improper sense" cp. Philo, on *Dreams*, i, 39 (Cohn-Wendland, iii, 253–4).

[2] *Strom.*, IV, xxiii, § 150, apropos of the Christian use of *Ps.* lxxxii, 6. (See below.)

[3] *Strom.*, V, xiv, § 122 [3].

[4] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i, p. 205.

In the first century of our era this hope pervaded the higher spiritual philosophy. Epictetus longs for his disciples to show him "a human soul ready to think as God does, . . . desirous from a man to become a god, and in this poor mortal body thinking of his fellowship with Zeus."[1] The mystical teachings grouped under the name of Hermes contain more than one answer to this aspiration. "This is the good end," declares Poimandres (the "Man-Shepherd"), "for those who have gained knowledge, to become divine."[2] For God was continually offering himself to human souls: "Holy is God who willeth to be known, and is known by his own."[3] Self-communication is a necessity of the Divine Nature, as the Mohammedan tradition taught: "I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created the creation in order that I might be known."[4] This might be effected in more than one way. The divine power might enter the human frame, and possess the worshipper, just as ancient Hebrew thought could describe the Spirit of Yahweh as "putting on" the person of Gideon like a garment.[5] It was the condition of "enthusiasm" when the god condescended actually to dwell in man. With this

[1] Arrian, II, xix (Long's translation). "Fellowship," κοινωνία, as in 1 *John*, i, 3.

[2] *Poimandres*, xxvi. (ascribed by Reitzenstein to about 100 A.D.). The word θεωθῆναι, "to be made god," denotes the union of the highest vision of the Father.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxxi. [4] Sell, *Essays on Islam* (1901), p. 5.

[5] *Judges* vi, 34; cp. 1 *Chron.* xii, 18; 2 *Chron.* xxiv, 20.

conception Hellenism was quite familiar alike in its magical and its religious aspect. "Come to me," runs an invocation to the Spirit, "and enter into my soul, that it may be moulded into the immortal form in mighty and incorruptible light."[1] Or the same idea might be expressed by rebirth. From torments of ignorance and concupiscence, error and anger, and their kindred evils, twelve in number, must the soul free itself, and then in the solemn stillness comes the knowledge of God. Ten new powers of truth and good arrive and take possession, "the birth in understanding[2] is accomplished, and by this birth we are made divine."[3] When the disciple exclaims, "I see the universe and myself in Mind,"[4] Hermes answers, "This, my son, is rebirth," and to the enquiry whether the body, composed of such powers, will suffer dissolution, he replies, "Dost thou not know that thou art divine by nature, and a son of the One, like me?"[5] It is the vision of God which thus imparts new life: "it is possible," says Hermes, "for the soul to become divine while still dwelling in a human body, by contemplating the beauty of the Good."[6] On this vision the soul must fix its gaze, according to the instructions of the Ritual published by Dieterich under the title of a Mithras-

[1] Kenyon, *Greek Pap.*, I, p. 102, quoted by Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterien-Religionen*, p. 107. The spirit is ἀεροπετές.

[2] *Corp. Hermet.*, XIII, x, νοερὰ γένεσις. [3] ἐθεώθημεν.

[4] *Ibid.*, xiii. [5] *Ibid.*, xiv, θεὸς πέφυκας.

[6] *Corp. Herm.*, X, vi; ἀποθεωθῆναι.

Liturgy, as it cried to the Deity, "Abide with me, leave me not."[1] This was the moment of the new birth, and the believer could pass through death "grown up" and "delivered" into a realm beyond both birth and death. So close was the assimilation with Deity that the initiate could use the most intimate language of all identity, "Thou art I and I am thou."[2] So had the Hindu mystic hundreds of years before reached the stage in which he could say of his relation to the Universal Self, "That art thou," and declare with humble confidence, "I am Brahma."[3] So, hundreds of years later, would the Sufi reach the stage of Union with God, and declare, "By the help of God's grace I am now become safe, because the unseen King says to me, 'Thou art the soul of the World.'"[4]

The philosophical Jew like Philo was not unaffected by this tendency.[5] His Scriptures were full of suggestions pointing in the same direction. Was not the mind of a wise man the house of God, and when the prophet described the "walk of God" among his people as in a palace, was it not of this place of sojourn that he spoke?[6] And seeing that God penetrates invisibly in the region of the soul, ought we not to prepare it to be a habitation fit for God, lest he depart to some other

[1] *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (1903), p. 14. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[3] *Chandog. Upanishad*, vi, 8, 7; *Brihadārany. Up.*, i, 4, 10.

[4] Sell, *Essays on Islam* (1901), p. 29. Cp. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (1914), p. 59.

[5] Cp. Lect. V.

[6] *Fragm. Anton.*, lxxxii; in Mangey, ii, p. 672; *Lev.* xxvi, 12.

abode? He might, indeed, call his chosen servant to himself. When the time came for Moses to quit his people and pass to heaven and become immortal,[1] the Father transmuted him from the double state of soul and body into a single nature, transforming him completely into most sunlike Mind. This was the glory of the celestial life, the medium of the divine being of the Father himself.

To all this religious language Christianity was the heir. It supplied the forms of imagination, it provided the instruments of expression. If Plato had taught that "we ought to fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to fly away is to become like God as far as possible; and to become like him is to become holy, just, and wise"[2] —the Johannine teacher could look forward to the manifestation which would enable those who had been born of God to be like him, for they would see him as he is.[3] But the conception of likeness might be even transcended. Salvation might hold out a still higher promise. When Justin read in *Psalm* lxxxii, "God standeth in the congregation of the gods. . . . I said, Ye are gods and are all children of the Most High," he identified the assembly with the community of believers.[4] There, he argued triumphantly, is the proof that

[1] ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι, *De Vita Mosis*, II, 288 (Cohn, iv, p. 267). Reitzenstein has shown analogies for understanding this in the sense of θεωθῆναι, *Hellen. Mysterien-Religionen*, p. 117.

[2] *Theætetus*, 176 B., tr. Jowett. [3] 1 *John* iii, 2.

[4] *Dialogue*, cxxiv.

all men are deemed worthy of becoming gods. In the short "Address to the Greeks" which appears to belong to the second century, though it can hardly be the work of Justin,[1] the author declares that the Word by its teaching makes mortals immortals, makes mortals gods.[2] Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, lays it down that man was made by nature neither mortal nor immortal. Had the Creator made him immortal from the beginning, he would have made him god (divine). Had he made him mortal, he would have been himself the cause of man's death. He therefore made him capable of either. If he kept God's commandment he should receive immortality and become *theos*.[3] To Clement at Alexandria this high destiny is the result of the true *gnosis* or knowledge, which culminates in the lofty vision of the Eternal.[4] Had not Plato already said that he who devotes himself to the contemplation of ideas will live as a god among men?[5] So Clement teaches that the soul may be lifted to heavenly rank and enrolled already among the gods,[6] of whom David had already prophetically sung.[7] It was for this end that the Word became man, that we might learn

[1] Krüger, *Early Christian Literature*, p. 113.

[2] *Orat. ad Græc.*, v.

[3] *Ad Autol.*, II, xxvii, καὶ γένηται θεός.

[4] See below, Lect. V. Cp. the language attributed by Hippolytus to the Phrygians, *Refutation*, V, iii.

[5] *Strom.*, IV, xxv, § 155[2]. [6] *Strom.*, VII, x, § 56[6].

[7] *Ps.* lxxxii; *Strom.*, II, xx, § 125 [3-5]; IV, xxiii, § 149[8].

from man how man may become God.[1] The phrase becomes a watchword. Irenæus repeats it with a slight modification of its terms, but with none in its meaning. "The Son of God became Son of Man that man, by containing (χωρήσας) the Word and receiving the Adoption, might become the Son of God."[2] The vast drama of salvation as Irenæus conceived it will be described hereafter[3]; its goal was the gift of immortality. Here is the special quality which makes man *theos*. It has a sacramental aspect through its connection with Baptism and the new birth and with the Eucharist as life-giving food.[4] It has a Scriptural proof in the identification of the "congregation of the gods" (*Ps.* lxxxii) with the Church, where the Father, the Son, and those who have received the adoption, dwell together.[5] It is realized mystically through the blessed vision which is God's own means of quickening the pure and holy soul. A mighty scheme of progressive development looms before his thought,[6] by which man should advance from his creation, should increase in strength, should sin and recover, and finally should see his Lord. This brings him to the fulfilment of God's purpose, for eternal life comes to him who sees God; to behold him produces immortality; only

[1] *Protrept.*, i, 8, § 4; perhaps previous to 189 A.D. Krüger, p. 166.

[2] *Adv. Hær.*, III, xix, 1.

[3] See below, Lect. II.

[4] See Lect. IV.

[5] *Adv. Hær.*, III, vi, 1. Cp. Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, xii., § 123[1].

[6] *Ibid.*, IV, xxxviii., 3.

through being joined to God could he participate in incorruption.[1]

Two ways will thus be opened to the Church at the beginning of the third century. The same mind may sometimes traverse both. Hippolytus[2] can lay it down in the baldest terms that the Father of immortality sent the immortal Son into the world in order to wash man with water and Spirit, by which the believer was begotten to incorruption of soul and body. "If, therefore, man has become immortal, he will also be God." He is "made God by water and the Holy Spirit after the regeneration of the bath."[3] Well, therefore, may he summon all the nations to "the immortality of baptism." But in the address to Greeks and barbarians from the Indians to the Celts with which he concludes his "Refutation of all Heresies" (X, xxx), he strikes a different note. "Be instructed," he pleads, "in the knowledge of the true God, and thou shalt possess an immortal body just like the soul. Thou shalt be a companion of Deity and a joint heir with Christ, for thou hast become God, thou hast been deified and begotten unto immortality."[4] This is the meaning of the ancient saying, "Know thyself." "Learn to discover God within, for he has formed

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, IV, xx, 5; xxxviii, 3; III, xviii, 7.

[2] Presbyter at Rome, student of Irenæus in theology; died 236–7 A.D.

[3] *On the Holy Theophany*, viii. Cp. Lect. IV.

[4] The passage is condensed, with some omissions. The concluding sentence runs: γέγονας γὰρ θεός . . . ὅτι ἐθεοποιήθης, ἀθάνατος γεννηθείς.

thee after his own image." So do opposite tendencies struggle for mastery. It is a symbol of the whole future history of the Church. Ecclesiastical order, venerable rites, sacred tradition, fixity of usage and belief, institutional cohesion, and the enthusiasm born of corporate action on the one hand,—liberty of judgment, the free life of the spirit, development of religious thought in the light of advancing knowledge, fresh applications of truth to the needs of a social order that can never cease to change, upon the other—this is the choice which is for ever presented to us. You may take which you please, said Emerson, you never can have both.

LECTURE II

THE PERSON AND WORK OF THE SAVIOUR

WHEN Pliny described the Christians in Bithynia as singing hymns to Christ *quasi Deo*,[1] he fixed on an element in their practice which was at once the expression and the support of faith. All over the East there were associations for special cults, often linked with particular types of mysteries. Orpheus, for instance, was the object of worship in numerous guilds, sometimes in union with the Muses, or with his father Apollo (according to one form of the legend) or with Dionysos and his satyrs. They preserved sacred traditions of their reputed founder as the author of poetry and song, and they cherished certain rules of the devout life. They developed a mystical theology, partly enshrined in a late collection of hymns bearing his name; and they sought by holy rites to lighten the lot of those who had passed into the world beyond the grave.[2] In their common worship they united in sacrifice and prayer: "Hear me with kindly mind," sang the

[1] Cp. Lect. I, p. 1.

[2] Cp. Gruppe, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, III, i, p. 1107.

ministrant to Apollo, "as I pray for the people . . . hear me, O Blessed, who savest the *mystæ*."[1] Orpheus had gone down into the underworld, and the story of his *Katabasis* (descent) was the forerunner of the long series which culminated in Dante's *Inferno*. He was associated, therefore, with the hope of immortality; he brought peace and harmony into the strife of beasts; he was the βουκόλος or Shepherd of the believers.[2] Such affinities were discerned by the primitive Christians between Orpheus and their own "Teacher" that they painted his figure on the walls of their catacombs as the musician subduing savage lions, or carved it on their sarcophagi, in close connection with the type of the Good Shepherd.

Hellenic theology (as we have seen[3]) readily applied the title Theos to those who had attained immortality: and this was the more natural for Greek-speaking Christians when the primitive confession that "Jesus is Lord"[4] was carried from Jerusalem throughout the East. The first sermon attributed to Peter at Pentecost declared that God had made Jesus both Lord and Messiah by the resurrection.[5] Jesus had himself, in accordance (it would seem) with current usage, applied the language of *Psalm* cx with the same meaning.[6]

[1] *Hymns*, xxxiv, 10, 27; the λαοί are apparently the initiated, the members of the community.

[2] On this title cp. Maass, *Orpheus* (1895), p. 180.

[3] Cp. Lect. I, p. 52. [4] *Rom.* x, 9; 1 *Cor.* xii, 3. [5] *Acts* ii, 36.

[6] *Mark* xii, 35–37. Professor Bousset in his exhaustive work *Kyrios Christos* (1913) regards this as a piece of later dogmatics,

The formula *Mārān athā*, "Our Lord is coming" (or "Our Lord, come!", 1 *Cor.* xvi, 22), points to a primitive use in the Aramean vernacular of the early Church; and behind the Church stood the Jewish piety which had long ceased to use the ancient divine name Yahweh, and substituted for it a word represented in the Greek version of the Scriptures by the term *Kyrios*, "the Lord." This enabled the Apostle Paul to apply to Jesus as the Messiah a number of passages which in their original context in the Old Testament referred to the God of Israel. He distinguishes in the most formal manner between "one God, the Father, of whom are all things," and "one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things"[1]; and the letter to the Ephesians (round which so many puzzling problems gather) actually designates the Father as "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ" (i, 17). But the term *Kyrios* carried with it throughout the East exalted meanings, and was applied to a wide range of deities.

The correlative of "Lord" was "slave," the equivalent of the ancient Hebrew term which described the prophets as the "slaves" of Yahweh.[2] It was the current designation for the worshippers

p. 51, and supposes the title to have arisen in the early Hellenist Christian communities, p. 119, possibly at Antioch. In Preuschen's *Zeitschr. für N. T. Wissenschaft*, XIV (1913), p. 28, Böhlig argues for a Syrian origin, against Johannes Weiss who follows the usual view that the formula *Mārān athā* was Judeo-Christian.

[1] 1 *Cor.* viii, 6; cp. *Eph.* iv, 5–6. [2] *Amos* iii, 7.

of Oriental powers, but did not belong to the religious vocabulary of Greece. Paul does not hesitate to announce himself as the "slave" of Jesus Christ,[1] but at the same time he is eager to tell the slave who is called in the Lord that he is the Lord's freeman.[2] For Christ brings liberty to the slave of sin; he turns the servitude of the law into the adoption of sonship; from bondage to the agents that guide the heavenly bodies but are no real gods he rescues the believer into the freedom of true knowledge.[3] "You were bought with a price," he tells the Corinthians,[4] using the customary terms of manumission.[5] One aspect of redemption was the believer's deliverance from the control of hostile powers; and this implied still more exalted might in the Redeemer.

Many were the deities whose worshippers thus inscribed themselves their "slaves." The title Kyrios is found all through the East from Egypt to Syria, Asia Minor, Thrace. It was bestowed upon the gods of the Nile, like Anubis, Osiris, or Sarapis[6]; and the Lady Isis was designated Kyria. Obscure Semitic forms bore it in the neighbour-

[1] *Rom.* i, 1. [2] 1 *Cor.* vii, 22. [3] *Gal.* iv, 1–10.

[4] 1 *Cor.* vi, 20; vii, 23.

[5] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (1910), p. 328. The fourth Gospel sets the term aside: "No longer do I call you slaves, for the slave knows not what the *Kyrios* does, but I have called you friends" (xv, 15).

[6] The second-century invitations to sup at the table of the Lord Sarapis are now well known. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Nos. 110 and 523.

hood of the great Hellenic figures of Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes, Pluto, Zeus, beside the majestic goddesses Artemis, Athena, Hera, and the stern Nemesis. The title thus carried implications of deity within it, which were enhanced by its adoption in imperial style. "*Dominus et Deus meus*" wrote the secretary of Domitian on his master's behalf.[1] Augustus and Tiberius had forbidden the use of the term concerning themselves, but it crept in from the court-homage of the East; Caligula allowed it; it was employed for Claudius; it became well established under Nero,[2] who was called "Lord of the whole world." To this claim Antoninus Pius added the ocean-sovereignty: "I am Lord of the world and the Law of the sea."[3] Such assumption awoke repeated protest. Soon after the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70, Jews in Egypt, men and boys, suffered death, refusing to call Cæsar "Lord," because they held that title to belong to God alone.[4] To the deity of Cæsar the Christian opposed the heavenly sovereign whom the seer of the Apocalypse beheld riding forth to war with the mysterious name upon his thigh, "King of Kings and Lord of Lords."[5] When the martyrs of Scilli in Numidia were

[1] Suetonius, *Domitian*, xiii.

[2] Cp. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 357–8.

[3] Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum Neuen Test.*, iii (1906), p. 54, on *Rom.* x, 9.

[4] Josephus, *Wars*, VII, x, 1, cited by Deissmann, *Light*, etc., p. 359.

[5] *Rev.* xix, 16.

brought before the proconsul Saturninus, A.D. 180, he bade them "swear by the Genius of our Lord the Emperor." "The empire of this world I know not," replied Speratus; "I know my Lord, the King of Kings and Emperor of all nations."[1] Like the term Sotêr, Kyrios also served to point the contrast between two powers. What was the might seated upon the Seven Hills compared with the majesty throned at God's right hand, and invested with the supremacy over the hierarchies of heaven, the dwellers upon earth, and the demonic hosts inhabiting the realms beneath![2]

This was the corollary in the Christian's confession according to the Apostle Paul: Jesus was Lord and God had raised him from the dead. At Jerusalem the argument had been reversed. God had raised Jesus, and thereby made him Lord. Paul speaks out of an immediate experience which he could interpret only in one way. He had been arrested midway in his course; a power from heaven had laid hold of him; light burst upon him, a voice sounded through the air; henceforth he belonged no more to himself; he had been captured by Christ who had died for him; what could he do but give his life to him! From day to day he spoke and wrought and suffered in the strength of Another who was his real owner. As he carried the good news from city to city, he saw others

[1] Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, ed. J. A. Robinson, Vol. I, no. 2 (1891), p. 112.

[2] *Philipp.* ii, 10–11.

transformed after they had heard the word. The new life was incalculably diffusive, it could not be confined by race or rank or sex. Christ was the same to Greek and Jew, to slave and free. This deathless being shared the immortality of God. First-born among many brethren[1] he stood at the head of the new spiritual humanity. As Son of Man all things were subjected to him. The mysterious forces of evil in the worlds above, the Principalities, Authorities, and Powers,[2] should be brought to nought, and Death himself, last and worst enemy, at length should die. Then the victorious Lord would make a second great surrender. Once he had relinquished his glorious form, accepted the lot of our mortality, and condescended to die upon the cross. Now he would resign the sovereignty conferred upon him for his strenuous task, would lay aside the conqueror's majesty, present to God a world cleared of all enemies, and submit himself once more to the Father's will, that God might be all in all.[3]

Into the fellowship of this august Lord the disciple was baptized. His name was invoked on the believer who was thus consecrated to him, brought into the sphere of his influence, and made an actual sharer in his death and resurrection.[4] The "saints" were crucified to the world; they were

[1] *Rom.* viii, 29; *Rev.* i., 5 more explicitly, "first-born from the dead."

[2] See Note A, p. 129. [3] 1 *Cor.* xv, 24–28. [4] Cp. Lect. IV.

risen with Christ; the Spirit which was the pledge of immortality had been implanted in them. The whole life of the Church was enveloped in the age-long purpose of God, and it drew its daily strength from its heavenly Head. By the identification of "the Lord" with "the Spirit" all the new powers and energies developed under its influence were transformed into personal gifts from the ascended Christ.[1] From him came the wisdom of the teacher, the vision of the prophet, the skill of the administrator. His was the force that healed disease and controlled tormenting demons; the words of edification and comfort flowed from his inspiration. The broken bread, the cup of wine, eaten and drunk in remembrance of him, brought the brethren into the most intimate relation with him.[2] Prayer rose from the congregation in his name; and psalm and hymn were charged with the intense emotion of those who had cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light. Before them stood the judgment-seat of God, but it was Christ who would test the secrets of their hearts.[3] Was it surprising that "the man whom God had ordained" for that exalted function[4] should rise into proportions no other than divine?

The heirs of the Jerusalem tradition did not all, indeed, share these vivid experiences. In the ancient capital stood the Temple, the centre of

[1] 2 *Cor.* iii, 17; 1 *Cor.* xii, 4 ff.; *Eph.* iv, 7 ff.
[2] Cp. Lect. IV. [3] *Rom.* ii, 16; xiv, 10. [4] *Acts* xvii, 31.

hallowed worship to which the eyes of the Jew turned with longing from the most distant lands. There was the home of the Law, the divine gift to Israel among all the nations of the earth, its unique privilege, its most cherished possession. To this the first believers remained loyal. They daily thronged the Temple courts; they kept the Sabbath; they observed the dietary rules; and they expected that their converts would maintain the usages which separated the Gentile from the Jew. What difficulties arose when the new faith was carried beyond the limits of Palestine, the letters of the Apostle Paul and the narrative of the book of *Acts* sufficiently reveal. At the head of the Jerusalem church was James, the brother of the Lord, whose strict adhesion to the venerable demands of his religion gained for him the designation of "the Righteous." Shortly after his death[1] (in the year 61 or 62 A.D.) came the beginnings of revolt in the desperate attempt to recover national independence. Judæa and Galilee were filled with wild hopes roused by patriots and prophets predicting the advent of a new age. The four years of the Roman terror (66–70 A.D.) ended in the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple. The agony of those days is reflected in the discourse attributed to Jesus on the Mount of Olives.[2] The Christians probably took no share in the rebel-

[1] Mentioned by the Jewish historian Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, ix.

[2] *Mark* xiii, and parallels.

lion, but as the Roman troops paraded the country they may have been involved in the fate of the vanquished. Many local congregations were broken up, the groups of the faithful were dispersed, little knots of believers disappeared, plundered, outraged, enslaved. From the doomed city a devout band made their escape under prophetic warning. "The people of the church in Jerusalem," Eusebius relates,[1] "had been commanded by a revelation, vouchsafed to approved men before the war, to leave the city and dwell in a certain town of Perea called Pella." There beyond the Jordan on the north-east in the territory of Herod Agrippa II, the fugitives found a home. The fate of those who remained was involved in the great tragedy, and only doubtful traditions show the pathetic anxiety of the survivors to secure the leadership of relatives of Jesus. One story ran that after the capture of Jerusalem the surviving apostles and disciples assembled from all parts with the kinsmen of the Lord to appoint a successor to James. The choice fell on Symeon, son of Clopas, whom Hegesippus identified as brother of Joseph.[2] The Jews were still numerous enough to give anxiety to the Roman government, and the same collector of anecdotes relates that the Emperor Domitian gave orders for the execution of any claimants to descent from David. Two grandsons of Jude, one of the brothers of

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, III, v.

[2] *John* xix, 25; Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, III, xi; cp. IV, xxii, 4.

Jesus, were brought before him.[1] They owned a little farm out of which they made a scanty living, and offered their hands, rugged with labour, in proof of their humble lot. No danger threatened the imperial throne from such representatives of ancient royalty. Dismissed with scorn they returned to their poor home, and became rulers of churches as witnesses and relatives of the Lord.[2]

Small scattered meetings thus preserved in remote towns and hamlets the memories of the early days of the community at Jerusalem. Their members were the heirs of the situation indicated in the book of *Acts*. They maintained the observance of the Jewish Law; they practised circumcision and kept the Sabbath. There were some, however, who did not impose these requirements on others; and Justin, who had been born at Neapolis in Samaria,[3] thought that they should be received in fellowship and treated in all respects as brethren. But there were others who still wished to lay on Gentiles the duty of conforming to the traditional ordinances, and refused all intercourse with those who did not adopt the Mosaic rules. Of such exclusiveness Justin did not approve, though he would not deny that con-

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, III, xx.

[2] Symeon was said to have lived to the immense age of 120 years, when he suffered crucifixion under Trajan. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, III, xxxii.

[3] The modern Nablous, between the ancient mountains Ebal and Gerizîm.

verts who accepted the Law might still be saved.[1] Both these types of Jewish Christians clung to humanitarian views of the person of Christ; they rejected his miraculous conception and his Deity. To Justin this was no reason for refusing them the Christian name: differences of practice were then of more consequence than diversities of belief.

In the next generation, however, Irenæus reckons them as heretics,[2] and he is the first to give them the well-known name of Ebionites, the "Poor Men." He probably had no personal acquaintance with them, and only knew them by repute. Against the Gnostics they held the ancient Jewish doctrine of the creation of the world by God, and were thus in accord with orthodox faith; but they persisted in believing that Jesus was born in human fashion; and they repudiated Paul as an apostate from the Law. So Judaic were they in style of life that they even adored Jerusalem as the house of God. They were known to Origen in the middle of the third century when he had long been resident at Cæsarea, and he found their exemplar in Peter who was slow in learning to ascend from the Law according to the letter to that which is interpreted in the spirit.[3] Their name he quaintly derives from the poverty of the Law; others cruelly suggested the paucity of their intelligence; Eusebius explained it by the meanness of their opinions concerning Christ; some assimilated them with

[1] *Dial.*, xlvii.
[2] *Adv. Hæres.*, I, xxvi, 2.
[3] *Contra Cels.*, II, i, 1.

the Poor and Meek of the Psalms and Beatitudes; while it has also been suggested that they may have been known in Jerusalem as the "Needy" from the economic circumstances of the early Church. Small congregations still maintained a precarious existence in the fourth century. They possessed a Gospel "according to the Hebrews"[1] which began, according to Epiphanius (Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, d. 403), "It came to pass in the days of Herod, King of Judæa, John came baptizing the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan." To the heavenly voice recorded in *Matt.* iii., 17, a second utterance was added, "This day have I begotten thee,"[2] which held its own for more than three centuries among Greek and Latin writers both in the East and West.[3] But this type of Christianity had no diffusive power. Its rigid demands met no universal needs. A Messiah who realized his function through the perfect fulfilment of the Law[4] could be no Redeemer for the human race. Nevertheless there were elements in the interpretation of the person

[1] It appears to have existed in more than one form, and Jerome found a copy in the library founded by the martyr Pamphilus at Cæsarea. He translated it from the vernacular Aramean into Greek, and records that it was regarded by many as the original of Matthew.

[2] An allusion to *Ps.* ii, 7. This is the well-known reading of the *Codex Bezæ* in *Luke* iii, 22. On the so-called "Adoptianist" Christology see Note B. See the passages from Jerome and Epiphanius in Preuschen's *Antilegomena*[2], pp. 3 ff. and 9 ff.

[3] Cp. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest* (1889), pp. 40–45.

[4] Cp. Justin, *Dial.*, lxvii.

of Christ which could not be repressed; and when the rationalism of later days broke out at Rome or Antioch, a filiation with a mythical founder was established, and Artemas, and Paul were linked in succession to an imaginary Ebion.[1]

Many were the currents of thought and feeling in the wider world, which played on the new faith as it encountered ancient cults and later-born philosophies. Justin did not disdain to commend it to Emperor and people by comparisons and analogies with their own sacred figures. Even if Jesus were a man by ordinary birth, his wisdom entitled him to be ranked as Son of God[2]; but why should those who accepted Perseus as virgin-born refuse to believe the same of him? The wondrous cures of the lame and blind resembled those ascribed to Æsculapius, who had been translated to the skies. Spectators even swore that they had seen the burning Cæsar ascend to heaven from the funeral pyre. If Hermes was the messenger Logos from God, interpreter of his ways to men, why not also Christ?[3] The missionary ardour which bore the new teaching from city to city and land to land naturally magnified its

[1] Cp. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, xxx, 16. On Artemas, the disciple of Theodotus at Rome, and Paul, Bishop of Antioch and Viceroy of Queen Zenobia, see Note D, p. 133.

[2] So Epictetus, of the wise man, *υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Arrian, I, ix.

[3] 1 *Apol.*, xxi, xxii. On the application of such terms as "Lord," "Messenger of God," "God among men," "bishop" (or "overseer"), to philosophers, see Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma* (Engl. transl.), i, p. 119², fourth German ed. (1909), i, p. 138.

message. Each fresh church, though it might gather within it but a dozen families, was a little seed-plot of truth, and extended the reign of the heavenly Lord. The victory over the Powers of Evil became day by day more sure as the precious gift of immortality was conferred upon increasing multitudes; what a note of triumph sounds again and again through Christian literature as the apologists of the faith describe the place of believers in the society around them! The Christians are in the world what the soul is in the body, says the author of the *Letter to Diognetus* proudly.[1] The soul is diffused through every limb, and the Christians through every city. Aristides had ascribed the stability of the universe to their intercession.[2] Following the analogy of the soul which sustains the organism enclosing it, the teacher of Diognetus declares that though the world is the Christians' prison, they supply the energy by which it is upheld. And as the vision of the seer penetrated the heavens to the throne of God, he gazed on a great multitude which no man could number, out of every nation and tribe and people and tongue, and knew that believers had been already bought for God and invested with a royalty even on earth which no imperial purple could confer.[3]

But the language of religion is often inadequate to its feeling. In the church at Rome at the end

[1] *Ep. ad Diognet.*, vi, 1.
[2] *Apology*, xvi.
[3] *Rev.* vii, 9; v, 9, 10.

of the first century Jesus is still the "beloved Servant,"[1] and the prayer runs, "Let all nations know that thou art God alone, and that Jesus Christ is thy Servant." The Christian possesses "one God, one Christ, and one spirit of grace"; God is the "Father and Creator of the whole world," its "Demiurge and Master," who has ordained all things in peace and concord, free from wrath towards all his creatures.[2] The Shepherd bids Hermas believe that God is One, Creator and Perfecter of all things, who brought all things into being out of what was not.[3] This is in fact the speech of the higher Judaism, in contact with the philosophy of Greece.[4] The argument from the order of the universe to the unity of God was quite familiar in the schools; and the wonders of Providence called forth from Epictetus an impassioned summons to join him in singing hymns of praise.[5] The place of Christ in this mode of thought was undefined. He has been sent forth as Saviour and Prince of incorruption by the "only God invisible, the Father of truth"[6]; but just as the Angel of Repentance tells

[1] 1 *Clem.*, lix, 1, as in *Acts* iii, 13, 26; iv, 27. The same title is used in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, ix–x, and in the *Letter to Diognetus*, viii–ix.

[2] 1 *Clem.*, xix, xx, xxxiii. [3] *Shepherd*, Mand. i.

[4] Cp. Plato in the *Timæus*, "the Father and Maker of all this universe," p. 28, "the Father and Creator," p. 37; Philo, *De Vit. Contempl.*, xi, "the Father and Creator of the Universe," and so often.

[5] Arrian, I, xvi. [6] 2 *Clem.*, xx, 5.

Hermas that the Holy Spirit is the Son of God, so does the homilist (designated as 2 *Clement*) declare that the Spirit is Christ.[1] No such vagueness marks the thought of Ignatius of Antioch. He may indeed use salutations of the Pauline type, and greet the Philadelphians as the "Church of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ"; but more august titles flow naturally from his thought, and to Rome he writes of "the Most High Father and of Jesus Christ his only Son . . . our God." The ardour of faith breaks out in the contemplation of his wondrous birth, "our God Jesus the Christ was conceived by Mary"; it is as easy for him to speak of "God's bread" and "God's blood" as of "God's kingdom" or "God's will."[2] That he was truly born, that he ate and drank, that he was truly crucified under Pontius Pilate, that his death was witnessed by the dwellers in heaven, on earth, and beneath the earth, and that he was truly raised from the dead, were the indispensable facts for salvation.[3] The Eternal Father who was invisible was also unheard; but out of the Silence came forth his Word, and Christ was the divine Speech of God to man.[4] So complete was his identification with the historic descendant of David that he could designate him as "begotten and

[1] Hermas, *Shepherd*, Simil. IX, i, 1; 2 *Clem.*, xiv, 4; cp. Lake, *Stewardship of the Faith*, p. 145.

[2] *Ephes.* xviii, 2; *Rom.* vii, 3; *Ephes.* i, 1.

[3] *Trall.*, ix; cp. *Smyrn.*, i.

[4] *Magnes.*, viii, 2.

unbegotten, God in man, . . . Jesus Christ our Lord."[1]

The stress which Ignatius laid on the incidents of Christ's earthly life was directed against an early form of heresy which denied that he had come "in the flesh." It was already denounced in the letters ascribed in a later generation to "John,"[2] and it implied that Jesus had only worn the semblance of a human person; his body was an appearance, not a reality. This view belonged to a type of doctrine commonly designated by the epithet "Gnostic," which spread in numerous sects from East to West, and gravely threatened the unity of Church teaching and life.[3] They, too, sought the deliverance of the soul which they saw entangled in the world of matter; they, too, found in Christ a Saviour or Redeemer who had descended to earth to show the initiated the way of salvation. They had their holy rites, their sacraments, strange baptisms and unctions, their bridal chamber, their consecrated food and drink. They had their meeting-places and their books, their grades of spiritual rank, their leaders and teachers, and they constantly tended to split up into new sects.

[1] *Ephes.* vii. On the theological difficulty involved in the term ἀγέννητος see Professor Bethune-Baker, *Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine* (1903), p. 122[1]. Ignatius does not use the Johannine term μονογενής.

[2] 1 *John* iv, 2–3; 2 *John*, 7.

[3] See Lect. V. The particular view that Christ only wore a seeming body is known as Docetism. An analogous belief appears in Buddhism in the third century B.C.

Among these teachers in the middle of the second century was Marcion. He did not, indeed, claim the possession of a secret *gnosis* or "knowledge," for his watchword was faith; and on this ground Harnack declines to reckon him among the Gnostics, in the strict sense of the term.[1] He claimed to be a Christian; he founded his teaching upon Christian Scriptures[2] without alleging the support of private tradition. But he is described as a disciple of the Gnostic Cerdo; he was a dualist in his interpretation of the world; like all Gnostics he held the Docetic view of Christ's body; and the austerities which he practised himself and demanded of his followers connected him with the extreme ascetic wing of the general movement.

Marcion was a wealthy shipbuilder of Sinopê on the Black Sea. Sometime after the year 139 A.D. he came to Rome, and joined the Church, making a generous contribution to its funds. He did not succeed in winning over the leaders to his views, and about 144 he either left it or was put out, the authorities honourably restoring his donation. Christianity as he saw it in the imperial city was secularized and corrupted; he claimed to restore it to its original purity, and bring it back to the true religion of Jesus and

[1] *History of Dogma*, i, p. 266.

[2] The Gospel according to Luke, and ten Epistles of Paul. This selection of an authoritative group as a standard of faith prepared the way for a New Testament "Canon" beside the Old.

Paul. None of his own works have survived, but one after another of the great Church writers strove to meet him in argument. Justin speaks of him as a contemporary whose teaching has been spread by demons among every race.[1] It proved curiously attractive. He himself travelled widely to diffuse it. The earliest known inscription on any church-building is found in a Syrian village on a stone bearing the date 318, "Synagogue of the Marcionists." At the end of the fourth century his followers were still active in Rome and Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, and even Persia.

Unlike the speculative Gnostic metaphysicians Marcion was not concerned with the transition from the absolute simplicity of the Divine Being to the complex world of our experience. He interposed no chain of æons or emanations between the ultimate Unity and the material scene. He was a biblical dualist, discovering a series of contrasts between the God of the Old Testament, stern, retributive, vengeful, and the God of the New, revealed by Jesus and taught by Paul, full of righteousness and love. The former, the God of the Jews, was also the Creator or Demiurge; from him came the universe and the Mosaic law; he was the Deity of a particular people; what his relation was ontologically to the Father disclosed by Jesus, the God of all mankind, Marcion seems never to have explained. He accepted them

[1] 1 *Apol.*, xxvi; cp. lviii.

both on the authority of Scripture, and in a famous work entitled the "Antitheses" or "Contrasts" he arrayed a series of oppositions between the religion of the Law on the one side and that of the Gospel on the other.[1] If the Law demanded an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth (which lawyer Tertullian defended as a provision for restraining violence rather than a permission for mutual injury),[2] the Gospel forbade it; if the God of the Old Testament rained fire from heaven on Elijah's foes, Jesus would not suffer his disciples to invoke such aid. Marcion made no attempt like Philo to save the Hebrew Scriptures for devout use by allegorical interpretation, still less could he anticipate Augustine's great conception of the *eruditio* of mankind by progressive revelation. To him the books of the Pentateuch meant just what they said, and a lofty and earnest moral sense revolted against it. The good God then sent down his Son, whom Marcion seems to have regarded as a manifestation of himself. The only Gospel which Marcion accepted was that according to Luke. He excised the birth-stories, the account of John's ministry and the baptism of Jesus, and began abruptly, "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius God came down [*i.e.* from heaven]

[1] It is probable that this work is intended in 1 *Tim.* vi, 20 (a possible addition to the main letter), where Timothy is exhorted to "guard the deposit" and turn away from "the Antitheses of the Gnosis falsely so called."

[2] *Adv. Marc.*, ii, 18.

to Capernaum."[1] Christ's whole career was accordingly conceived upon Docetic lines. Such a being had no need of birth, he appeared when the time was ripe in full-grown manhood. "Who is my mother?" he asked, proving that he owned no human origin.[2] Did the risen Jesus say, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have," the words only meant, "A spirit has no flesh and bones, and you see that I have them only as a spirit has."[3]

Such teaching endangered the whole faith. A phantom Christ who never really suffered could be no true Redeemer. The error was deadly; the entire conception of salvation was undermined. To guard the historic reality became an urgent necessity, and the Church of Rome began to organize its defence. The convert at baptism was "washed," says Justin, "in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit."[4] Such was already the expansion of the baptismal formula from its simplest type, "in the name of Jesus Christ."[5] To identify Jesus Christ, it would seem, the historic detail "crucified under

[1] Combining *Luke* iii, 1, and iv, 31, Tert., *Adv. Marc.*, iv, 7, reading *Deum* for *eum;* cp. Krüger, *Das Dogma der Dreieinigkeit* (1905), p. 36.

[2] Tert., *ibid.*, iv, 19.

[3] Tert., *ibid.*, iv, 43.

[4] 1 *Apol.*, lxi.

[5] *Acts* ii, 38; viii, 16; x, 48; xix, 5. The difference compared with *Matt.* xxviii, 19, and *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, vii, is noteworthy.

Pontius Pilate" was added, while the Holy Spirit was described as having "foretold all things about Jesus through the prophets." Here is the tendency to define in exposition. Justin mentions no creed demanded from the candidate. But a generation later Irenæus knows a "Rule of Truth,"[1] and Tertullian can recite a "Rule of Faith,"[2] and from their statements a primitive Roman confession may be inferred:

I believe in God the Father Almighty: and in Jesus Christ his Son, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried, the third day he rose from the dead, he ascended into the heavens, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead: and in the Holy Spirit, and the resurrection of the flesh.[3]

Out of what precise liturgical formulæ this *Credo* was compiled we need not enquire. The stress falls on the human life rather than the divine nature of the Son. He is, indeed, in one form designated *monogenês*, "only" or "unique."[4]

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, I, ix, 4, about 185 A.D. [2] *De Virg. Velandis*, i.

[3] Cp. McGiffert, *The Apostles' Creed* (1902), p. 100, and Krüger, *Das Dogma der Dreieinigkeit*, pp. 41–70, who gives the second article in this form: "and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin, crucified under Pontius Pilate, buried, and on the third day risen from the dead, carried up into heaven and sitting at the right hand of the Father, from thence he will come to judge the living and the dead" (p. 53).

[4] It is used, for instance, of the "only son" of the widow of Nain, *Luke* vii, 12. In the Orphic theology the epithet is

But he is described neither as "Saviour" nor as "Word"; not even the title "our Lord" is added to his name; the name "Son" is enough to indicate his heavenly rank; was it not to him that God said, "Let us make man after our image"?[1] Then he was spirit, incapable of being seen by mortal eyes; only by his coming in the flesh could men behold him and be saved.[2] The reality of his mortal life, therefore, and of his death, attested by his burial, was of fundamental importance, just as the resurrection and ascension were needed to prove his immortality.

The "Rule of Truth," therefore, designed for the protection of the believer against Gnostic error, was not concerned with a definition of the nature of the Son in relation to the Godhead, whose designation "Father Almighty" indicated his character as "Father and Creator of the world." But the exponents of Christian teaching could not ignore this aspect of the Son's being. The defence of the faith enlisted many of the ablest writers in the Church for three hundred years, down to the noblest of all apologies, the treatise on the "City of God" by St. Augustine.[3] It had, in fact, to meet attacks from many sides.

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applied to Athena and Demeter. The second æon in the Ogdoad of the Valentinian Gnostics also bore the title, derived perhaps from *John* i, 18. Cp. Wobbermin, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (1896), p. 114 ff.

[1] *Ep. Barnab.*, vi, 12; cp. v, 5. [2] *Ibid.*, v, 10; 2 *Clem.*, ix, 5.

[3] Its composition extended over several years, between 413 and 426.

Ignorance and its offspring ill-will exposed it to base charges of immorality and excess; and the champion of the faith must vindicate the purity of believers' lives, he must display their character as good citizens, their readiness to fulfil civic duty, and discharge the offices of brotherly love. Against the popular religions with their odious tales of the gods, their shameless displays in the theatres, their cruel sacrifices and obscene rites, he must exalt the sublimity of the worship of One God. To the diversities of philosophy he must present the unity of revelation from the first days of creation till its culmination in the person of Christ. The Jew must be convinced that the predictions of his prophets were fulfilled in Jesus. The weapons of the heretic must be wrested from him, and he must be convicted of vain imaginations and the mishandling of the sacred records. None of these aims could be achieved independently of Christ. His person was, of necessity, the central theme. But the arguments might be conducted along different lines, and the group of Apologists, as modern students have designated them,[1] sought to exhibit Christianity as a rational scheme of thought and life.

The instrument employed for this purpose was the philosophical conception of the Logos, at once the inner Reason and the outer Word (or utterance) of God. Philo of Alexandria had applied it in expounding the hidden truths of the

[1] See Note C, p. 131.

sacred laws of Israel alike to his own co-religionists and to the cultivated Greek.[1] Three centuries before, the Stoic Cleanthes had sung of Zeus who guided all things by law, and harmonized good with evil in one whole so that there was one Logos for all things everlastingly. Such Law, such Reason, were universal[2]; they belonged to the very nature of God himself, and could not be in any way detached from his essential Being. But in the first century of our era the conception was presented in new forms. The older Stoicism practically identified God, the Logos, and the world; they were conterminous with each other and intrinsically the same, viewed under different aspects. In accommodating itself to the popular theology Stoic thought made fresh identifications. Writing on Greek theology [in the reign of Nero] the philosopher Cornutus[3] sought to interpret the old mythology in the light of more spiritual ideas, and portrayed Hermes, the ancient messenger or herald of the gods, as the Logos sent from heaven to man, the agent of revelation, the medium of intercourse between Deity and the children of earth. We have already seen how Justin appeals to this "Son of God" by way of comparison with the title and function of Christ. In the Hermetic literature, which is now known to have Egyptian

[1] Cp. Lect. V.

[2] The epithet *κοινός* is applied to both.

[3] According to the usual view of the Ἑλληνικὴ Θεολογία.

theological ideas behind it,[1] and emerges into view about the end of the first century, the radiant Logos issues out of Mind, as "Son of God."[2] "Know," says the Man-Shepherd, "that what sees and hears in thee is the Lord's Logos, but Mind is God the Father." When the disciple enquires, "Whence have Nature's elements their being?" the answer is—"From God's will, which received the Logos, and after contemplating the beautiful world [*i.e.* the world of ideal forms] imitated it."[3] And the concluding prayer addressed to "God the Father of the universe" declares him holy "for thou didst by Logos create the things that are."[4] Philosophy could thus unite the two aspects of the Logos in nature and man, and in the third century Porphyry could still call Hermes the representative of the Logos which "both creates and interprets all things."[5]

The Christian poet in the *Odes of Solomon* touches on the same themes, but with prophecy and psalm behind him the "Word" has sometimes the more direct meaning of utterance, which many critics are now advocating as the true significance of the Johannine phrase, "In the beginning was the Logos."[6] From this side he can say that "the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the

[1] Cp. Reitzenstein, *Zwei Religionsgeschichtliche Fragen* (1901), II, "Schöpfungsmythen und Logoslehre"; and *Poimandres* (1904).

[2] *Poimandres*, § 6. [3] *Ibid.*, § 8. [4] *Ibid.*, § 31.

[5] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.*, III, xi.

[6] Cp. Loofs, *What is the Truth about Jesus Christ?* (1913), p. 188.

door of his light"; and can add that "the Most High hath given it to his worlds,[1] which are the interpreters of his beauty, the narrators of his glory, the proclaimers of his counsel, and the heralds of his thought."[2] It is the moral quality of the Word which awakes the poet's especial reverence, for "from it came love and concord"; that is the secret of the harmony of the worlds which recognize their Maker's hand; it should be also the rule of human life, for "the dwelling-place of the Word is man, and its truth is love."[3] But it is not without cosmic functions also, for it searches out all things, and while God may rest from his works, created things know not how to stand or be idle, for his hosts obey his Word.[4] And it is finally impersonated in Jesus, though he is never named, for at last the poet breaks out:

His bounty begat me and the thought of his heart,
And his Word is with us in all our way,
The Saviour who makes alive and rejects not our souls,
The Man who was humbled, and exalted by his righteousness;
The Son of the Most High appeared in the perfection of his Father,
And light dawned from the Word that was before time in him;

[1] Possibly "his æons" originally, a semi-Gnostic touch.
[2] *Odes of Solomon*, xii, 3–4.
[3] *Ibid.*, xii, 9–11.
[4] *Ibid.*, xvi, 8–15.

The Messiah is truly one, and he was known before
the foundation of the world,
That he might save souls for ever by the truth of
his name.[1]

Such were some of the phases of the Logos conceived as a principle of Revelation and of Cosmic Order. Now one aspect is prominent in the Apologists, and now the other. Against the popular idolatries their argument is not without parallel in the higher Judaism and the best teachings of philosophy. The second century had its preachers of monotheism, in which the appeal to the order of Nature and to reason and conscience in man was vigorously emphasized. With monotheism came the hope of immortality, and the yearning for spiritual fellowship with God. Christianity proposed to define and establish these trusts more firmly by planting them on the person of Jesus Christ. Here was a religion historically guaranteed by the appearance of the Son of God in human form. Here was the future secured by the promise of the resurrection, which provided incorruption for the whole being, and included body as well as soul.[2] The stress may vary on different elements of the faith; in argument with the Jew Trypho Justin necessarily dwells on what separates the Church from the Synagogue; to the Roman rulers and people he offers the completion in Christ of

[1] *Odes of Solomon*, xli, 11–15.

[2] Cp. Lect. I, p. 33.

what had been only imperfectly realized by philosophy.

The Apologies are not sermons to believers, they are addressed to the common educated intelligence of the unconverted.[1] They only threaten incidentally; their aim is to persuade. In the background for the most part lie the beliefs and usages of the Church, warnings of judgment and torments of hell. Their main purpose is to supply a rational explanation of the worship of a crucified man. No mighty spirit reveals the secrets of impassioned experience like Paul; no mystical union with a Christ in heaven is presented as the goal of faith. The idealism with which Ignatius beheld in the Bishop and his Presbyters a reproduction of the presidency of God and the council of the Apostles[2] never brightens their descriptions of the Christian life; the bare facts themselves must suffice. The Gnostic challenge to a fallen nature, to the sense of sin and the need of a Redeemer, is replaced by assumptions of the universality of reason and vindications of the freedom of the will. Justin, for instance, was convinced that he had on his side the supreme representative of all Hellenic wisdom. Socrates had striven to bring the truth to light, and deliver men from the demons, who in revenge contrived to bring about his death. As the Logos availed among the Greeks to condemn these things through Socrates, so among the barbarians they were

[1] Cp. Note C, p. 131. [2] *Magnes.*, vi, 1.

condemned by the Logos himself, who took shape and became man, and was called Jesus Christ.[1] Hatred and death were, indeed, the lot of all who strove to live reasonably with the aid of the seed of the Logos implanted in every race of men. Such was Heracleitus of old, and among Justin's own contemporaries Musonius.[2] But while Socrates could only exhort men to become acquainted with the God unknown to them by the investigations of reason, and alleged that "it is neither easy to find the Maker and Father of all, nor having found him is it safe to declare him to all,"[3] Christ did both. No one, says Justin shrewdly, trusted Socrates enough to die for him, but Christ was accepted not only by philosophers and scholars but by working folk and common people, who despised alike glory and fear and death. For Christ was a Power of the ineffable Father, and not the mere instrument of human Reason.[4] Christianity, then, depends directly upon Revelation.

This is its great paradox. The revealing Logos appeared in Jesus of Nazareth in human form.[5] Other men might possess its seed, implanted in every race of mankind; Christians enjoyed the knowledge and contemplation of the entire Word, which is Christ.[6] This absolute character of the Logos in Christ is emphasized by Justin again and again. True, he could affirm that whatever things had been rightly said among all men were

[1] 1 *Apol.*, v. [2] 2 *Apol.*, viii. [3] *Timæus*, 28 c.
[4] 2 *Apol.*, x. [5] 1 *Apol.*, v, λόγος μορφωθείς. [6] 2 *Apol.*, viii.

the property of the Christians.[1] But the elder lawgivers and philosophers even in what they taught aright only beheld some part of the Logos, they did not know the whole of it, which is Christ. This was no accidental superiority; it was a necessity of Revelation itself. To be complete it must be made by one who possessed the entire Logos. Athenagoras lays down the same rule. Under the divine afflatus poets and philosophers sought to discover God. It was a conjectural process, and it did not succeed because they sought to learn about God, not from God, but each one from himself.[2] Christians had the witness of the prophets under the guidance of God's Spirit; and this culminated in Christ who was the Logos of the Father, and in the capacity of Son is formally styled God by Athenagoras next to the Father.[3]

This Logos was of course in existence before the Incarnation. In general terms he is the "first-born of God."[4] As the instrument or agent of creation he was begotten before it, and in that function he is not only the antecedent Reason, he is the actual Power, the living force of its constitution.[5] Like Wisdom of whom it was said "the Lord made me in the beginning of his ways,"[6] the Logos issued from the Father to be the intellectual idea and the working energy

[1] 2 *Apol.*, xiii. [2] *Legatio*, vii.
[3] *Ibid.*, x; or perhaps better, "the Divine Son."
[4] Justin, 1 *Apol.*, xlvi. [5] *Ibid.*, 2 *Apol.*, vi; 1 *Apol.*, xxiii.
[6] *Prov.* viii, 22; Athenagoras, *Leg.*, x.

which converted unorganized matter into an orderly universe. Justin is not afraid to emphasize its distinctness; Tatian knows that it springs forth "by division"[1]; and Theophilus expresses the separation by the coarsest metaphor:—"God having his own Logos within,[2] in his own bowels, begat him, belching him forth along with his own Wisdom before all things." The Logos is thus the product of an act of the Father's will,[3] just as we beget speech (or Word) by utterance, but do not diminish the inner Reason which prompted it.[4] The Father's Being is thus in no way divided; the Son is indeed "other" numerically but not γνώμῃ, in purpose or will[5]; fire can be kindled from fire, and the second is different from the first which still burns and can set yet more alight.[6] Athenagoras is more precise. He dwells on the oneness of the Son in the Father and the Father in the Son; and he contrasts the life of sense whose motto is, "Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die," with that of the believer who is guided to the future by the knowledge of God, his Logos, and the Spirit, the oneness and the distinction of the Three.[7] It is the first real assertion of the Unity of the holy Three to which, under the terms God, Word, and Wisdom, Theophilus gave the name of *Trias*.[8]

[1] Tatian, *Cohortatio*, v, κατὰ μερισμόν.
[2] The λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, *Ad Autolyc.*, II, x.
[3] Justin, I *Apol.*, xxi. [4] *Dial.*, lxi. [5] *Ibid.*, lvi, 11.
[6] *Dial.*, cxxviii. [7] *Legat.*, xii. [8] *Ad Autolyc.*, II, xv.

The argument is so far ontological. It enters the field of history with an appeal to the Scriptures of the Old Testament on the one hand and the Gospels on the other. Justin does not specify the latter by name. He describes them as the "Recollections of the Apostles which we call Gospels." His quotations include long extracts from Matthew and Luke; he was apparently acquainted with Mark; whether he knew the fourth Gospel has been seriously questioned. He nowhere expressly cites it in aid of his interpretation of the person of Christ, and he invokes no support from it for his doctrine of the Logos. One solitary passage points to it,[1] and it is difficult to suppose that the Gospel is not there in the background; but it is impossible to prove that the words in question might not have been known to Justin through some other channel of oral teaching or communicated anecdote. The events of the Teacher's life fulfil the predictions of Law and Prophecy and Psalm. These, it is assumed, are the work of the prophetic Spirit.[2] The inspiration of the Old Testament is taken for granted. Its superiority is occasionally vindicated on the ground of its antiquity, and it is even alleged to be the fountain-head of Greek wisdom. But in reality the claims of the prophets and of Jesus support each other; on the one hand prediction, on the other fulfilment; and the exactness of

[1] 1 *Apol.*, lxi.

[2] This is the character of the Spirit in Justin.

the conformity proves both divine. The methods of historical interpretation were then unknown; for the modern student Justin's ingenuity is spent in vain.

What, then, of the person of Jesus in whom the Logos thus took human shape? The union of the divine Word with the Man of Nazareth is never formally explained; it was too easy to point to Gentile analogies among the "sons of Zeus." The Logos, who is the "only Son,"[1] is said to have been begotten in a peculiar manner as Word and Power by God, and afterwards to have become man through the Virgin. On his actual humanity Justin firmly takes his stand. His bodily experiences were all perfectly real. Justin will yield nothing to the Docetism of the Gnostics. The prayer "Not as I will but as thou wilt" showed that Jesus truly suffered. When he cried, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass," we perceive that the Father intended the Son to meet this trial for our sakes, and we may not affirm that he did not feel what was happening to him.[2] How the two natures were thus combined Justin nowhere clearly specifies. The Logos occupied an actual body which was provided also with a human soul.[3] The two beings inhabit

[1] *Monogenês*, not on the ground of *John* i, 18, but of the Greek of *Psalm* xxii, 20; Justin, *Dial.*, cv.

[2] *Dial.*, ciii.

[3] 2 *Apol.*, x. That the term Psychê is used here in the higher Greek sense may be inferred from the passage quoted in Lect. I, p. 33[4].

the same physical person; they apparently exist side by side in simple contiguity, each with its own capacities and powers. In what sense the Logos was still the Power of cosmic activity, remains a mystery; the problem has not yet arisen. It is not solved even at death. Upon the cross Jesus commended his spirit to God,[1] a new term which must be equated with the "soul." Whither, then, did it depart? When "the Lord God" descended into the abodes of the dead Israel to announce salvation to the generations of the past,[2] did the human soul accompany the divine Son, and, if so, how was their union maintained when the bond of flesh had been dissolved? Here is the doctrine of the Two Natures in its most naked form. It will be the work of three centuries to embody it in theological terminology as the deliberate judgment of the Church.

To this process the most important contributions were made as the second century ran out by Irenæus of Lyons and Tertullian of Carthage.[3] The first was the profoundest theologian of his age; the second coined much of the language in which the new ideas were expressed.

Irenæus came to the West from Asia Minor. The place and date of his birth are alike unknown[4];

[1] *Dial.*, lv, citing *Luke* xxiii, 46.

[2] *Dial.*, lxxii; cp. Lect. I, p. 36.

[3] On Clement of Alexandria see Lect. V.

[4] He was probably born about 130 A.D., a little before or after; whether his parents were Christians, or, if not, how he was brought into the Church, we have no information.

but he was at Smyrna in his boyhood, for in a letter written in later life to his early friend Florinus he refers to his vivid impressions of the aged Bishop Polycarp as he sat in the teacher's chair, and told how he had known John and the others who had seen the Lord.[1] He received the ordinary training of a Greek youth. He could cite Homer and Hesiod, Pindar and Plato; he is imbued with the teachings of the philosophers; he has shared the mystical aspiration for union with God. He is in Rome as a young man, possibly (as has been conjectured[2]) as the companion of Polycarp, who made the journey in his extreme old age to discuss the difficulty which had arisen between the Asian and the Roman Churches over the celebration of the Christian passover and the resurrection festival.[3] Irenæus did not return to the East. He came under the influence of Justin, either as teacher or writer; and finally went on to Southern Gaul, and up the Rhone Valley past Vienne to Lyons. There he became presbyter in the Christian church under Pothinus, which numbered other emigrants from Asia Minor in its fold.[4] After the martyrdom of Pothinus (177 A.D.) he was appointed Bishop, and devoted himself through laborious years to the extension of the Church and the defence of

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, xx, 5.

[2] By Dr. Hitchcock, *Irenæus of Lugdunum* (1914), p. 2.

[3] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, xxiii. Probably in 154–5 A.D.

[4] In the famous persecution of 177 A.D. Attalus of Pergamus, and Alexander (a doctor) from Phrygia, were among the martyrs.

the faith. To the Gallic people he preached in their own Celtic tongue. He met the Gnostics in personal argument, and was long engaged (about 180–185 A.D.) in the composition of a treatise against them in Greek.[1] It was widely circulated; a few years later Tertullian used it in Carthage; in the East it was translated into Syriac. Most of his other works have perished; this remains (unfortunately only in an early Latin translation, with some passages of the original Greek), an inestimable monument of the development of Christian theology.

The work is polemical in aim, and its preparation was probably frequently interrupted; it lacks concentration; it is sometimes needlessly diffuse; it contains frequent repetitions. But it is pervaded by an intense conviction of the significance of Christian salvation. This is the deep undertone of the whole, the pedal note enduring through every variation of the great theme of the Incarnation. "Why did God become man?" is the question. "That man might become God" is the answer.[2] The Apologists had not really grappled with the conception of redemption. They had presented Christianity as a kind of emancipated Judaism, supported on the Old Testament Scriptures, and universalized with the

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, vii, "the Refutation and Overturning of the Gnosis falsely so-called," in five books.

[2] Cp. Lect. I, p. 58, and below, p. 127. *Adv. Hæres.*, V, præf. *ad fin.*

help of the Logos. The Gnostics, on the other hand, had laid stress upon the fall, on the need of deliverance, on the renewal or restoration of the soul's true nature. They were the heirs of the Apostle Paul, but they had transmuted their inheritance into the most fantastic shapes, whose kindred with their progenitor was hardly recognizable. Irenæus brings back Paul into the sphere of Church teaching, but it is Paul with a difference. There are no traces in his pages of the profound spiritual conflict which was the foundation of Paul's interpretation of Christianity. He had never served as the bondman of the Law; he had never been arrested in one course of action, and started afresh upon another. The type of his experience approximates rather to the Johannine; freedom from sin comes through knowledge of the truth, and truth is imparted through Scripture[1] and the Church.

Beside the First Three Gospels stands the Fourth; so well established are they in general use[2] that he can support their exclusive claims by quaint numerical analogies, four regions of the world, four winds, four living creatures bearing up the throne of God, four covenants with the human race.[3] The Evangelists, says Irenæus,

[1] Now including our four Gospels and an Apostolic collection.

[2] *Adv. Hæres.*, III, i, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, xi, 8. The Greek of this passage names the Deluge, Circumcision, the Law, and the Gospel, connected with Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ. The Latin has Adam, Noah, Moses, and the Gospel.

have all taught the same truth: "There is one God, Creator of heaven and earth, declared by the Law and the Prophets; and one Christ, God's Son."[1] The interpretation of this teaching lies with the Church; it is summed up, as we have seen, in the Rule of Truth; it is guaranteed by tradition, handed on by the successors of the Apostles, the living witnesses of the truths and blessings of salvation.[2] The Rule of Truth did not, it is true, describe Christ as Saviour, or define the character of his redeeming work; but it laid the utmost emphasis upon the Incarnation, and the reality of his human life; and this was for Irenæus the centre of God's purpose for man. Employing the Logos Christology, he uses it for much more than the explanation of Revelation in the prophets. Christ's function was wider than that of completing the imperfect witness of earlier days; he was himself infinitely greater than the fulness of that which Scripture already contained partially. Doubtless he disclosed truths about God unrealized before; but his teaching function in no way exhausted his significance; he stands, as Paul had placed him, as the head of a new humanity which is to be made divine; and the presentation of his nature is really conditioned by the purpose of his work. The Redeemer cannot confer what he does not possess. If he is to bestow immortality on others, it must first belong to his own personality; he can only help others to

[1] *Adv. Hæres*, III, i, 2. [2] Compare Lect. III, p. 195.

"become God" because that is the character of his own being.

The problem of the Incarnation may really be approached in two ways. We may start from the conception of the Divine Nature and enquire under what conditions it can unite itself with a human being. Or we may investigate the historic records, and ask what are the facts to be explained and what explanation they suggest. Irenæus uses both methods, but the final stress of his argument falls on the biblical side. The majority of the Gnostics—Marcion was an exception—employed the other and pressed the record into their speculative constructions. "One God," says Irenæus, "the Creator of heaven and earth." Such was the sublime teaching of the ancient scriptures. Against the Gnostics he enforces it in its naked simplicity. "Uninfluenced by any one, of his own purpose and free-will he made all things, inasmuch as he is the only God, the only Lord, the only Creator, the only Father."[1] In such a Being there can be no change; the Divine immutability is an axiom of all Greek thinking; the projection of the Word from within so that he is in some fashion sent forth externally is inconceivable; nothing in God is older or younger; he abides for ever equal and the same; he is wholly Mind and wholly Logos.[2] It is the fundamental static idea of Greek metaphysics. Hence the Logos is in no sense a "product,"[3] he is unmade, he has for ever

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, II, i, 1. [2] *Ibid.*, II, xiii, 8. [3] See p. 93.

existed with the Father.[1] Father and Son thus constitute an eternally related pair; to both the name Lord (*Dominus*) is applied, to him who rules (*dominatur*) and to him who exercises the rule (*dominium*) which has been entrusted to him.[2] Each is God, he who is anointed, the Son, and he who anoints, the Father. The very name, "Christ," of necessity implies an anointer, an anointed, and an anointing,[3] and such language inevitably carries not only time-distinctions, but also some kind of inequality, where one gives and the other receives. Loyal to Scripture, Irenæus dwells on the saying, "My father is greater than I,"[4] with the devout remark that the Father has been declared to be superior (*præpositus*) in respect of knowledge in order that we might leave such enquiries to God. Yet so close is their union that for man Christ is "the visible of the Father," just as the Father is "the invisible of the Son,"[5] as though the same Deity were apprehended under different conditions. In this Duality there seems little room for the Spirit. It is, however, identified with the divine Wisdom,[6] present with the Father before creation, and associated in that act with the instrumental Logos. The distinction is difficult to grasp; between the Reason which be-

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, II, xxv, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, vi, 1, on *Ps.* cx, 1; on *Ps.* xlv, 6. [3] *Ibid.*, III, xviii, 3.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, xxviii, 8; *John* xiv, 28. [5] *Ibid.*, IV, vi, 6.
[6] *Ibid.*, IV, xx, 3. On the familiar ground of *Prov.* viii, 22.

comes immanent in the world (*infixus*)[1] and the Wisdom which was created for its preparation, it is hard to find a difference. Irenæus compares them to God's two hands, summoned by him to assist in the production of humanity with the call, "Let us make man."[2] The eternity of the Spirit is not definitely affirmed; but another step has been taken towards the doctrine to which Tertullian will give the name of Trinity.

In Jesus Christ the Son became incarnate. Against the Ebionites Irenæus emphasizes his Deity; against the Gnostics his humanity; if he was *vere Deus*, he was also *vere homo*.[3] This is not affirmed on the ground of Scripture only. It is an essential condition of the process of redemption as Irenæus conceived it. The Gospels show him as a man, though John only declared that the Logos became *flesh*. Had that been all, there would have been no true "oneness"; the deliverance of humanity required his full union with our whole nature. Against the notion that his body was only phantasmal he pleads that if Christ did not receive the substance of flesh in actual birth from a human being, his suffering was, after all, no great thing.[4] On the other hand he insists urgently against the Ebionites' doctrine of Sonship by adoption at the

[1] *Adv., Hær.*, V, xviii, 3. The Word exists in the world, and at the same time invisibly contains all created things, with a kind of "mutual inherence."

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, præf.

[3] *Ibid.*, V, vi, 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, xxii, 1; cp. xviii, 6.

Baptism, partly on the ground of their false interpretation of Scripture, but still more because the parallel between Adam and Christ required that as Adam had been formed by the "hand" of God (*i. e.* the Logos), so Christ also, who (as the beginning of a new humanity) was to repeat the experience of Adam, must in like manner have been formed as man by God.

This is the doctrine of *recapitulatio*,[1] to which Irenæus recurs again and again. It is founded upon the analogy developed by the Apostle Paul between the First man and the Second. But the ground of the comparison is quite different. Paul used it to point the contrast between the earthly and the heavenly, the man through whom came Death, and the man through whom came the Resurrection. It was the Adam made out of the earth, weak and unstable, succumbing to the first temptation which came in his way, who floated before the thought of the Apostle to the Gentiles. Irenæus fixed his gaze on the humanity which was made in the image of God, endowed with great gifts and powers. Had these been maintained unimpaired, their lofty exercise might have led to immortality and true union between man and his Maker. But they were forfeited by sin. The Logos did not indeed desert his creation. He remained in permanent fellowship with the human

[1] Founded on *Eph.* i, 10, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ.

race,[1] till the time came for the fulfilment of God's great purpose of salvation. Then the Logos became man that he might reproduce and complete the divine image in humanity. All spiritual graces and capacities inherent in God's likeness were realized in him. As in his heavenly life he summed up in himself all the energies of the universe, controlling and exercising them unceasingly, so upon earth he gathered the diverse forms of man's experience and potency into one sinless whole.[2] From birth to death he passed through all the phases of our life, in order to save all, infants and children, boys, youths, and old men. This *a priori* view is supported by an appeal to the Jews' estimate of the age of Jesus (*John* viii, 57), "Thou art not yet fifty years old," which Irenæus interprets to mean that he had nearly reached that limit.[3] This extension of the ministry over many years from its beginning when he was about thirty (*Luke* iii, 23) is justified by the testimony of the "gospel and all the elders," who are stated to have derived their information not only from John, but the other Apostles also! The Word was thus made man, the invisible becoming visible, the incomprehensible comprehensible, the impassible passible.[4] The adjectives are piled together in a burst of religious fervour at such condescension. But a little later, calmer reflection resumes control.

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, III, xviii, 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, V, xiv, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, xxii, 4–6.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, xvi, 6, "universa in semetipsum recapitulans."

Was the Logos really tempted, did he actually suffer and die? For that consequence which later theology might defend under the plea of the *communicatio idiomatum*—the doctrine that the Two Natures were so closely united that whatever might be experienced by one could be affirmed of the other—Irenæus was not prepared. He took refuge in the pious faith that in these trials of moral steadfastness or physical anguish the Logos, though not withdrawn, remained quiescent.[1] The difficulty of comprehending this mysterious suspension of its activity is not diminished when a modern student of Irenæus assures us that Christ's "manhood had no personality of its own."[2] For such an assertion no evidence is offered. If personality has any sign of its presence at all, it is in the conquest of Evil. Who or what was it that rejected Satan's advances while the Logos was "resting"?

The treatise of Irenæus was carried to Africa, and studied by the Carthaginian lawyer Tertullian. Of the origin of the Church in the brilliant and luxurious city nothing is known. Separated by hundreds of miles of desert from Egypt, but connected by the closest ties of commerce with Rome, for which it provided the chief supply of corn, Carthage most likely received the Gospel

[1] *Adv., Hær.*, III, xix, 3, ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ λόγου.

[2] Hitchcock, *Irenæus of Lugdunum* (1914), p. 155. This was the later doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria, and has been revived in recent Anglican theology.

from Italy. No personal traditions lingered around it like those which linked Alexandria with the name of Mark. It was the second city of the West, with a population of perhaps half a million. A costly harbour provided shelter for the fleets which bore the grain to the mouth of the Tiber. Splendid temples adorned its capitol, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the centre, with the "Heavenly Goddess" Juno, the special patroness of the city, on one side, and Minerva on the other. The streets below were full of the extravagances of wealth and passion. The coarseness, brutality, and superstition of popular practice are more clearly reflected in Tertullian's pages than in any other writer. His tracts on idolatry, the theatre, woman's dress, and other social subjects, are full of the application of Christianity to daily life. The ancient cults were making desperate efforts to retain their hold. They had the theatres to help them as well as the temples. The hot African blood welcomed such deities as Isis and Sarapis, the Syrian Goddess, and the Great Mother from Phrygia. Processions and festivals, the missionary priests and the guilds which they founded, the Galli and the Flamines, display the feverish violence of the popular religion, and form the scenic background for Tertullian's scorn. Into this medley had come the Christian preacher. He brought the Gospel and the Church. But the new teaching was cast into fresh moulds, for Greek was replaced by Latin. The Church was fully

organized. At the first Carthaginian council, held under Bishop Agrippinus,[1] seventy bishops attended from Africa and Numidia.

Tertullian (about 150–225 A.D.) had received the education of a young man of good position, destined for the bar. He had studied in Rome and Athens; he could write in Greek, though his compositions in that language have been lost. Fond of history and antiquarian lore, he was intimately acquainted with mythology, and he was distinguished especially for his knowledge of law. The philosophers did not attract him, though he was not without sympathy for the lofty ethics of Seneca. But he had no desire after his conversion to reconcile philosophy with Christianity. He saw in it only the progenitor of falsehood; its teachers were the patriarchs of heretics.[2] "What has Athens," he asks indignantly, "to do with Jerusalem? What agreement is there between the Academy and the Church?" He would have nothing to do with a mottled Christianity, compounded of Stoicism, Platonism, and dialectic.[3] Christianity had brought to him a vehement moral reaction. He, too, had shared the common pleasures of young men. He, too, had scoffed at the ideas of resurrection and judgment. As he

[1] The date is doubtful, but even if it was as late as Döllinger supposed, 218–222 A.D., it would fall within Tertullian's lifetime. Older authorities put it 186–7.

[2] *De Anima*, iii.

[3] *De Præscript. Heretic.*, vii. Contrast the attitude of his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, Lect. V.

looked back on the odious sights which he had witnessed in the theatre, the mutilation of Attis, the burning alive of Herakles, Mercury testing the bodies of the dead with his burning iron,[1] he was filled with an agony of shame; he could hardly endure the thought that he had once found entertainment in them. Fierce anger rose in his heart against heathenism, and against the heretics who enfeebled Christianity and hindered its victories. It seemed impudent in him to write about patience which he was not fit to practise, being such a worthless fellow. Branded with the scars of every sin, he was born for nothing but repentance.[2]

Since the execution of the martyrs of Scilli at Carthage in 180 there had been irregular and intermittent attacks upon the Christians. Tertullian might have seen heathen and Jew unite to break up Christian meetings, destroy the houses and churches of the living, and despoil the resting-places of the dead. Caricatures of the Christians' God were carried through the streets amid howling crowds; and at last, moved by their constancy, Tertullian (about 192) cast in his lot with them, and was subsequently ordained a presbyter. His pen was soon enlisted in their behalf; and it is worth noting that though philosophy did not move him, he could encourage the martyrs by appeals to the classic examples of Lucretia and Mucius Scævola, of Dido and the wife of Hasdrubal, of Regulus in his chest pierced with nails enduring

[1] *Apologeticus*, xv. [2] *De Patient.*, i; *De Pœnitent.*, xii.

so many crucifixions; while the traveller in Greece recalls that even in his own day Spartan youths still submitted themselves before the altar to the scourge.[1] Who was it, then, for whom it was so well worth while to die?

The Christology of Tertullian was formed on the one hand along the lines of Church tradition and the Rule of Faith with the Scriptures in the background,[2] and on the other by reaction against various forms of contemporary heresy. He took the field against Marcion about 200 A.D. With the help of Irenæus and others he wrote against the Valentinian Gnostics.[3] But he was led to formulate his views on the Trinity and the person of Christ in controversy with Praxeas, formerly a confessor in Asia Minor, who brought a form of Monarchianism from Rome to Carthage.[4] At Rome he had successfully won back the Bishop from adherence to the New Prophecy of Montanism,[5] of which feat Tertullian (himself then an ardent Montanist) scornfully remarked that he had done the devil a double service, "he had driven out prophecy and brought in heresy, he put the Paraclete to flight, and crucified the Father."[6] The peculiar type of "Monarchy"

[1] *Ad Martyres* (about 197), iv. [2] See Lect. III, p. 195.

[3] *Adv. Valentin.*, v. His list includes Justin, Miltiades (who wrote a lost Apology under Marcus Aurelius), and "our own Proculus, pattern of chaste old age and Christian eloquence."

[4] See Note D, p. 133. [5] Cp. Lect. III, p. 201.

[6] *Adv. Praxeam*, i. The book is now usually referred to 217 A.D.

thus mockingly described was afterwards nicknamed Patripassianism, and is said to have been founded on a view of the unity of God which affirmed that the Father himself was born of the Virgin, became Jesus Christ, and suffered on the cross. To this doctrine Tertullian opposes the "Economy"[1] which distributes the Unity into a Trinity,[2] arranging the Three as "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, not in condition (*statu*) but in relation (*gradu*), not in substance but in mode of existence (*forma*), not in power but in special characteristics (*specie*); yea rather of one substance and of one condition and power, inasmuch as it is one God from whom these relations and modes and special characteristics are reckoned."[3]

But these three terms do not apparently take equal rank in Tertullian's thought. The relation of the Father and the Son is obviously the most important. In commenting on the opening clause of the Lord's Prayer he observes that in the Father the Son also is invoked, "for I," saith he, "and the Father are one," and then follows the singular remark that "our Mother the Church" is not ignored if in the Father and the Son the Mother from whom those names arise is recognized.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, ii. οἰκονομία, or dispensation; cp. *Ephes.* i, 10: iii, 9.

[2] The first appearance of the term in this sense. In *Adv. Valent.*, xvii, its use is different.

[3] Cp. Bethune-Baker, *Introd. to the Early History of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 138–140, for some explanations of Tertullian's terminology.

[4] *De Orat.*, ii.

The Church here is included in the statement *Deum cum suis honoramus*, in place of the Spirit. In dealing with the being and function of the Son Tertullian is embarrassed by the double application of the term *Logos* as Reason or Utterance (Speech). The alliance of *Logos* with *Nous* might have suggested an emphasis on the element of thought, but the Latin *ratio* could not be employed for what came forth in actual words. That was the side on which Tertullian took it. He rendered the term by *Verbum*, "Word," and he knew the precise moment when the Word was begotten. Its perfect nativity took place in the first act of creation when God said, "Let there be light."[1] At that moment he became Son of God, and was begotten by issuing forth from him. The Son then had his own *substantia*, with its special properties or characteristics. He was a "projection" from the Father, but no more separate from him than the tree from the root, the river from the spring, the ray from the sun. Following these analogies Tertullian calls God and his Word, the Father and the Son, *two*,[2] and the Spirit makes a

[1] *Adv. Praxeam*, vii. The Word is identified as usual with Wisdom (*Prov.* viii, 22), and is accordingly said to have been "formed" in the beginning of God's ways to think out the world, and then "begotten" to carry all into effect. Even in the character of Wisdom, therefore, the Word, anterior to generation, was not eternal. Still he refers sympathetically to Stoic views (Zeno and Cleanthes), and says that the Word and Reason and Power have Spirit as their proper and essential substratum (*Apologet.*, xxi.)

[2] *Ibid.*, viii.

third like the fruit of a tree from its root. So does the Trinity "flow down from the Father by connected steps."

To these three terms Tertullian gives the name "persons." *Persona* is here no actor's mask, no aspect or assumed character like the Greek *prosôpon*. In civil speech and legal language it had acquired the meaning "personality." It denoted an individual with rights at law, and Tertullian writes and argues as a lawyer. What relation, then, subsisted between them? His answer was clear, though hardly expressible in English. The Three were *unum* not *unus*.[1] The neuter *unum* is elsewhere equated with *substantia*, and the doctrine emerges in the form "three persons—one substance," "the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, and each is God."[2] And yet in the same treatise we are informed that "the Father is the whole substance, the Son is a derivation and portion of the whole."[3] So difficult is consistency on these giddy heights. The reason apparently lies in Tertullian's identification of the generation of the Son with the first recorded utterance of God. How could there be a Father, he asks, before there was a Son? No more could he be a Judge before there was any sin. There was a time, then, when he had no

[1] *Adv. Praxeam*, xxv. The neuter and the masculine suggest "one thing" and "one person" to the English reader, which is of course all wrong. Similarly in *John* x, 30, both Greek and Latin have the neuter.

[2] *Ibid.*, xiii.

[3] *Ibid.*, ix.

Son, and though he was God eternally he was not on that account Father eternally.[1] Such is the conflict between the two tendencies of subordination and equality.

In the application of these conceptions to the person of Christ a difference is at once apparent in the use of terms compared with the ultimate decisions of the Church. Christ is indubitably God and Man, but the Deity and the Humanity have each its own "substance" with its characteristic properties.[2] Tertullian does indeed allow himself to speak of God's awaiting the time of birth in his mother's womb, and when born enduring to grow up.[3] "The Son of God died," he exclaims triumphantly, "it is to be believed because it is *ineptum;* and he was buried and rose again, it is certain because it is impossible."[4] Hence there was some kind of participation by the divine "substance" in the development and the suffering of the human. But they were not blended into one as gold and silver are combined into electrum, where both substances are changed and a third is produced.[5] In writings spread over many years precise consistency is not to be expected, and Tertullian sometimes uses the phrase of Irenæus, "Man mingled with God."[6] But in his

[1] *Adv. Hermogenem*, iii.
[2] *Adv. Praxeam*, xxvii.
[3] *De Patientia*, iii.
[4] *De Carne Christi*, v; the origin of the apocryphal *Credo quia absurdum.*
[5] *Adv. Praxeam*, xxvii.
[6] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii, p. 280.

latest teaching he repudiated the notion that the two substances were blended in such a way as to effect an internal union. The Incarnation resulted in "a twofold condition, not confounded but conjoined in one person, God and the Man Jesus."[1] The path to Chalcedon has been opened.

If such were the conceptions of the Person of the Saviour, how did they affect the presentation of his Work? What were the special means which he employed to fulfil God's saving purpose? Why was it necessary for him to become man? To these questions varying answers are given within the limits of the New Testament itself; it is not surprising that subsequent writers should seize different aspects of the Gospel-story. Echoes of the language of Paul are occasionally to be heard. Clement bids the Corinthians fix their gaze on Christ's blood, "poured out for our salvation" and bringing the grace of repentance to all the world. Rahab's scarlet thread is already a prophecy of "redemption through the blood of the Lord." It was the great act of love when by God's will "Jesus Christ our Lord gave his blood for us, and his flesh for our flesh, and his soul (or life) for our souls."[2] So had kings and rulers of old in obedience to oracles delivered their subjects

[1] *Adv. Praxeam*, xxvii.

[2] 1 *Clem.*, vii, 4; xii, 7; xlix, 6. The last words may be rendered "his life for our lives," but Prof. Lake justly remarks that there seems to be an antithesis between "flesh" and "soul."

through their own blood. So did many among the Christians, says Clement proudly, surrender themselves to bondage that they might redeem others.[1] There are parallels which must not be pressed to identities. It suffices for the believer that he has been called from darkness to light, from ignorance to the full knowledge of God's glorious name.[2] The fact of salvation is too fresh and overpowering to need any explanation of its method. It is enough to rejoice that the Only God, the Invisible, Father of truth, sent forth the Saviour and Prince of Immortality to make manifest the Truth and the heavenly life.[3]

Revelation for this world and promise for the world to come will long be among the chief notes of Hellenic Christianity. But there were more impassioned teachers who were conscious of closer union with the risen Lord. Ignatius, though he only begins to be a disciple, feels that his life is inseparable from that of Christ.[4] His birth, his passion, his resurrection, these are the three instruments of God's Providence for the overthrow of all magic, the removal of ignorance, and the abolition of death. His birth was the needful guarantee of his real humanity. On the cross he suffered for our sins; panting for martyrdom Ignatius entreats the Roman Christians not to prevent him from imitating the passion of his

[1] 1 *Clem.*, lv. [2] *Ibid.*, lix; cp. 2 *Clem.*, i, 4; ii, 7.
[3] 2 *Clem.*, xx, 5. [4] *Ephes.*, iii, 2.

God[1]; he tells the Magnesians that unless they die through Christ in his passion of their own free choice, his life is not in them.[2] Ignatius does not use the language of justification or reconciliation in the Pauline sense; but he shares the Apostle's identification of the disciple's experience with that of his Lord. The cross is salvation and eternal life; the resurrection is the guarantee that all true believers shall be raised with him. It was to inaugurate this wondrous novelty that God was manifested as man.[3] That the Lord endured suffering to bring death to nought and show forth the resurrection, is the teaching ascribed to Barnabas; he came in the flesh because otherwise men could not have been saved by beholding him[4]—a touch of the Hellenic thought which made vision the way to spiritual union; his blood was shed that we might be consecrated through the forgiveness of sins. That consecration is in fact a fresh creation; we are made new from the beginning; God truly dwells in us as he had dwelt among Israel of old; the covenant is made with us, for the Father enjoined on him to redeem us from darkness and prepare a holy people for himself.[5]

The author of the letter to Diognetus contrasts the "vain and foolish" statements of philosophers with the revelation made through the beloved

[1] *Romans*, vi, 3. So Polycarp longs to share in the cup of Christ, *Martyr. Pol.*, xiv.

[2] *Magnesians*, v.

[3] *Ephesians* v, 3.

[4] *Ep. Barn.*, v, 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, xiv, 5–6.

Servant.[1] What surpassing kindness and love for God to give his own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy for the wicked, the Immortal for the mortal! He gave us a Saviour that we should believe on his goodness, and regard him as nurse, father, teacher, counsellor, physician, mind, light, honour, glory, strength, and life.[2] What joy and love should such a gift call forth! Will not man follow the example of such kindliness and begin at once the *imitatio Dei?* It is possible, if man wills. Salvation is not contingent on some inscrutable election by God; it is the effect of realizing the wondrous condescension of the Father and the obedient self-surrender of the Son.[3]

Truth, forgiveness, freedom, immortality are the watchwords of Justin's Christianity. These are the gifts of the Logos, to whom in his earthly manifestation Justin again and again applies the endearing term, "our Teacher." Into the conflict of philosophies he brought the final and perfect revelation. An Apostle from the Father he came as a Power from on high, whole and complete, contrasted with the partial apprehensions of human reason.[4] Prophecy guaranteed his teaching; and it was justified by its results. In old time God had given the sun as an object for men's worship,[5]

[1] On παῖς cp. p. 76.

[2] It may be noted that this list does not contain the title "priest" or "high priest," employed elsewhere, 1 *Clem.*, xxxvi, 1; Ignat., *Philad.*, ix, 1; *Martyr Polyc.*, xiv, 3.

[3] *Ep. ad Diognet.*, 8–10. [4] 1 *Apol.*, xii; 2 *Apol.*, x.

[5] Cp. *Deut.* iv, 19; *Dial.*, cxxi.

but who ever died, asks Justin, for his faith in the sun? But in every nation men have endured all sufferings rather than deny the name of Jesus. The word of his truth and wisdom is more glowing than the sun, and reaches the very depths of heart and mind; and in proof of its excellence Justin reproduces large portions of the Synoptic sayings. Christ is himself the new law and the new covenant. The life of Jesus accordingly assumes a high value in his eyes, for it was the field for the manifestation of his truth in action as well as in speech; what loyalty of submission was fulfilled when the Son of God made ploughs and yokes! Forgiveness had been prophesied by the Holy Spirit through the dying Jacob, for the prediction, "he shall wash his garments with wine," meant that he would wash those who received remission of sins with his own blood.[1] In baptism, accordingly, the convert was born again; his past sins were forgiven; light filled his mind as he was translated out of the kingdom of darkness; though sunk in the most grievous offences, he was purified.[2] The power which effected this lay in the cross. There was the means which set men free from the slavery of sin, the attacks of the demons, and the grip of death. Hung on the tree Christ came under the curse of the law,[3] and thus took on himself the curse that had fallen on all human-

[1] *Dialogue*, liv, the garments are identified with believers, amongst whom Christ is always present in power.

[2] 1 *Apol.*, lxi; *Dial.*, lxxxvi. [3] *Deut.* xxi, 23; *Dial.*, xcvi.

ity.[1] By this means he broke the power of the Devil and brought to believers deliverance from the serpent's fangs. Why otherwise should Moses have set up the brazen serpent for a sign, when it had been already announced that no likeness of any creature should be made?[2] The perverse ingenuity displayed by Justin in discovering types and emblems of the cross all through the Old Testament, even to the lost axe-head of the sons of the prophets which Elisha recovered from the Jordan with a stick, is at least a measure of the importance which he attached to it. The method culminates in the charge that the Jews had mutilated a passage (*Ps.* xcvi, 10), "Say among the nations, the Lord reigneth *from the wood*"—a clear prophecy of the sovereignty attained on the cross—by cutting out the last words.[3] There he gained the final victory over the Devil and death. This enabled him to protect his own from danger and ward off the attacks of hostile powers, so that it might even be said that he was made man for the sake of believers and the destruction of the demons. To the mysterious efficacy of his name for this end Justin appeals again and again as matter of public notoriety.[4] It is for the faithful who have learned of Christ to use their freedom; in temperance and justice and the love of man the true purpose of our creation, the *imitatio Dei*, is achieved.[5] Such Chris-

[1] *Deut.* xxvii, 26; *Dial.*, xcv. [2] *Dial.*, xciv. [3] *Dial.*, lxxiii.
[4] 2 *Apol.*, vi; *Dial.*, xxx, lxxxiii, etc. [5] 1 *Apol.*, x.

tians have been stripped of their sins and vested in new robes by their Redeemer; they are the true high-priestly race of God, who offer pure sacrifices of thanksgiving and prayer.[1] The sequel of such deliverance is immortality. Philosophers and poets might have received suggestions of future punishments and the vision of heavenly things from Moses and the prophets.[2] But they could not foresee the conquest of death which began upon the cross, and was proved by the resurrection. It will not be completed till Christ's second coming, when the great judgment will take place and incorruption will be conferred on those who inherit the kingdom and share his reign.[3] And so from first to last believers, in Justin's vigorous metaphor, are hewn out of the belly of Christ.[4]

This type of Christianity necessarily laid great stress upon its teaching. It was by instruction that the Logos made mortals immortal and men divine.[5] The restoration of the knowledge of the religion of the forefathers, corrupted by the envy of the Devil, was the purpose of the Incarnation.[6] The worship of One God, Lord of heaven and earth, is again and again the martyr's profession of faith. Apollonius, who suffered in Rome, 185 A.D., adds to this declaration that it was taught by the Saviour Jesus Christ who became man in

[1] *Dial.*, cxvi, cxvii. For Christian conduct, cp. 1 *Apol.*, xiv.
[2] 1 *Apol.*, xliv. [3] *Dial.*, xlv. [4] *Ibid.*, cxxxv.
[5] *Oratio ad Græcos* (sometimes printed with Justin's works), v. Cp. Lect. I, p. 57.
[6] *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* (similarly printed), xxxviii.

Judea, in all respects righteous and filled with divine wisdom. From him came the Christian ethic, to stop anger, to control desire, to chastise pleasures, and that life of obedience, simplicity, and brotherly love, which led to immortality.[1] Phocas, who perished in the persecution under Trajan in Bithynia-Pontus, is charged by the Eparch Africanus with philosophizing when he pleads for the One Unseen God of whom he has learned from the Crucified. He will have none of it, he is a lover of Christ whom he knows to be his Lord and God and King. Aristotle taught a new and fallacious philosophy, but Christ the true doctrine of God and virtuous life; and he bestowed temperance and self-control, piety and immortality on those who believed in one God.[2] When Tatian addresses the Greeks he does not even name Jesus or Christ from end to end. His whole appeal rests on the Logos.[3] Man is the bondman of sin; misuse of freewill has enslaved him. What is the way to regain freedom? "Die to the world and live to God."[4] Ignorance is darkness; the Logos is the light of God; only the knowledge of the truth gives life; live justly and the divine Spirit will guide you to the home above; union with God restores man's lost immortality.[5]

[1] "Acts of Apollonius," in Knopf's *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten* (1913), §§36, 37, p. 39. Cp. Conybeare, *The Armenian Apology and Acts of Apollonius* (1896), p. 45.

[2] Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, July, Vol. iii, p. 641, cap. i, 6.

[3] He once quotes *John* i, 5, § xiii.

[4] *Oratio ad Græcos*, xi.

[5] *Ibid.*, xiii, xv.

Writing against Marcion in the middle of the second century, Justin declared:

I would not have believed the Lord himself if he had proclaimed any other God beside our Framer and Maker and Nourisher. But since the only begotten Son came to us from the One God, who both made this world and formed us, and contains and administers all things, summing up his formation in himself,[1] my faith towards him is firm, and my love towards the Father immovable, both these being God's gifts.

Justin's work has disappeared, but the passage supplied Irenæus with his famous interpretation of the Pauline doctrine of the "summing up" of all things in Christ.[2]

For Irenæus the process of salvation formed itself into an immense drama covering all time, in which God, Christ, Man, Death, and the Devil, played the leading parts. The actual situation was that man had not been created perfect and immortal all at once.[3] He was designed to become so; he was to progress in goodness and knowledge through voluntary obedience. Irenæus, like the Apologists, held freewill to be the necessary condition of all moral advance. The human soul had not (as the Gnostics taught) fallen from a higher state, nor was it in bondage to demonic powers.

[1] "Suum plasma in semetipsum recapitulans."

[2] *Ephes.* i, 10; cp. *ante*, p. 104. The Vulgate here uses the word *instaurare*.

[3] *Adv. Hæres.*, IV, xxxviii.

But though man was created in God's image, the divine likeness was not actually presented to him in a visible person. He had no external pattern which he might reproduce; he failed to preserve the likeness himself, and lost it by transgression. Without wholly forfeiting his freedom, he nevertheless fell into Sin's power, and passed under the sway of Death.[1] Had he permanently remained so, God would have been defeated, and the Devil triumphant.[2] To restore the victory to God, to bring humanity to its divine goal, the Son of God became man, for he who was to be the Mediator between God and man must possess the nature of both.[3] His first function, accordingly, was, for Irenæus as for the Apologists, that of Revealer. "In no way could we have learned the things of God, unless our Master, existing as the Word, had become man."[4] No other but the Son could have made known the Father[5]; nor could we have profited by his teaching except by seeing the teacher and hearing him with our own ears. To have communion with him we must be imitators of his works and doers of his words. For this end his life was itself one of the means of salvation.

Two great tasks were then assigned to him, to set man free from the sway of death, and to effect a fellowship of union between God and man.[6]

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, V, xvi.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, xxiii, 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, xviii, 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, V, i.
[5] *Ibid.*, IV, vi, in exposition of *Matt.* xi, 27.
[6] *Apostolic Preaching* (from the Armenian), in *Texte und Untersuch*, xxxi, 1 (1907), §6.

The first object implied a victory over sin; in Scripture language the strong man must be bound. Conqueror in temptation, Christ was triumphant over Satan. To be truly tempted it was essential that he should be truly man. But to vanquish the Devil he needed the strength of God.[1] The abolition of Death's power, however, was not at once secured. The dominion of the Devil was founded on violence and deceit; it was not fitting that it should be wrested from him by corresponding force or fraud. If Death's power was to be taken away, man's debt to Death must first be paid. If the control of the Apostasy was to be broken, it must be with consent and for a price. In that process of "recapitulation" by which Christ reproduced in himself the experiences of man, he repeated death, as he had repeated birth and youth and age.[2] By this means the debt of humanity to Death was discharged. The redemption from the Apostasy was apparently more difficult, and needed a God of counsel. For the Devil had to be persuaded to forgo his prey. Apparently he was induced (*secundum suadelam*) to accept the Lord's death (mystically summing up the deaths of the whole race) as the equivalent; soul was given for souls, and flesh for flesh, and thus God's ancient handiwork was saved from destruction, and justice as between God and Satan remained unimpaired.[3] It is a strange

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, IV, xxxiii, 4; V, xxii, 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, V, xxiii, 2; cp. *ante*, p. 105.
[3] *Ibid.*, V, i, 1.

foretaste of the scholastic arguments of Anselm. There are hints of propitiation to the Father against whom we had sinned,[1] and the total result is the reconciliation of man to God. That would have been impossible had not Christ's flesh been of the same substance as ours. It would have equally been impossible had not the Word of God dwelt in him that he might accustom man to receive God, and might accustom God to dwell in man.[2]

The demands of righteousness were thus fulfilled as regards the past. What, then, of the future? A new way for humanity was inaugurated when the Son of God condescended to become Son of man. The true image of God must be displayed that men might know how it would shine through word and deed. If man's union with God was the ultimate purpose of the Creator in first making him, that union must be actually exhibited within the limits of our experience.[3] Adam had failed to realize it. Christ by becoming incarnate gathered up into himself the long series of humanity[4] and provided us in an epitome (*in compendio*)

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, V, xvii, 1, apparently by Christ. Tertullian afterwards uses the term *satisfaction* for the first time, but in the sense of amends made by sinners through confession, repentance, and good works. Bethune-Baker, *Introd. to the Early History of Christian Doctrine*, p. 333.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, xx, 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, V, xxxviii, 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, xviii, 1, "longam hominum expositionem in seipso recapitulavit." The Syriac translation "began afresh" (like the Vulgate *instaurare* in *Ephes.* i, 10) points to the opening of a new line rather than the "summing up" of the past. It may perhaps be suggested that Irenæus intended to include both.

with salvation, "so that what we had lost in Adam, existence according to the image and likeness of God, we might win back in Christ Jesus." Had that image been cherished, the progressive advance of man would have led him into eternal fellowship with God. The entrance of sin and death frustrated that purpose, and it was needful that a fresh power should be introduced, not merely to overcome the consequences of the past but to provide for the future. It was for this purpose that the Word in his boundless love "became what we are that he might make us what he is himself."[1] This opens the way to endless prospects of entrance into God: "how should man enter into God, unless God had first entered into man?"[2] This fellowship, this union (ἕνωσις and κοινωνία, *commixtio* and *communio*), requires indeed, some actual contact with the vivifying power. A bond of physical descent connected the generations of man with Adam. What link of personal connection could unite him with the Logos? The historic example was indeed reflected in the Gospels, and the *imitatio Christi* was open to all believers. But by what means could the benefits of his cross and resurrection be imparted? To the spirits of the past he might preach in the world below, and the faithful might follow him

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, V, præf., "factus est quod sumus nos, uti nos perficeret esse quod est ipse." Here is the anticipation of the daring language of Athanasius "God was made man that man might be made God."

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, xxxiii, 4, χωρήσει εἰς θεόν.

into freedom and light. But death was not abolished upon earth. Where was the assurance that the Christian would live again and share the eternity of God? The answer is found in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, through which the union would begin at once. Had not the Spirit descended at the baptism on the Son of God made Son of man, to become accustomed by fellowship with him to dwell in humankind, and bring us out of our old estate into the newness of Christ?[1] It is the function of the Church and of the sacraments thus to communicate immortality.[2] By their agency Christians are already vivified; the gift of incorruption has been already bestowed; even here they have become partakers of the divine nature. The future glows before them with transcendent glory. So good a Scripturalist looks for the appearance of Antichrist, the victory of the saints, their reign on earth, the splendour of a new Jerusalem. But he does not end upon that scenic note. Behind the jewelled walls and the clustering vines he discerns "many mansions" for different grades of the saved. He sees them rising from the city to paradise, from paradise to heaven. Through the spirit they ascend to the Son, though indeed the Saviour[3] shall be seen everywhere in proportion to their capacity of vision, and through the Son to the Father, till the last enemy is vanquished and Death himself is compelled to die.

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, III. xvii, 1. [2] See Lectures III and IV.
[3] Or God, according to different texts, Greek and Latin.

Then, when at length God is "all in all," shall his mysteries be accomplished and his wisdom perfected. His creature man shall share the form and body of his Son; the first begotten Word had submitted to descend to man and be contained by him; then shall man once more contain the Word; rising above the angels he shall ascend to him, and realize the image and likeness of God.[1]

Note A, p. 67

THE ANGELIC POWERS

The ordinary reader of the letters of St. Paul probably does not realize the meaning of his allusions to the Angelic Powers in the worlds above. The later Jewish Cosmology, following the Babylonian, supposed that above the visible sky there rose seven heavens. This view was widely spread through Western Asia (cp. Bousset, "Die Himmel-Reise der Seele," *Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft*, 1901, p. 167). Rabbinical accounts will be found in *Chagiga*, 12[b]; *Bab. Talmud.*, ed. Goldschmidt, iii, p. 820; Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, xix, on *Gen.* iii, 8 (tr. Wünsche, p. 84). In the *Secrets of Enoch*, originally written in Greek (tr. Morfill and ed. Charles, 1896), Enoch describes his ascent through the successive spheres, iii–xxi. These upper worlds were tenanted by numerous ranks of superhuman powers, of mingled character (cp. Lect. I, p. 17). The Apostle Paul calls them "Angels, Principalities, Powers," *Rom.* viii, 38; "Principalities [R. V. "rule"], Authorities, and Powers," 1 *Cor.* xv, 24; "Principalities, Authorities, Powers, Dominions

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, V, xxxvi, conclusion.

[lit. Lordships]," *Ephes.* i, 21, cp. vi, 12; "Thrones, Dominions [Lordships], Principalities, Powers," *Col.* i, 16. These names all occur in the Jewish Apocalyptic literature, *e. g.* Ethiopic *Enoch*, lxi, 10; *Secrets of Enoch*, xx, 1; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, "Levi," iii, 8. *Ephes.* iii, 12, shows that they occupied "the heavenlies," and that they wrought wickedness in the world below, so that the Christian must wage constant warfare against them. In particular the Apostle charges the "World-rulers" with having brought about the death of the Messiah (1 *Cor.* ii, 8); and predicts that they will in their turn be "brought to nought" and so rendered powerless (R. V. "abolished," 1 *Cor.* xv, 24) by him. At a later date the Apostle extends to them also the benefits of the great reconciliation by the cross (*Col.* i, 20).

Note B, p. 73

The so-called Adoptianist Christology

Two types of Christologic doctrine are already clearly marked in the New Testament. In *Mark* i, 10, the best texts represent the Spirit as descending *into* Jesus; the divine voice then greets him: "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee have I made my choice" (in accordance with the tense of the Greek verb). The Baptism is the moment at which the Messiah (or Anointed) receives the unction of the Spirit. Jesus is thus a man chosen for this high vocation, and divinely equipped for it by the entry of the Spirit into him. In *Luke* iii, 22, D reads, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," and this reading continued in the Church till the fourth century. Borrowing the name from a much later controversy

in Spain, Harnack has designated this elementary Christology "Adoptian." It implies that Jesus was selected to be the bearer of the Spirit, and that after being duly tested by temptation and suffering he was raised to the exalted rank of Lord and Christ in heaven. Cp. the language ascribed to Peter in *Acts* ii, 36, and x, 38. Traces of this view are to be found in Rome at the end of the second century; "it continued here and there undisturbed up to the middle of the third century, and it continued to exercise great influence even in the fourth and fifth centuries."[1] In its later forms it was combined with fresh elements, and lost its early simplicity. Contrasted with this is the conception of a spiritual "Son of God" who was sent forth to be born in Jesus, who occupied his human person, and returned at Jesus' death to his former home on high. This conception belongs in different modes to St. Paul and the author of the fourth Gospel, and finally established itself in the heart of Christian orthodoxy. To this type Harnack has given the name Pneumatic. The conflict between the two, which begins in the Apostolic age, constitutes the chief theme of the early history of doctrine.

Note C, pp. 85 and 90

THE APOLOGISTS

The defence of Christianity is already begun in the literature of the New Testament; but the writings of the Apologists of the second century were specially designed to vindicate it on the one hand before the authorities of the Roman Empire, the Imperial rulers,

[1] Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. trans.), Vol. i, p. 191[1].

the Senate and the people, or to the Jews whose Scriptures the Church had adopted. Much of the literature thus produced has perished. It begins formally with the presentation of two Apologies to Hadrian at Athens (according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, iii, and *Chron.*) in the year 125 by Quadratus and Aristides. The work of Quadratus is no longer extant. A Syriac version of the Apology of Aristides was discovered at Mount Sinai by Prof. Rendel Harris, in 1889, and published in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, Vol. i. Prof. J. Armitage Robinson then proved that the original Greek had been incorporated in the Christian romance (founded on Buddhist legend) known as *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat* (probably belonging to the eighth century). On grounds of similarity of style and argumentative purpose it has been proposed to associate it with the letter to Diognetus usually included in the Apostolic Fathers. Diognetus is then identified with the philosopher of that name who was tutor to Marcus Aurelius. The second superscription of the Syriac version mentions Antoninus (after specifying Hadrian), and Prof. Harris prefers the early years of his reign (138–161 A.D.).

Justin, commonly known as the Martyr, born at Flavia Neapolis (modern Nablous) in Samaria about 100 A.D., wrote two Apologies, apparently in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the Dialogue with the Jew Trypho. Tradition relates that he was martyred at Rome. Various dates from 148 to 163 or even later have been assigned to his death.

Tatian, of Eastern origin, composed a Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας, probably at Rome, between 152 and 172.

Athenagoras, of Athens, drew up a discourse under the title Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν, addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, *i.e.*, after 176 and before 180.

Theophilus (placed by Eusebius at Antioch) wrote three books addressed to Autolycus, and in the third mentions the death of Marcus Aurelius (180).

Other writers of this period with the same apologetic aim were Melito, Bishop of Sardis, Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, and a rhetorician named Miltiades.

In Latin the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix was probably written in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Tertullian followed at Carthage at the end of the century with a series of works of kindred purpose, the *Apologeticus* being addressed to the rulers of the Roman Empire (197–8).

Note D, p. 110

Types of Monarchianism

The term "Monarchy" appears first in theological literature as the title or subject of a letter written by Irenæus to a Roman presbyter named Florinus, who (like Irenæus himself) had been a disciple of Polycarp. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, V, xx, 1) appends as an explanation "or that God is not the Author of Evil." The application of the term here is different from its technical use a little later in the interpretation of the nature of the Deity. "People are constantly throwing out against us," said Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.*, iii) "that we are preachers of two Gods or three Gods, while they take to themselves pre-eminently the credit of being worshippers of one God. 'We,' say they, 'maintain the Monarchy.'" The develop-

ment of the Logos-Christology in fact awakened considerable resistance in the East, and those who did not receive the doctrine were dubbed Alogi. They did not constitute a sect, they had no leaders and were not organized, they represented a more or less articulate protest on behalf of an older conception of the person of Christ. In relation to Jesus Monarchianism took two very different forms: (1) that he was endowed with a *Dynamis* or Power of Holy Spirit which constituted him Son of God; (2) that God himself was fully present in Christ, which seemed to involve the consequence that the Father himself suffered upon the cross, its supporters being nicknamed Patripassians. Loofs has distinguished the first type as Dynamist Monarchianism, and the second as Modalist Monarchianism.[1]

(1) The first of these two types was immediately identified with the Ebionite heresy. Its exponent at Rome towards the end of the second century was a leather-worker named Theodotus,[2] who came from Byzantium, believing himself to be a true Catholic. Hippolytus regarded him as a remnant of the Alogi. Whatever his trade, he was highly educated, "supreme in Greek culture, very learned in science." In breadth of view and general practice he was wholly unlike the Ebionites; he accepted the Rule of Faith, and admitted the Virgin-birth; but he denied that Jesus was in any way a pre-existent heavenly being; he was endowed with power by the Spirit at his bap-

[1] *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (1906), p. 182 ff. The "Dynamist Monarchians" are Harnack's Adoptianists.

[2] He is designated σκυτεύς, usually rendered "cobbler," but the description of his learning suggests a man of some means.

tism. Bishop Victor promptly excommunicated him (before 199 A.D.) for declaring Christ a mere man (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος). He had many followers, who were strong enough to form a church under Zephyrinus (Victor's successor), and appointed a bishop at a monthly salary of 150 denarii (about £5),—the first recorded instance of episcopal pay. An anonymous writer (quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, xx) describes their procedure with great bitterness. They compared copies of the Scriptures and corrected the text (or, as their critic affirms, corrupted it). They insisted on rational exegesis, and set aside allegorical interpretation. They studied Aristotle and not Plato, they devoted themselves to geometry and Euclid (*i. e.* mathematics and logic), and thought so much of Galen that some were even said to worship him. Here was a kind of scientific rationalism. None of their writings survive, but a few special cases are quoted. The Church had early seen a prediction of Jesus in the language of *Deut.* xviii, 15, "a prophet shall he raise up like unto me"; Jesus, therefore, like Moses, was human.[1] This type of Monarchianism was continued a little later by Artemon (or Artemas), who seems to have been still alive in 270 A.D.[2] According to the anonymous author cited by Eusebius, Artemon boldly affirmed that this was the original apostolic doctrine, and had prevailed at Rome itself until the days of Victor. Such hold did it retain in the West that Augustine supposed it to be Catholic teaching before his conversion (*Confessions*, vii, 19 [25]).

[1] Epiphanius, *Hær.*, liv, 3.

[2] The bishops who denounce Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch and minister of Queen Zenobia, suggest that he should write to Artemas, Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, xxx, 17.

(2) Dynamist Monarchianism was only one aspect of an attempt to preserve the conception of the unity of the Godhead in contrast with that of a plurality of πρόσωπα or *personæ* within it. Modalist Monarchianism sought the same end by another path, first associated with the names of Praxeas and Noetus, both of Asia Minor. But its most distinguished representative was Sabellius. Its importance is shown by the pains taken by Athanasius and other writers of the fourth century to combat it. Basil of Cæsarea (329–79) put the birthplace of Sabellius in the Pentapolis on the west of Egypt. What influences helped to shape his theology we do not know, but he became a leader among the Monarchians in Rome during the episcopate of Zephyrinus, about 215 A.D. Callistus after his accession to the bishop's chair (217) excommunicated him. How long he remained in Rome, and what ultimately befell him, is not known. No writings bearing his name have survived; his doctrines must be inferred from the statements of critics and opponents. The central proposition of his teaching was that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were the same (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, iii, p. 84). They were three names for one and the same Being, three aspects under which he was apprehended, or manifested himself. The orthodox conception of three Persons (in Tertullian's sense) seemed to involve polytheism. "Have we three Gods, or one?" asked his followers. To avoid such an inference Sabellius coined the awkward word υἱόπατωρ (Son-Father) to prevent the supposition that these were two distinct beings. God was not both these characters at once, they represented a historic development. The Deity put forth three successive energies. In the Old Testament he appeared

as Creator and Lawgiver, *i. e.*, as Father; in Christ as Son and Redeemer; in the Church as Spirit, giver and sustainer of life. The Old Testament contained no mention of the Son of God; the function of Sonship was only temporary, lasting from the Incarnation to the Ascension, after which the manifestation of Deity assumed the form of Spirit. Here was a Trinity of Revelation. It doubtless involved all kinds of difficulties: did God cease to be Creator and Father when he took the character of Son? What became of the humanity of Jesus, united with the Son, when that manifestation ended? Finally, it would seem, the divine unity would be re-established, when God as the ultimate Monad should be all in all (cp. Origen, below, Lect. VI).

LECTURE III

THE CHURCH AS THE SPHERE OF SALVATION

THE earliest written records of Christianity—the letters of the Apostle Paul—present it as realized in certain communities in city and district from land to land. They bear the name of churches, and may be described locally as the churches of Judæa or Galatia, or the church of the Thessalonians. But they may also be viewed in relation to a larger whole, the Church of God; and any specific society may then be designated by the name of the scene of its activity, such as "the church of God which is in Corinth." The Greek term *ecclesia* denoted in classical usage the public assembly of the free city-state, charged with supreme powers of government. The translators of the Old Testament had employed it to render one of the characteristic terms of the Deuteronomic legislators, *qāhāl*, the "assembly" of the people of Israel in its national or civil aspect,[1] contrasted with the religious organization depicted in the Priestly Code under the title *édhah* or "congregation" (R. V.).[2] By what process the Christian

[1] *Deut.* v, 22; ix, 10; x, 14; xviii, 16; xxxi, 30.

[2] *Exod.* xii, 3; altogether in the Priestly Code 125 times.

associations acquired this title is unknown.[1] The Greek equivalent of the priestly word was *synagogê*, and as this term had been already appropriated to denote the Jewish worshipping communities and their meeting-houses, the Christian gatherings, anxious to vindicate their claim to be the true Israel, the heirs of the promises, may have adopted the other designation sanctioned by the Law for the past and by Prophecy for the future.[2]

The members of these assemblies bore a peculiar character. They had answered a summons, they had responded to a great invitation, they were the "called of Jesus Christ." By this act they had separated themselves from the world, and become hallowed in Christ. Consecrated to his service, they entered a new obedience; endowed with a fresh being, they were no more their own, they belonged to a heavenly Lord. That august relationship determined the standard of thought and feeling and action. All intelligence, all emotion, all impulse, all endeavour, were pledged to an unseen Master. It was for this that they had been foreknown by God, and foreordained to wear the form of his Son's image; for this they had been made righteous, and would be invested hereafter

[1] For reasons why it is not carried back to Jesus himself see Note A, p. 209.

[2] The term is only rarely found in Greek inscriptions, *e.g.* in Delos, of the business meeting of the Herakleists; in Samos, of the ἀλειφόμενοι; and once of a village γερουσία. Poland, *Gesch. des Griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), p. 332.

with a radiant body like their Saviour's.[1] The Church, then, was the sphere in which the process of salvation was accomplished. There was no other foundation on which any one could build but Jesus Christ.[2] It was, indeed, wide enough for all, for women as for men, for Greek and barbarian as for the long-descended Jew, for slave as well as freeman; God was no respecter of persons. But over against the Church stood the World, under the sway of the Prince of the Power of the Air.[3] Either this kingdom or that! There was no alternative. Salvation was only possible within the Church. The principle is already implicitly involved, *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus.*

To the first believers this seemed a self-evident fact of religious experience. They had heard the Word, and had received its gifts. The faith which was born in their hearts had opened to them a heavenly fellowship. In baptism they had been mystically identified with the death and resurrection of the Crucified.[4] A new life had been communicated to them, which bore within it the promise of immortality. They all shared the same spirit; they were all animated by a common hope; they obeyed the same Lord; they looked up to the same God and Father of all who was over all and through all and in all. They possessed certain common traditions; their worship was founded on the same general elements of praise and prayer, of

[1] *Rom.* viii, 29–30; *Phil.* iii, 21.
[2] 1 *Cor.* iii, 11.
[3] *Ephes.* ii, 2.
[4] Cp. Lect. IV.

prophecy and teaching; they united in the same meal as a symbol of brotherly love; they broke the same bread and drank out of the same cup to "show forth the Lord's death" till he should arrive from the skies; they cherished a common standard of conduct in the "mind of Christ"; they awaited the same judgment and looked for the same acquittal; they anticipated the same privilege of association in the reign of the triumphant Messiah; they would have part in the great victory over corruption and death. All this was involved in the translation of which they were immediately conscious out of the Power of Darkness into the kingdom of the Son of God's love.

The communities thus planted on the confession "Jesus is Lord" and the heartfelt belief that God had raised him from the dead[1] had no external bond of union. Each was a centre of independent activity. No one church possessed rule over any other. Paul might counsel and exhort; he might rebuke and denounce; he might pour out hot words of wrath and condemnation; but he claimed no dominion over his converts' faith; only when he could produce some "word of the Lord" did he appeal to a final authority in belief or practice. Yet the churches were not left wholly to themselves. The Apostle was tenderly concerned for the welfare of his congregations. The ties created by his first preaching were maintained by subsequent visits, by the mission of

[1] *Rom.* x, 9.

confidential disciples, by frequent correspondence, his letters being sometimes communicated to adjoining churches. Grateful believers filled his heart with joy by unexpected gifts to relieve his personal need. Travelling teachers passed to and fro receiving an ever-ready hospitality. And one bond could not remain unrecognized. Achaia might owe no allegiance to Judæa; Corinth might work out its own destiny without yielding to Jerusalem. But there was the scene in which the great purpose of God upon the cross had been actually fulfilled; there the first witness was borne to the Messiah's resurrection; there the call to repentance had been first sounded by his chosen Apostles; there his own brother guided the fortunes of the primitive community; there Paul himself had been accepted as the preacher of the Gospel to those outside Israel's limits, while Peter proclaimed it within their ancient race. The appeal of such a church for help for its poor constituted a claim and imposed a duty which the Apostle to the Gentiles was eager to fulfil. In the stress which he laid on the collection from the churches in Greece he revealed his sense of what they all owed to the actual source of their being. They might manage their own affairs unhampered by superior control, but thankfulness and trust and love made them all one.

Above this link of actual circumstance imagination readily soared into an ideal realm. The

activities by which the churches were founded and their interior life was supported took many forms. The missionary preacher, the man of exalted vision, the teacher who knew the sacred traditions, the healer who could cast out demons and work cures, the speaker with tongues and his interpreter, the administrator who shared in the practical arrangements of worship, of care for the poor and sick, or provision for guests,—all wrought in virtue of a common energy. Their functions might be different, but the source of their effectiveness was the same. In the language of religion their various services were the manifestations of the Spirit, which operated through them and blended their activities into one harmony. As the Spirit might be equated with the Lord,[1] the believer was thus personally identified with Christ, who lived within him as the inspiring force of his new life. From church to church this wondrous experience was repeated. These manifold diversities found their unity in the figure of a vast body of Christ of which individual believers were the limbs.[2] They thus formed an interrelated whole. There was no separate salvation, no solitary deliverance; in owning allegiance to Christ they entered a fellowship where others not only welcomed but upheld them, and where they, too, in their turn might bring fresh gifts to support and cheer the common life. To receive and to bestow was thus a constant privilege and a constant

[1] 2 *Cor.* iii, 18. [2] 1 *Cor.* xii, 27.

duty.[1] Every word of truth and every act of love had more than a personal significance. They were the signs of the presence of the heavenly Lord. Each local congregation (to use another image) was a miniature of the ancient prophetic conception of the virgin of Israel, to be presented in maiden purity for espousal to Christ.[2] And the generalization of the whole suggested the ineffable mystery of the entire Church united in bridal to the Messiah on high.[3]

This conception, however, might be yet further idealized. An ancient mode of thought (which may be traced back to Babylonia) conceived the hallowed things of earth as copies or representations of the realities of heaven. As King Gudea had built his sanctuary after the design of a temple on high, so Moses prepared the sacred Dwelling to match the pattern shown to him on the Mount.[4] The worlds above contained the celestial counter-

[1] On "The Idea of the Universal Community," see the remarkable lecture of Prof. Royce, in *The Problem of Christianity* (1913), Vol. i, p. 47.

[2] 2 *Cor.* xi, 2.

[3] *Ephes.* vi, 23–32. The prophetic imagery (*Hos.* ii, 16; *Is.* lxii, 5) had already suggested the application of the wedding joy to the Messiah and his disciples in the Gospels; compare the marriage of the Lamb with the Church in *Rev.* xix, 7–9. On the ἱερὸς γάμος in Greek theology and elsewhere cp. Farnell, *Cults of Greece*, i, pp. 184, 244; for the ancient Babylonian mythology cp. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 59, 677; Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. pp. 371, 394.

[4] Jeremias, *The Old Test. in the Light of the Ancient East*, i, 58. Cp. *Exod.* xxv, 40; *Hebr.* viii, 5.

parts of the visible objects below. As the Greeks knew an actual Olympus in Macedonia,[1] and a heavenly Olympus, home of the gods above, so the Jew believed that there was a Mount Zion beyond the skies, and a Jerusalem waiting for the hour when it should descend on to a new earth.[2] In the fourth heaven stood the temple, where the ark of the covenant was enshrined, visible to the seer's eye when the temple doors were opened. Under the altar in front (where Jewish imagination set Michael to conduct heavenly sacrifices as High-Priest[3]) the Christian prophet heard the souls of the martyrs cry from their hallowed refuge for the avenging of their blood.[4] To this order of thought belong the representations in the homily known to us as the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Levitical institutions were only a copy and shadow of "the heavenlies." No sacrifices by a human priesthood, even when all the sacred furniture of the Dwelling was sprinkled with blood of calves and goats, could permanently cleanse the worshipper's conscience. Another sacrifice must purify the corresponding objects in the sanctuary above, and the strange picture emerges of the Messiah at once victim and High-Priest offering himself once for all, and passing through the heavens with his own blood cleansing the celestial

[1] Cp. Mackrodt in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v.

[2] Cp. *Hebr.* xii, 22. For interesting Rabbinical illustrations of the Jerusalem above cp. Wetstein's note on *Gal.* iv, 26.

[3] Cp. Lueken, *Michael* (1898), p. 30.

[4] *Rev.* xxi, 2; xi, 19; vi, 9–10.

patterns on his way, to take his seat at the right hand of God.[1] The Church itself might in this way have its counterpart above in the General Assembly of the first-born whose names were inscribed in the heavenly register, the "book of life from the foundation of the world."[2]

For in that realm of the unseen the great drama of existence was already planned; the stage for its enactment, the central figure of its plot, the final scenes of its vast issue, were already prepared. The Law, also, had its counterpart on high, a kind of summary of all possible relations, and into its mysterious contents God had looked, said Jewish wisdom, when he would create the universe.[3] There, too, was the Name of the Messiah, symbol of his being, secret of his power, the very essence of the might and majesty hereafter to be revealed.[4] There were Paradise and Gehenna, the blessedness of the righteous and the torments of the condemned.[5] There was Moses, prepared in readiness for his high destiny, reserved till the hour

[1] *Hebr.* v, 14; ix, 23–28. [2] *Hebr.* xii, 23; *Rev.* xvii, 8.

[3] Midrash on Genesis, *Bereshith Rabba*, p. 1, Wünsche.

[4] In *Enoch* xlviii, 3, the Messiah appears before the creation of the sun and stars.

[5] Cp. *Matt.* xxv, 34, 41. How readily Jewish imagination conceived these pre-existences may be seen by a curious example in the Targum of Jonathan. When Jacob, assuming the disguise of Esau, carried the savoury meat to Isaac, he had no wine. To complete the meal (Gen. xxvii, 25) an angel brought him wine which had been kept in its grapes from the days of the beginning of the world.

for Israel's liberation needed him.[1] There were the Christians chosen in Christ before the world's foundation[2]; and the mystery which was hid in age-long secrecy in God, that Gentile as well as Jew should freely share in the benefits of the Gospel, and that even the Principalities and Powers "in the heavenlies"—once viewed as enemies to be subdued—should have their part in the unsearchable riches of Christ.[3]

In this realm of spiritual realities it was not unnatural that the Church should also have a place. When Scripture said, "God made man male and female," the homilist could identify the male with Christ and the female with the Church.[4] Did not "the books and the Apostles declare that the Church belongs not to the present, but has existed from the beginning"?[5] The Church was spiritual, created before the sun and moon, but was manifested in the flesh of Christ, that any believer who preserved her in the flesh without corruption might receive her back again in the Holy Spirit. The Church was thus volatilized into an impalpable power whose essence was really identical with the quickening energy known as Spirit. In more concrete form the Church appears to Hermas as an aged woman, robed in most radiant vesture, who tells him that the holy Church was

[1] *Assumption of Moses*, i, 14.
[2] *Ephes.* i, 4.
[3] *Ephes.* iii, 1–12.
[4] 2 *Clem.*, xiv, 2–5.
[5] So Lightfoot and Prof. Lake; but ἄνωθεν may mean "from above," as contrasted with the earthly present; cp. *Gal.* iv, 26.

created by God's Wisdom and Providence when the world was made.[1] Hermas supposes her to be the Sibyl for he was on the road to Cumæ; but he subsequently learns by revelation from a very beautiful young man in his sleep that he was in error, for she was the Church,—aged because she was created the first of all things, and for her sake was the world fabricated.[2] In a very elaborate parable near the close of the book the Holy Spirit which spoke with Hermas in the form of the Church is definitely identified with the Son of God,[3] so fluctuating and interchangeable were these ideal forms, so little had the thought and language of theology attained clearness and precision. In the latter part of the century the Christian Gnostic Clement of Alexandria designates her as "the first-born,"[4] the ideal assembly of those enrolled in heaven. In the terrible persecution at Lyons in the year 177, when some believers who had recanted reaffirmed their faith, the "virgin mother" was said to experience deep joy at receiving back alive those who had been untimely born as though dead.[5] In her presence did Tertullian recommend the candidate for

[1] *Shepherd*, Vis. I, ii, 2; iii, 4. The book is commonly placed about 148 A.D.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vis. II, iv, 1. Later on she appears less venerable, and finally in a third form young and beautiful; but these transformations do not affect the main conception.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sim. IX, i, 1.

[4] Cp. *Hebr.* xii, 23; Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, ix, § 82[6], ed. Stählin.

[5] Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, V, i, 45.

baptism when he came up out of the water to address his prayers for grace to the Father and the Lord.[1] The parallel between the earthly and the heavenly humanity in which Christ appeared as the second Adam, assigned to the Church the part of a second Eve, created out of Christ's rib, without spot or blemish.[2] The Valentinian Gnostics set Ecclesia beside Anthropos (man) as the product of the union of Logos and Zoê, the Word and Life.[3] Catholic and heretic could thus express the same essential idea in different ways. The Church was the "Virgin Daughter of light," the Lady that revealed the hidden mysteries, the Secret Mother, who might be invited to share the Eucharist and the Love-feast (*Agapê*) with the believers who assembled at her call.[4] Just as the conception of the pre-existence of the Messiah, when applied to Jesus as the Christ, the Saviour and the Son of God, exalted his dignity before creation, so did the ideal of the Church, the pre-cosmic impersonation of the agency of salvation,

[1] *De Baptismo*, xx. In his *Address to the Martyrs*, i, he calls her *Domina* (=*Kyria*).

[2] *Acta Petri et Pauli*, xxix, ed. Lipsius (1891), p. 192.

[3] Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, I, i, 1. See an article by Dr. F. C. Conybeare in the *Archiv. für. Relig. Wissenschaft*, 1906, p. 73, translated from an Address privately printed in the Abstract of Proceedings of the Society of Historical Theology, 1902–3, on "The Virgin Church and the Virgin Mother, a Study of the Origin of Mariolatry," where much rare material from later Armenian sources is collected.

[4] *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Bonnet, II, ii (1903), §50, p. 166.

enhance the significance of those who came to be charged with the teaching of its truth and the application of its sacraments.

The establishment of new churches was the work of the missionary preachers, who carried the Gospel from place to place, and gathered the first converts into small congregations of believers. These missionaries bore the title of Apostles, or "messengers." It is applied in the Gospels to the twelve disciples selected by Jesus to aid him in preaching the "good news" that the Kingdom of God had come near.[1] The name had been already in use in a different connection for persons deputed by the authorities at Jerusalem to carry letters on matters of Jewish practice to their co-religionists abroad, or to collect money for the Temple tribute. The importance attached by the early disciples to the maintenance of the number Twelve[2] is indicated in the story of the election of a fresh "witness of the resurrection" to take the place of the traitor Judas when they had reassembled at Jerusalem. For Paul accordingly they are "the Twelve,"[3] and their pre-eminent character is acknowledged by the inscription of the names of "the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb" on the foun-

[1] *Mark* iii, 14, where later texts add that Jesus himself designated them Apostles. *Matt.* x, 2, applies that title, but does not ascribe it to Jesus. They are sometimes described as "the Twelve," *e.g. Mark* xiv, 10, 17; cp. "the Ten," x, 41.

[2] Possibly symbolic; cp. *Matt.* xix, 28; *Luke* xxii, 30.

[3] 1 *Cor.* xv, 5. The subsequent reference to "all the Apostles" implies that there were more. Cp. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, I, xii.

dations of the wall of the New Jerusalem.[1] Paul himself felt that he had been "called to be an apostle by the will of God,"[2] and vigorously defended the integrity of his own gospel against any other preacher though he were sent from heaven itself.[3] But he no less recognizes others as called to the same function. He sends a salutation to two converts older than himself, Andronicus and Junias, "who are of note among the apostles"[4]; he heads the list of those who serve the Church by their spiritual gifts with apostles and prophets[5]; and either he, or a disciple writing in his name, declares that these are the actual foundation on which the great household of God is built.[6]

By what process a disciple was converted into an apostle is not precisely known. The missionary impulse in the early communities, when enthusiasm was fresh and hope was eager, was undoubtedly strong. The danger at Jerusalem after the death of Stephen drove away numbers who had joined the Church, and they carried the Gospel with them beyond the limits of Palestine to Antioch, the brilliant capital of Syria, the cities of Phœnicia, and Cyprus. To Antioch Barnabas was in due time despatched from

[1] *Rev.* xxi, 14. [2] 1 *Cor.* i, 1.

[3] *Gal.* i, 8. Cp. the ψευδαπόστολοι, 2 *Cor.* xi, 13, who doubtless felt their own claim just as good.

[4] *Rom.* xvi, 7. Whether the term "kinsmen" is to be understood spiritually or physically is not clear.

[5] 1 *Cor.* xii, 28; cp. *Ephes.* iv, 11. [6] *Ephes.* ii, 20.

Jerusalem in response to the news of the effective formation of its church; and there he fetched Paul from Tarsus to aid him in the service of teaching the ever-increasing number of believers. When the church there decided to send forth missionaries for more extended labour, it was on these that the choice fell after fasting and prayer out of the group of prophets and teachers.[1] Such selection was regarded as the work of the Spirit under whose guidance the churches lived and wrought.[2] They went forth accordingly as "apostles,"[3] commissioned by an active and energetic body of adherents of the new faith. Many another apostle must have started in the same manner from other centres, large or small. They probably did not undertake such responsibilities without some sanction. But their duty was of the highest importance. They were the instruments of the Spirit in the preaching of the Gospel, the first and most immediate agents of salvation. What burdens fell upon them, what dangers they faced, what contumely they endured, we know from the moving testimony of the greatest of them all. The love of Christ constrained them, and that love was of the quality which could bear and hope all things.

The work of the wider Apostolate was not confined to the first generation of believers, or to the mission to the Gentiles in which Paul was

[1] *Acts* xiii, 1–2. [2] Cp. the case of Timothy, 1 *Tim.* i, 18.
[3] *Acts* xiv, 4, 14.

the protagonist. The "false apostles" whom he denounced at Corinth[1] may have been sent by his opponents with similar church-credentials; like the representatives of James by whom he was confronted at Antioch.[2] There is no need to suppose that the champions of the observance of the Law by Gentile converts were not sincerely desirous of spreading the Gospel on their own conditions. Neither party could establish an exclusive claim to the dignity or the perils of apostleship. By the opening of the second century (as the fourth Gospel shows us) the great controversy was practically over, and the victory of Pauline principles was complete. Apostles still travel, but the test of their sincerity is new. Their function was in danger of becoming lucrative. The itinerant missionary may still claim one or two nights' lodging and his food. "Let every apostle who comes to you," says the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*,[3] "be received as the Lord, but let him not stay more than one day, or if need be a second as well; but if he stay three days he is a false prophet." When he starts out again he may accept bread for his day's journey; "but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet." He passes out of view, already exposed to declension from the purity of the first ideal. But who shall estimate the value of his labours! With no central direction such as a modern organization like the Salvation Army can supply, he started forth in

[1] 2 *Cor.* xi, 13 [2] *Gal.* ii, 12. [3] xi, 4–6.

the service of the Word. He bore it over land and sea, by the great roads and over mountain paths, on shipboard at the mercy of the winds and waves, confident that some hearts in city and village and harbour would welcome the good news. It has often been said that at its outset Christianity was an urban religion. It was not a century old, as Pliny shows us,[1] before it had penetrated a whole province. The conversion of country districts beyond the suburbs of the towns was no less the work of the wider Apostolate.

Beside the Apostle stood the Prophet. There was, indeed, no very sharp distinction between them, for the greedy apostle would betray himself as a false prophet, and the faithful apostle might see visions and speak "in spirit." They appear at an early date in the church at Jerusalem; they are among the promoters of the mission of Barnabas and Paul at Antioch; four daughters of the Evangelist Philip prophesy at Cæsarea[2]; they are found all the way from Asia to Rome. Their privilege was to receive "visions and revelations." In the excitement of exalted rapture, moved perhaps by hymn and prayer amid their fellow-worshippers, they broke forth suddenly into speech, sometimes in such swift succesion and with such tumultuous utterance that Paul

[1] Cp. Lect. I., p. 1.

[2] *Acts* xxi, 9; the family afterwards removed to Hierapolis in Proconsular Asia; cp. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, III, xxxii, with McGiffert's note on the confusion between the Evangelist and the Apostle.

found it necessary to suggest that two or three would suffice for one meeting, and only one should speak at once; their inspiration should produce order not confusion.[1] They discoursed doubtless of the manifold aspects of the Christian's life, of its difficulties and joys, its perils and rewards, of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, but especially of the "promise of his coming." As one and another passed away ere his arrival the prophet poured out words of comfort and hope, and when the Powers of Evil seemed especially active, it was his function to exhort to endurance and to give warning against lapse. The forms which the great struggle might assume, the tribulations which it would involve, the triumphant issue which it would secure, were his chief themes. Of the Pauline prophecy in written form there are conspicuous examples in the prediction of the revelation of "the Lawless One, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth,"[2] or the mystery of the resurrection with the final victory of the Christ over all his enemies, and his subsequent subjection to the Father that God may be all in all.[3] From some Jerusalem prophet there probably issued the "little Apocalypse" in which sayings of Jesus have been inwoven, assigned to the Teacher as the solemn close of his brief ministry in the capital.[4] On a still larger and

[1] 1 *Cor.* xiv, 29–33. [2] 2 *Thess.* ii, 8. [3] 1 *Cor.* xv, 24–28, 51–54.
[4] *Mark* xiii. Cp. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (1899), pp. 323–329, and Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci* (1903), *in loc.*

more splendid scale is the whole book of visions placed at the close of our New Testament, which bears pre-eminently the name of "Revelation." This book announces itself at the opening and the close as "prophecy." Its author claims no apostleship. He writes of what he has heard and seen "in spirit," and ranks himself among the prophets.[1] When Rome falls he bids the saints, apostles, and prophets join in heaven's joy; she is judged, for she has deceived the nations with her sorcery, and in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints.[2]

The gift of prophesying was essentially spontaneous; the suddenness and irregularity of its operation in the assemblies of worship proved that its source was not in the human will; and the nature of its announcements implied an origin no other than divine. Fasting, meditation, prayer, might prepare the willing mind to receive the heavenly message[3]; but the initiative lay with the Spirit and the first condition of its action was freedom. But the tendency to imitate prophetic utterance was a grave danger. Warnings against false prophets are lodged already in the Gospels.[4] A long line of apocalyptic books followed the Johannine Revelation, some of which have survived in fragments to tell us that we need not lament the disappearance of this form of early Christian literature, in swift decline from its first

[1] i, 10; iv, 2; xxii, 9. [2] xviii, 20, 24: cp. x, 7, xi, 18.
[3] So Hermas in the *Shepherd*, Vis. II, ii, 1.
[4] *Mark* xiii, 22; *Matt.* xxiv, 11.

exaltation. A prophetic ministry, however, continued to exercise its gift. This, too, had its travelling representatives, who might yield to temptation like the itinerant apostle. The prophet might speak in ecstasy, says our invaluable manual of Church-Discipline, but unless he has "the ways of the Lord" he deserves no hearing. Behaviour is the first mark for distinguishing the true from the false. To order a meal in a rapture, and to eat it when the Spirit had departed, was a sure sign of deception. So was it if the prophet did not practise what he preached, or demanded money or other gifts for himself.[1] But for the true prophet, settled among his people, no honour or recompense was too great. He had no other means of livelihood, he must be maintained by the community. The first fruits of oxen and sheep, of the wine-press and the threshing-floor, of bread and wine and oil, of money and clothes, were due to him, just as of old they had been given to the "high-priest."[2] Here is a glimpse of a permanent ministry such as might arise under various conditions of local circumstance and personal attachment. The devotion of Christians to their prophets was satirized by Lucian, who mercilessly exposed the trickery and assumption on one side and the credulity upon the other.[3] But the

[1] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, xi, 7–12.

[2] *Ibid.*, 13; cp. *Deut.* xxvi, 1–3.

[3] *De Morte Peregrini*, cp. Hermas, in the *Shepherd*, below, p. 200. Prof. Kirsopp Lake, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1911, "The Shepherd of Hermas and Christian Life in Rome in the Second Century," p. 45.

memory of a great and noble function could not wholly fade. Visions and revelations might be vouchsafed at rarer intervals, but they still occurred. When the enthusiasm of early days had waned, and the organization of office had supplanted the free movement of the Spirit, the claim to prophecy was heard again; Montanus and his followers revived a nearly lost activity, and in the face of the growing stringency of ecclesiastical rule sought to restore the ancient liberty and purity of the Church.[1]

Third in Paul's list (1 *Cor.* xii, 28) stand the Teachers. They, too, shared in the energy of the Spirit, and belonged to the ministry which may be designated in the wider sense prophetic in contrast to the duties of practical management. Instruction was needed for those who sought to be received into the Church. They must learn the elements of the faith, the contents of the sacred traditions, the significance of the holy rites of baptism, worship, and the Lord's Supper, the meaning of ancient prophecy,[2] the words of psalm and hymn, the challenge of the new ethics, the demands of the Christian life. In the weekly gatherings also the teacher would naturally speak. If the Apostle's enumeration of "psalm, teaching, revelation" really denotes (as is sometimes supposed) a fixed

[1] See below, p. 201.

[2] The application of prophecy by way of Scripture-proof played a great part in early Christian teaching, as Justin's *Dialogue* with Trypho sufficiently illustrates.

order (1 *Cor.* xiv, 26), he followed the "praises" with which the meeting opened. Many would be his themes as he applied the great ideas of Christian faith and hope to the problems of conduct which sprang out of the daily contact with heathen usage. In times of anxiety his words might take the form of exhortation, in trust, encouragement, or comfort.[1] He, too, impelled by the Spirit, might undertake a travelling mission. No less than a true prophet is the true teacher worthy of his food, says the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles;* along with the prophets they are the "honoured," by whose side the men of practical service, bishops and deacons, are also to be ranked.[2] How many aspects of the ministry of speech might be realized in the same person is plain from the description of Polycarp, for so many years the devoted Bishop of Smyrna, as an apostolic and prophetic teacher.[3]

Very early in the history of the Jerusalem church it had been found necessary to divide the duties of the "service of the word" and the "service of tables" which provided for the daily needs of the community.[4] The teaching function was not in any way closed to those who were chosen for business administration. Among "the Seven," Stephen was conspicuous for the wisdom and power of his utterance. They have often

[1] *Rom.* xii, 7–8, distinguishes between teaching and exhortation, but the same person might give both, just as he might prophesy or speak in tongues as well as preach.

[2] xiii, 2; xv, 1–2. [3] *Martyr.*, xvi, 2. [4] *Acts* vi, 1–6.

been called deacons, though the author of *Acts* does not so describe them. They are heard of no more after Stephen's death, and were apparently dispersed after the persecution, for one of them, Philip, after preaching in Samaria, settles for a long residence in Cæsarea. Their place seems to have been supplied later by "elders,"[1] of whose appointment and duties, however, nothing is said. In the Pauline churches the necessity for some kind of organization was the more pressing because the Apostle himself could rarely remain long with his new converts, and there was no permanent group of influential persons like the members of the original Twelve who still belonged to the Mother Church under the presidency of the Lord's brother James. The formation of a fresh congregation involved all kinds of business detail. A room must be found for meeting; hours of worship must be fixed; arrangements must be made for the reception of fresh members, for the accommodation of travelling missionaries, for communication with adjoining churches, for the help of the poor and the visitation of the sick, perhaps the burial of the dead, and not least for the maintenance of some kind of discipline among those whose eager hopes betrayed them into abandonment of ordinary duties, or whose profession of the new faith was not proof against the temptation to relapse into old vices. To the Thessalonians Paul finds it necessary to urge due recognition of "them that labour

[1] *Acts* xv, 4, 6; xxi, 18; Greek *presbyters*.

among you and rule over you in the Lord, and admonish you."[1] Among the gifts of the Spirit are "helps" and "governments"[2] and it is in virtue of the same endowment that "he that ruleth" is enjoined to do so "with diligence."[3] What kind of officers do these terms imply? Before offering the brief answer which is alone possible within the limits of these lectures, it may be worth while to view the general position of believers as a whole.

It was the peculiar character of Gentile Christianity—with which the future of the Church was involved—that by its formation out of Judaism it was provided at once with a literature and a past. The Hebrew Scriptures became its sacred books, and it served itself the heir of prophecy. Like every other religion of antiquity Judaism had placed sacrifice in the centre of its sacred duties, and around the altar had set an exclusive priesthood. The emancipation of Christians from obedience to the Law effected by the Apostle Paul liberated them from allegiance to the Temple at Jerusalem. But they were surrounded by cults of every description in which offerings of all kinds, from the simple ritual of the domestic hearth to the complicated ceremonies of an august festival of the gods, formed the very core. If the reproach was brought against the spiritual worship of the synagogues of the Dispersion that it presented no consecrated gifts to Deity, the

[1] 1 *Thess.* v, 12–13. [2] 1 *Cor.* xii, 28. [3] *Rom.* xii, 8.

Jew could at least point to the splendours of the national sanctuary, renowned through the whole world. The Christian had no such way of escape. To the Jewish critic he could plead with the author of *Hebrews* that a perfect sacrifice had been offered once for all by Christ. But to the cultivated Gentile that argument was unavailing. He was not interested in the Law, and was glad to be rid of the whole apparatus of sacrificial formalism. But he might be interested in prophecy. It was a new type of literature to him, and he was willing to accept the view that the Christians were the new Israel, and the ancient promises were to be fulfilled in them. The Jews of the Dispersion had seized on the language of Malachi[1] to justify the prayers of the faithful scattered among the Gentiles over the sacrifices at Jerusalem. The words were applied again and again in defence of Christian worship. When the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* describes the Lord's day meeting to "break bread and give thanks" (in the technical sense of the Eucharist), all quarrels must first be ended that the sacrifice may not be defiled, "for this is that which was spoken by the Lord, 'In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King,' saith the Lord, 'and my name is great among the peoples.'"[2] "No images, no sacrifices," so ran the frequent charge against "the Way."

[1] *Mal.* i, 10, 11, 14.

[2] *Teaching*, 14; *Mal.* i, 11, 14; cp. Justin, *Dialogue*, xli, cxvii.

The Apologists rebutted it with moral and spiritual pleas[1]; the martyrs refused to burn the grains of incense proffered by the magistrates before the statues of the gods; "as to sacrifices," declared Apollonius, "I and all Christians offer a bloodless sacrifice to God, the Lord of heaven and earth and sea, and of every living being, on behalf of the spiritual and rational images who have been appointed by the providence of God to rule over the earth."[2]

The imagery of sacrifice, accordingly, frequently appears in early Christian literature. Christ gives himself up to God as an offering and a sacrifice for an odour of a sweet smell.[3] He presents the Church to himself spotless and unblemished like a consecrated gift.[4] Paul entreats the Romans to present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God which is their reasonable service.[5] "Peter" sees the believers built up as living stones into a spiritual house where spiritual sacrifices may be offered[6]; the preacher in *Hebrews* calls for continual sacrifices of praise, the fruit of lips that confess God's name, and includes "well-doing and sharing" among the sacrifices with which he is well pleased.[7] If these were the offerings, who

[1] Cp. Athenagoras, *Legat.*, xiii; Minucius Felix, *Octav.*, xxii.

[2] Conybeare, *Acts of Apollonius*, xxxix.

[3] *Ephes.* v, 2. [4] *Ephes.* v, 27.

[5] Rom. xii, 1. For λογικὴν λατρείαν cp. δέξαι ἀπὸ πάντων λογικὴν θυσίαν, *Corp. Hermet.*, xiii (xiv), 19, and Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 347.

[6] 1 *Pet.* ii, 5. [7] *Hebr.* xiii, 15, 16.

were the priests? In the wilderness of Sinai Moses had promised Israel that they should be a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.[1] Not till the new Israel arose was this promise realized. In breaking with the Law the claims of a limited priesthood were annulled, and the approach to God was thrown open to all; had he not called them out of darkness into his marvellous light?[2] To the prophet of the *Revelation* this is a theme of constant joy. The saints already constitute a kingdom, they have been made priests by Christ to his God and Father (i, 6), even now "they reign upon the earth" (v, 10) sang the four and twenty Elders to the Lamb; after the first resurrection they shall be priests of Christ as well, and shall reign with him a thousand years (xx, 6); in the New Jerusalem, where the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb are themselves the temple, they shall still serve, but God will be no more invisible, "they shall see his face" (xxii, 3, 4). This was in fact only another way of saying that within the congregations of the Christians priesthood was abolished. It was the peculiar form in which amid surrounding institutions the central truth of Christian worship was expressed. For all souls there is immediate access to the throne of grace, no human mediator is needed between the spirit of man and "the Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all."[3] Long after the episcopate was established this principle is repeatedly

[1] *Exod.* xix, 6. [2] 1 *Pet.* ii, 9. [3] *Ephes.* iv, 6.

affirmed. "We are the true high-priestly race of God," declares Justin.[1] Irenæus asserts that "all righteous men have the priestly rank,"[2] and "all the disciples of the Lord are Levites and Priests."[3] And the sentiment is echoed through Origen down to Augustine, though on different grounds. "All Christians are priests because they are members of one Priest."

The Church, however, developed in due time an exclusive priesthood of its own, with the salvation of believers in its custody. The stages of this process are involved in some obscurity, and every step has been surrounded with eager controversy. Any endeavour to summarize the evidence is inevitably exposed to the danger of ignoring objections which may be raised from another point of view, or failing to take note of counter-pleas. All that can be attempted here is to illustrate the gradual change from the early type of ministry of "gifts" (*charismata*)—hence often called the "charismatic" ministry—to that of regular "orders" systematized under fairly uniform practice, to which the sacerdotal character was in due time attached.

The earlier letters of the Apostle Paul refer, as we have seen, to certain functions of "rule" or administration in the congregations formed in

[1] *Dialogue*, cxvi.

[2] *Adv. Hæres.*, IV, viii, 3. The Latin *omnes enim justi sacerdotalem habent ordinem* is exposed to some doubt, as two late Greek writers quote a different phrase.

[3] *Ibid.*, V, xxxiv, 3.

Greece or Rome. The ability of direction and practical aid is no less a manifestation of the Spirit than that of prophecy or teaching. But it had less immediate spontaneity, it was by its very nature more constant. No titles are at first mentioned for those who exercised it. Writing from his imprisonment, however, to the church at Philippi, the Apostle salutes "the saints which are in Christ Jesus with the bishops and deacons." The first term does not appear anywhere else in the generally recognized letters of the Apostle, the second is used more vaguely without local reference in the description of Timothy as a "deacon (minister) of God," or of Epaphras as a "deacon of Christ."[1]

Elsewhere we are informed by the author of *Acts* (Luke probably wrote near the end of the century, after the year 94 A.D) that on their first missionary journey Paul and Barnabas appointed "elders" at Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia.[2] With fasting and prayer the little groups of believers commended those who were chosen to the Lord. The choice was no doubt made jointly by the apostles and the disciples; no imposition of hands is specified as in the case of Barnabas and Paul themselves, but the author may have thought it needless to mention what was a matter of established usage. Elders are also officers of the church at Ephesus,[3] but none were installed in Philippi, Thessalonica, Beræa, or Corinth.

[1] 1 *Thess.* iii, 2; *Col.* i, 7. [2] *Acts* xiv, 23.
[3] *Acts* xx, 17. There is no mention of their appointment by Paul.

In documents that may be placed with most likelihood in their present form in the period following Paul's activity we hear of "pastors" (shepherds),[1] of the "office of a bishop" (*episcopê*, oversight or supervision), and deacons,[2] and of ruling elders[3]; the elder and the bishop appearing again in connection with instructions to Titus to appoint elders in Crete.[4] "Peter," who describes himself as a "fellow-elder," exhorts the elders of the churches in Asia Minor to "shepherd the flock of God" among them.[5] *Hebrews* (before 95 A.D.) alludes to "them that had the rule" or leaders, who combined that character with the preacher's work[6]; "chief men" as *Acts* entitles Judas and Silas who were also prophets.[7] In the letter assigned to Clement, sent by the church at Rome to that at Corinth about 95 A.D. and included in the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament (now in the British Museum), it is laid down that the apostles after testing their "first fruits" by the Spirit appointed them to be bishops and deacons of future believers.[8] The Corinthian church had removed from the *episcopê* certain officials who had offered the sacred gifts (viz. at the Eucharist in worship) in blameless holiness. Their immediate predecessors who had been released by death from all risk of similar deposi-

[1] *Ephes.* iv, 11. [2] 1 *Tim.* iii, 1–13. [3] *Ibid.*, v, 17.
[4] *Tit.* i, 5–9. [5] 1 *Pet.* v, 1–2. [6] *Hebr.* xiii, 7, ἡγούμενοι.
[7] *Acts* xv, 22, 32, also ἡγούμενοι. Cp. προιστάμενοι, 1 *Thess.* v, 12; *Rom.* xii, 8.
[8] 1 *Clem.*, xlii, 4.

tion are then designated "Presbyters" or elders.[1]

These references to Church officers of various degrees suggest many difficult questions. Whence came these various names? What duties do they severally cover, and what qualifications do they imply? Above all, what were the precise relations between bishops and presbyters?

The actual terminology of these offices of course is Greek, but many circumstances may have combined to determine their local application. The first members of churches outside Palestine were often Jews; the Christian worship—contrasted with Gentile cults—was closely linked with that of the synagogue; and it might be expected that the church officers would be designated by corresponding titles. Greeks, on the other hand, perceiving the resemblance of the brotherhoods of the new faith to the confraternities and guilds which played so great a part in their own life, might employ the titles in common use among them; while the customary usage of corporations of various kinds spread through large administrative areas might suggest the adoption of some specific name.

The term *episcopos* (bishop) had long been current for high officers of government.[2] When the Athenians proceeded to arrange for the

[1] 1 *Clem.*, xliv, 4–5.

[2] See Lightfoot's famous dissertation on "The Christian Ministry" in his Commentary on *Philippians*, and the note on p. 95 on "The synonyms 'bishop' and 'presbyter.'"

administration of some newly acquired territory, they sent "bishops" to do it. The inspectors appointed by Indian kings were designated in the notes of Greek observers by the same title. When Antiochus purposed to exterminate the religion of the Jews, he instituted a commission of "bishops" to carry out the abominable work. There is some evidence that the term was used in Greek associations of various kinds, and Dr. Hatch brought instances out of his vast learning which connected the office specially with the administration of finance. In the list of qualifications in 1 *Tim.* iii, 1–7, which reads like an extract from some primitive book of church-law,[1] it is required that the bishop shall be "no lover of money." But the term had also prophetic warrant. Had not Scripture declared long before, said the Roman letter, "I will establish their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith"?[2]

Seniority has often been a ground for trust. In the ancient organization of Israel the "elders" of clan and tribe played an important social and even religious part (cp. *Num.* xi). The members of the supreme council at Jerusalem (known as the Sanhedrin)[3] are again and again

[1] Cp. Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canons* (tr. Wheatley, 1895), p. 50.

[2] 1 *Clem.*, xlii, 5, citing *Isaiah* lx, 17. The same passage is quoted by Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, IV, xxvi, 5, in the form, "I will give thy rulers in peace and thy bishops in righteousness," following the Septuagint.

[3] A version of the Greek term *Synedrion*.

described in the Gospels as "elders."[1] But the name was not in use as an official title in the Synagogue for some centuries after the foundation of Christianity.[2] Its appearance in the Jerusalem Church, however, shows that it was naturally employed by Jews, and Paul and Barnabas (assuming the statement of *Acts* xiv, 23, to be correct) might have designated the officers whom they appointed in Asia Minor by a title already familiar to them. On the other hand Deissmann has shown that it was freely used elsewhere in different applications. In Egypt it became the appellation (under the Ptolemies) of the twenty-five members of a body which regulated the affairs of the whole priesthood, while in Asia Minor it was a common name for the directors of a corporation.[3]

The verb *diakonein*, to serve, of which *diakonos* (deacon) is the noun, had a wide use.[4] It represents in the Gospels the word which Jesus employed to describe his own ministry[5]; and was specially applied to the service of the table at meals.[6] In commenting on the account of the Therapeuts of Egypt given by Philo in his treatise on

[1] Cp. *Mark* viii, 31; xiv, 43, 53; the application in vii, 3, is different.

[2] Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*[3], Vol. III, p. 51.

[3] Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (Engl. transl., 1901), pp. 154 ff. and 233 ff.

[4] In the LXX only in *Esther*, of the court-servants of Artaxerxes, I, 10, etc.

[5] *Mark* x, 45; *Luke* xxii, 27. [6] *Acts* vi, 2; *Luke* xvii, 8.

"The Contemplative Life," Eusebius identifies them with Christians, and observes that they possessed the diaconate and the office of bishop, which takes precedence of all others.[1] Philo had described the young men as "serving at table" (*diakonountes*), and the president (whom Eusebius equates with a bishop) as leading in the exposition of the Scriptures.[2] The word *diakonia* was not limited, however, to such attendance. It is used for the ministry of Timothy when he is bidden to do the work of an Evangelist.[3] Phœbe, of the church of Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth, is commended as a deaconess to what seems to be the church of Ephesus, though the salutations are oddly transferred to Rome.[4] "She has been the succourer of many," says the Apostle, "and of myself also." As helpers of the bishops, and (as will appear) the administrators of church-alms, the deacons, too, must not be "greedy of filthy lucre."[5]

The principal problem which these names suggest lies in the relation of the bishops and the presbyters (or elders). The preface to the Ordinal of the Anglican Church affirms that—

> It is evident to all men diligently reading the holy Scriptures and ancient Authors that from the Apostles' time there have been three Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, II, xvii, 23. [2] *De Vita Contempl.*, 8–10.
[3] 2 *Tim.* iv, 5. [4] *Rom.* xvi, 1. [5] 1 *Tim.* iii, 8.

On the other hand a distinguished American scholar, Dr. McGiffert, suggested that the term presbyter was a name for any church officer, like the "leaders" (*Hebr.* xiii, 17) or the "shepherds" (*Ephes.* iv, 11). Bishop and deacon indicated specific functionaries with corresponding duties; and there were thus only two sorts of ministers instead of three.[1] The same practical result is reached by the identification in first-century literature of the bishop with the presbyter, as argued by Bishop Lightfoot.[2] On what evidence does this rest?

The letter of the Roman church to the Corinthians is evoked by a report that one or two disturbers of the peace have betrayed the most steadfast and ancient church into revolt against the presbyters.[3] It urges the restoration of unity through obedience to the "duly appointed presbyters."[4] But it affirms that as the apostles who instituted bishops and deacons knew that there would be strife for the name and office of the bishop or supervisor (*episcopê*), they made arrangements for a succession of properly tested officers, whom the letter then designates presbyters.[5] The two names are employed for the same persons. The government of the church of Rome like that of

[1] Note to his translation of Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, III, xxiii, 8. Cp. his *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 555, 663, where the position is somewhat modified.

[2] This is still the view of the Presbyterian Churches.

[3] 1 *Clem.*, xlvii, 6. [4] *Ibid.*, liv, 2; lvii, 1. [5] 1 *Clem.*, xliv, 1–5.

Corinth was thus plainly vested in a group or board or committee (to use modern terms) of Seniors, whose number is not stated, and among whom no one apparently claimed precedence over the others. Such a group (often called a "college") was termed a "presbytery."[1]

The language of *Tit.* i, 5–9 implies the same identification. Titus is instructed to appoint elders in every city, who must be blameless, married but once, with Christian children, *for* the bishop must be blameless, etc., where the word "for" is meaningless if presbyter and bishop are not the same.[2]

Granting, however, that some presbyters were bishops, does it follow that all were? In 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, it is required that the bishop shall be "apt to teach," and one that "ruleth well" his house, as a guarantee of effective management of the church. This function is afterwards declared worthy of double honour in the elders that "rule well" v, 17, especially those who labour in the word and in teaching. Not all elders, it would seem, had this particular gift; ability in administration might be quite compatible with poverty of speech. But who are the presbyters who rule well and distinguish themselves in the minstry of the word but bishops?

[1] 1 *Tim.* iv, 14. "College" (bound together) represents the Greek *sundesmon.*

[2] It is possible (on other grounds) that the description of the bishop, 7–9, has been inserted later. But the interpolator must still have identified the two officers.

The argument receives a slightly different turn through the employment of the corresponding verb *episcopein*, to exercise the *episcopê* or oversight, to supervise. In the exhortation in 1 *Pet.* v, 2, the "fellow-presbyter" bids the elders shepherd God's flock with willing supervision.[1] The word suggests the exercise of a function rather than the title of a class or order, and though its presence in the text is disputable, yet the fact of its appearance at all in our manuscripts is a proof that the copyists felt no incongruity in its insertion.

In the address to the presbyters of Ephesus whom Paul summoned to meet him at Miletus, he bids them take heed to the flock in which the Holy Spirit had made them bishops.[2] The equation seems again complete. It is the presbyters who are charged with the business of supervision. The speeches in the book are recognized as the author's compositions, and it is quite possible that the Apostle did not use these precise words. But they are at least evidence for the usage of the writer's own time. The book is probably contemporary (within a year or two) with the Roman letter to Corinth. They both imply the same view, which is carried on into the next century. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* only names bishops and deacons,[3] and ignores elders. Poly-

[1] Greek *episcopountes*, the participle. R. V. "exercising the oversight, not of constraint but willingly."

[2] *Acts* xx, 17, 28. [3] xv, 1.

carp, on the other hand, writing to Philippi (where Paul included bishops and deacons in his greeting), only mentions presbyters and deacons, though he specially refers to Paul's letter.[1] Hermas, recording his visions at Rome in the *Shepherd*, probably about 148, describes the church as "ruled" by presbyters,[2] and enumerates its functionaries elsewhere as "bishops, teachers, and deacons."[3] Clement of Alexandria tells a story of the Apostle John (quoted also by Eusebius from his treatise "What Rich Man Can be Saved?") in which a certain bishop is immediately after designated "the presbyter."[4] From Gaul in the same generation Irenæus addresses a letter to Victor at Rome remonstrating with him on his harsh conduct in breaking off communion with the churches of Asia on the ground of difference in the Easter observance. With historical lore he cites the precedents of the presbyters who presided over the Church of Rome before him, and quotes the language of one of his predecessors, Anicetus, who had in like manner spoken of the presbyters before him.[5] From East and West the testimony is identical. The Syriac Vulgate of the New Testament known as the Peshitta sometimes translates the word *episcopos* by *kashisho* or "presbyter."[6] And the

[1] v, 3; vi, 1; xi, 1, 3.

[2] Vision II, iv, 3, the same word as Paul uses, *Rom.* xii, 8.

[3] Vision, III, v, 1.

[4] *Hist. Eccl.*, III, xxiii, 8.

[5] *Ibid.*, V, xxiv, 14.

[6] In *Phil.* i, 1; 1 *Tim.* iii, 2 (cp. iii, 1), and *Titus* 17. In *Acts* xx, 28, the Greek ἐπισκόπους is transliterated. *Kashish* may

great scholar of the Latin Church, in the fourth century, Jerome, emphatically affirmed that in the apostolic age presbyters and bishops were the same.[1]

Episcopê, then, the function of supervision, was exercised by presbyters, and in that capacity they were called "bishops" or supervisors. The word was capable of exalted application. It served to describe the watchful care of Jesus as the shepherd and overseer of souls.[2] At the summit of existence stands God, the creator and supervisor of every spirit,[3] who multiplies nations upon earth and through Jesus Christ chooses out from them all them that love him. The functions of the bishop thus corresponded to the loftiest ideal, and this aspect received remarkable expression in the letters of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, the most splendid of Syrian cities, whose surviving correspondence reveals the development towards the threefold ministry of a bishop, presbyters, and deacons, in the churches of the Eastern Mediterranean lands.

Ignatius had been arrested in Antioch in some outbreak of persecution, and was sent to Rome in

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mean elder in age, or in a civil or religious capacity. In 1 *Peter* ii, 25, a third term is used, apparently with the meaning of "searcher" with the idea of chastisement in the background. The Rev. D. C. Simpson kindly suggests to me that the different terms in the Pauline and Pastoral Epistles on the one hand and *Acts* on the other may indicate different stages of Church development, or result from the preferences of different translators.

[1] Cp. quotations in Lightfoot, *Philippians* (1903), pp. 98, 229; Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 164.

[2] 1 *Pet.*, ii, 25.

[3] 1 *Clem.*, lix, 3; cp. Ignat., *ad Magnes.*, 3, *Ad. Polyc.*, Salutation.

the care of ten soldiers.[1] Instead of sailing direct to Italy from the port of Antioch at Seleucia, his guards took him through Asia Minor on the way to Macedonia. This gave his friends the opportunity of communicating with some of the churches along the route, and deputations were sent to greet him. Thus at Smyrna, where Polycarp had been appointed Bishop at a relatively early age, he was met by Onesimus, Bishop of Ephesus, Damas of Magnesia, and Polybius of Tralles, who were accompanied by presbyters and deacons, Ephesus sending the deacon Burrhus, who escorted Ignatius to Troas (whence he would cross into Europe), and three church members. Before leaving Smyrna Ignatius wrote to the congregations which had thus honoured him, as well as to the distant Rome where he hoped to suffer martyrdom. And by the hand of the deacon Burrhus he sent back letters from Troas to the churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna with a separate communication to Bishop Polycarp. The situation was strangely pathetic. The captive Bishop, yearning to give the supreme proof of his devotion, feels himself only beginning to be a disciple; in the severity of a new and unexpected experience he needs to be anointed like an athlete with the Church's oil of faith and endurance.[2] When he

[1] The date is uncertain. Eusebius assigned his martyrdom to 108 A. D. Others have placed it later; Harnack even suggests 117–126 as a possible limit, *Chronol. der Altchr. Lit.*, II, i (1897), p. 406.

[2] *Ephes.* iii, 1.

reaches Rome he will find himself least of the faithful there. But in spite of his humility[1] he cannot forget that he has been at the head of a great church. His scribe gives him the title Theophorus, the "God-bearer." Behind the exaggerated rhetoric in which his ardent feeling is sometimes clothed, lie high claims to the character of a prophet. Though he is in chains (and he hopes to rise in them—his spiritual pearls—through the Ephesian prayers[2]), he has his understanding of heavenly things, the places of Angels and the gatherings of Principalities.[3] At Philadelphia, as he reminds the church, he had suddenly spoken to them with a loud voice—it was the voice of God—urging unity with the bishop, the presbytery, and the deacons. So apposite was the exhortation in the face of local divisions, that he was suspected of previous knowledge. It was the Spirit that was preaching, and in short, sharp, emphatic sentences he recalls the admonitions of which he was only the vehicle or instrument:

> Do nothing without the bishop.
> Keep your flesh as the temple of God.
> Love unity, flee from divisions.
> Be imitators of Jesus Christ,
> As he was also of his Father.[4]

[1] He likens himself to a "fellow-servant" with the deacons, *Ephes.* ii; *Smyrn.*, xii.

[2] *Ephes.* xi, 2. [3] *Trall.*, v, 2.

[4] *Philad.*, vii; cp. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, 189[1], "an example of the prophetic utterances."

For Ignatius the world is hastening to its end; these are the last times; the choice must be made between the coming wrath or the present grace embodied in the Church.[1] Over against the activity of the Ruler of this world, he sees the vast immeasurable design of God, working through Patriarchs and Prophets, the Apostles and the Church, who all enter into the hidden things of the Father through the door of Christ.[2] The organization of the Church, therefore, is part of the providential order. It consists in respecting "the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as the bishop is also a type of the Father, and the presbyters as the council of God and the College of Apostles. Without these there is nothing to call a Church."[3] By more frequent meetings for God's Eucharist and glory the powers of Satan might be destroyed.[4]

In the great warfare with Evil, therefore, which every Christian was bound to wage, the first thing needful was to strengthen the life of the churches. He denounces the indifference or the pride of those who neglect the appointed worship, or will not join in the common assembly. "Come together," he cries, "as to one temple of God, one altar, one Jesus Christ."[5] With the Judaizers on the one part and the Docetic heretics on the other he will make no compromise. As children of the light of truth the faithful must flee from division and evil

[1] *Ephes.* xi, 1. [2] *Philad.*, ix, 1. [3] *Trall.*, iii, 1.
[4] *Ephes.* xiii, 1. [5] *Ibid.*, v, 2; *Magnes.*, vii, 2.

teaching.[1] To the Smyrneans he recites a kind of confession of faith, laying emphatic stress upon Christ's wondrous birth, his baptism, his crucifixion and resurrection,[2] against the unbelievers who affirmed that all these events were merely semblance. These were the real charters of the faith, guaranteed by prophecy; they were confirmed by the contrast between the charity of the believers and the selfishness of the heretics. They cared nothing for love, nothing for the widow or orphan; the afflicted, the prisoner, the hungry and thirsty, they left severely alone in their need. It was a practical test. Did Ignatius apply it without prejudice?[3]

Against these dangers there was one unfailing remedy, union with the Church, obedience to its threefold ministry. In these guardians and helpers of faith and practice the imagination of Ignatius discerned the most august personalities. The meeting of believers united earth and heaven; the bishop presided in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles, and the deacons were entrusted with the ministry (*diaconia*) of Jesus Christ, who was from eternity with the Father, and was made manifest at the end of time.[4]

In the divine household as in the human any one sent by the householder ought to be received like the master of the house himself. Clearly, there-

[1] *Philad.*, ii, 6; *Trall.*, vi, 11.
[2] Cp. *Smyrn.*, i–vi.
[3] *Ibid.*, vi.
[4] *Magnes.*, vi, 1.

fore, the bishop should be regarded as the Lord himself.[1] As many as are of God and Jesus Christ are with the bishop, and "with him the presbyters and deacons have been appointed according to the mind of Christ, and he established them in security according to his own will by his holy Spirit."[2] "Follow the bishop," is the repeated injunction, —for there is the loftiest of examples,—"as Jesus Christ follows the Father, and the presbytery as if it were the Apostles, and reverence the deacons as the command of God."[3] Only on such conditions can men be Christians in reality and not merely in name. Know God and the bishop and do nothing without him.[4] To his junior, Polycarp, he sets forth the pattern of the bishop's duties; in the bishop of Philadelphia he had seen it realized in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; he was "attuned to the commandment as a harp to its strings."[5]

Such was the teaching of the Syrian Ignatius. Apart from its imaginative investiture it reveals an important fact. In church after church in Syria and Asia Minor the maintenance of the faith, the regulation of worship, the control of conduct—the whole agency of salvation—was assigned to a single officer, the bishop, with a group of presbyters and deacons around him.

[1] *Ephes.*, vi, 1.
[2] *Philad.*, Salutation, iii, 2.
[3] *Smyrn.*, viii.
[4] *Magnes.*, iv; *Smyrn.*, ix, 1.
[5] *Philad.*, i; a favourite metaphor; so should the presbytery be united with the bishop, *Ephes.*, iv.

In others, such as that at Philippi, where Polycarp afterwards urges obedience to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ,[1] this stage of ecclesiastical evolution had not been reached. Rome itself, it would seem, had still no bishop. The causes which had produced this development we can only surmise; they were no doubt numerous and complex, but they operated over a wide area and tended at different rates to a common result. The establishment of a new church at once begot a number of questions. Where should it meet? What provision should be made for its worship and for its sacred meal? Its works of healing might be carried on in the sufferer's own home,[2] but exorcisms were probably performed in the assembly where the prayers of the believers could assist the process.[3] How should the relief of its poor be regulated, the maintenance of its widows upheld, the character of new converts tested, the candidates for baptism prepared, the steadfastness of believers ensured? In the immense novelties which the preaching of the Gospel brought with it, the rush of fresh life flowed into innumerable different channels, and expressed itself in manifold diversity of forms. Some elements of stability must be found, and the external management fell to small bodies corresponding

[1] *Ep. Polyc.*, v, 3. [2] *James* v, 14.

[3] In the *Testament of our Lord* (fourth century) the church is to have a house for the catechumens and exorcists, arranged so that Scripture-readings and hymns could be heard in it. Cooper and Maclean (1902), p. 63.

in secular terms to the modern committee. The chief duty of superintendence devolved at first upon the seniors among the first adherents, and in due time they associated with themselves helpers from the younger men and occasionally from women, for purposes of practical service and administration. In any such body some would be naturally more distinguished above others. One would be more influential by wealth or position or dignity of character. Another might be more zealous and eager; a third more gentle and sympathetic. The first churches seem to have met in private houses; at Ephesus Aquila and Prisca received the meeting; so did Philemon at Colossê, and Nymphas at Laodicea; Gaius was its host at Corinth.[1] Some pre-eminence would naturally be accorded to such householders. Their aid would be sought, their counsel invited. The requirement of a later day that bishops should be hospitable men, able to take in the servants of God into their houses and shelter the widows and the destitute,[2] points in the same direction. In church meetings one or another would at different times and for different purposes take the leading part. When communications were addressed to adjoining churches, someone must write them; when they were received, someone must read them to the congre-

[1] *Rom.* xvi, 5, 23; *Philem.* 2; *Col.* iv, 15. Even in wealthy Carthage as late as Cyprian's day (250 A.D.) this practice continued.

[2] Hermas, *Shepherd*, Sim. IX, xxvii, 2.

gation. Great value was attached to such intercourse. The messenger was the representative of the whole community. As Ignatius passed through Asia Minor he learned that his bereaved flock at Antioch had emerged from its difficulties and obtained "peace." The neighbouring churches had sent their officers—bishops, presbyters, deacons—with their congratulations. He begs the Philadelphians to do the same; and as he is bidding Asia farewell on the shore of Troas he writes to Polycarp, instructing him to summon a godly council at Smyrna and appoint someone dearly beloved and zealous who may be despatched from the church to Syria as "God's courier" with assurance of their joy.[1] In such deputations someone must take the lead. Many considerations would determine the choice besides ability to travel. Age, weight of character, readiness of speech, would be among the qualifications. In the church meetings, above all, someone must preside, just as in the private consultations of presbyters and deacons. At first the duty might be shared; but seniority, external position, religious ardour, business skill, aptitude whether for teaching or management, would tend to concentrate the direction of church affairs in one person, who was found most fervent in spirit, ablest in counsel, most diligent in administration, purest in heart. In two departments of church life this tendency operated with the same effect. The rise

[1] *Philad.*, x; *Polyc.*, vii; *Smyrn.*, xi.

of various attractive forms of heresy early in the second century laid on the church leaders the responsibility of safeguarding the faith and protecting believers from error. And the danger of increasing worldliness as the expectation of the immediacy of the great judgment declined, made it urgently needful to provide for those who had failed to maintain the strictness of their first profession. How was the truth to be guaranteed in its simplicity? How was the holiness of the Church to be preserved without corruption? The answer to these questions lies in the development of the power of the bishops, and the growing sense of the unity of the Church, to which Ignatius had already applied the epithet Universal or Catholic.[1]

Each church was in idea, at least, a miniature of the heavenly reality, and the whole community of believers was thus bound together into one "brotherhood." Each fresh convert was welcomed into a society that spread far beyond the local congregation. The rapid extension of Christianity both East and West enabled its champions to declare that it was to be found in every nation; its foundation on the Law and the Prophets as well as "the Lord" brought it into the age-long purposes of God; the presence of Christ in its worshipping assemblies and the possession of the gifts of the Spirit mysteriously united it with the very being of Deity; and through the passion of martyrs and the holiness of saints fresh links were

[1] *Smyrn.*, viii, 2.

perpetually renewed between its earthly sojourn and its eternal home on high. In the meantime, as they waited for the coming of the Lord, city and village were constantly interested in each other. Even the smallest churches must be duly organized. If the little group of believers could not muster twelve persons competent to vote for a bishop, let them communicate with neighbouring congregations, and one that was well established would send over three chosen deputies to examine the qualifications of the brother whom it was proposed to elect.[1] He must be of good report among those who were not Christians, blameless in character and conduct, no drunkard or adulterer, but once married, incapable of slander or favouritism, a lover of the poor. Well was it if he were educated and able to interpret the Scriptures. If he were illiterate, he must be meek and full of love to all. Beside him must be two presbyters at least, who should look after the bishop at the altar as well as after the congregation. The supervisor must be himself supervised, in the matter of the gifts brought to the altar in divine service. The church administration is no autocracy in the hands of the bishop. A real control is still vested in the presbyters; the episcopal authority is not yet complete.

[1] See the *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, translated from Harnack's essay, *Texte und Untersuch.*, II, v, 18, by Wheatley (1895). This fragment of early Church law, disinterred by Harnack's critical sagacity, is placed by him between 140 and 180 A.D.

Many circumstances, however, tended to confirm it. In danger and difficulty the chief responsibility fell upon the leaders. Against them were the shafts of persecution first directed. With them lay the duty of guarding the faithful against heresy. The intellectual activity which produced the various types of Gnostic teaching found in them its chief opponents. They were invited to advise on delicate questions such as the treatment of offenders against the standards of Christian morals. They directed the flow of charity, the contributions made from large centres to poorer congregations at a distance, or to brethren sentenced to the grievous labour of the mines. Local differences of ritual usage were referred to their judgment. The outbreak of any spontaneous movement threatening their authority naturally closed their ranks in defence.

The abounding life of the Church in the second century made various calls on its most distinguished men. The energy of speculation on the one hand, and the problems arising out of the entrance of multitudes of converts drawn by various motives on the other, brought diverse perils and occasioned manifold anxieties. As the decades ran on, literature, the greater part of which has perished, was produced in abundance; but the chief external means for heightening the influence of the bishop were travel, correspondence, and meetings. On him it devolved to receive the brethren who came from abroad with loving words. They brought

news of the welfare of other churches, and sought advice as to the means of meeting heresy, or healing schism. The Jewish convert Hegesippus made a slow journey to Rome in the middle of the century, noting the teaching which he heard from place to place. He sojourned long at Corinth, where Primus was Bishop, and he and the church "were mutually refreshed in the true doctrine." Such conferences enabled him to declare that in every succession and in every city he had found faithful adherence to the truths of "the Law, the Prophets, and the Lord."[1]

Among the bishops who followed Primus at Corinth was Dionysius whose "catholic letters" were widely circulated. He admonished the Lacedæmonians against internal quarrels, and rebuked the Athenians for almost apostatizing from the Gospel after the martyrdom of their Bishop Publius, though he bore witness that through the zeal of his successor their faith had revived. To the churches in Bithynia and Pontus on the Black Sea he sends explanations of Scripture and recommendations of clemency in dealing with delinquents or heretics. He thanks Soter, Bishop of Rome,[2] for a letter which had been read that Lord's day in the church meeting, and would be a source of advice (like that of Clement) whenever they read it again. The Bishop of Cnossus in

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* IV, xxii, 1–3.

[2] Probable date of his episcopate 166 (167)–174 (175) A.D. (Lipsius).

Crete, Pinytus, was counselled not to lay on the brethren too heavy a burden in the matter of chastity, but to have regard to human infirmity. Such concessions might well seem perilously lax, and Pinytus recommended his episcopal correspondent to impart more solid food next time; such milky teaching was only fit for children. This dissemination of general counsel, even when undertaken by request, was not without its risks, for Dionysius complains that as his letters were passed from hand to hand apostles of the Devil filled them with tares, excising some passages and inserting others.[1] Such charges of mishandling are only too frequent.

The growing sense of interconnection among the churches finds interesting illustration in the ritual difference which threatened to produce serious disunion in the latter part of the second century between East and West. Somewhere about 154 A.D. the venerable Bishop of Smyrna, Polycarp, then over eighty years of age, visited Rome. Among the subjects on which he conferred with the newly elected Bishop, Anicetus, was the time of the celebration of the Easter festival. The churches of Asia Minor followed what they believed to be the practice of the Apostle John at Ephesus; the Western usage observed another rule. Polycarp did not persuade his brother of Rome, but no constraint was put upon him, and he was invited to preside at the Eucharistic service

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, xxiii.

in token of respect. The divergence subsequently became more acute. Assemblies of bishops were summoned, and by synod and letter the question was eagerly discussed all the way from Mesopotamia to Gaul. On the shores of the Black Sea, on the hills of Palestine, at Alexandria and Rome, the proper date for the festival of the resurrection became the chief interest. In the last decade of the century Victor, the Bishop of Rome, suggested to Polycrates of Ephesus to call a council of his Asian colleagues. A "great multitude" responded, and authorized Polycrates to defend their ancient custom. Polycrates supported it with the tradition of eminent saints and martyrs, as well as of his own family, seven of whom had been bishops like himself. He had lived, he wrote, to the age of sixty-five, he had met the brethren throughout the world, he had studied every passage in Scripture, and he was not afraid of terrifying words. A conflict of authorities was threatened. From Rome Victor took the extreme step of sending out circular letters announcing that communion with the Asian churches was entirely cut off. But Rome did not then wield the terrors of a later day. Letters poured in rebuking Victor for his harshness, and pleading for unity and peace.[1] The attempted suspension of communion had no practical effect, but by degrees the Roman usage prevailed; and the bishops at Nicæa in 325 A.D. finally declared it binding on the whole Church.

[1] The whole story is told by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, xxiii–xxv.

While a question of external observance thus brought the bishops into the field as the representatives of ritual tradition, a far more important place was vindicated for them as the upholders of doctrinal tradition. By the middle of the second century the struggle with the various types of speculation commonly included under the name of Gnosticism had become acute. The Church teachers were realizing their danger, and a vigorous controversial literature began. To this the active pen of Irenæus of Lyons made the most important surviving contribution. All the disputants started from a common assumption. The first condition of salvation was correct belief. Where, then, was the truth to be found, what was its source, how had it been transmitted, what was its guarantee? Against the pretensions of the numerous founders of sects Irenæus vindicated the claims of the Church, her Scriptures, and her Tradition. One path, and one alone, would lead to heaven; it was that disclosed by the preaching of the Church maintained in steadfastness throughout the world. To her had been entrusted the light of God, the divine Wisdom by which all men might be saved; the truth was in her keeping, and she had proclaimed it universally.[1] She was the great bank of the faith, where the precious deposit had been lodged by the Apostles. Through her and her alone lay the entrance into life.[2]

The first significant fact for Irenæus is the wide

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, V, xx, 1. [2] *Ibid.*, III, iv, 1.

diffusion of the Church. She is spread through the whole world, she touches the ends of the earth. From East to West she announces the same creed; from Syria to Spain, from Asia to Gaul, from Libya to Germany, she believes with one soul and teaches with one mouth.[1] The languages of the faithful might differ, but their doctrine was the same. The teachers of heresy might invent what systems of Æons they pleased; the makers of schisms might multiply their separate assemblies; but they could not deny that the whole Church through the whole universe cherished one and the same faith. To this immense extent and splendid unity of its saving work the experience of every day bore emphatic witness. It was fitting that the Church which was to bring redemption within everyone's reach should be found everywhere. In every direction it outdistanced its foes.

But, secondly, the Church possesses the Scriptures. The centre of its truth is God, the Father and Creator of all, who by his Word and Wisdom made heaven and earth and sea and all things therein; who formed man, and brought on the flood, and saved Noah; the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the God of the living; whom the Law announces, whom the Prophets foretell, whom Christ reveals, whom the Apostles hand on, and in whom the Church believes.[2] On the demonstration of the adequacy of the Scripture testimony Irenæus dwells with much care. He

[1] *Ibid.*, I, x, 1–2.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, xxx, 9.

vindicates the antiquity of Isaiah's prophecy of the Parthenos-mother,[1] observing that it was translated into Greek by the Jews themselves long before the Lord's birth from the Virgin, so that there could be no suspicion of humouring the Christians by their choice of terms; and he tells the legend of the miraculous agreement of the Seventy Elders who made their renderings of the sacred books independently, and found on comparing them that they coincided word for word.[2] Of the Gospel origins he gathers up a few scattered details, and after the fashion of the day by a series of numerical harmonies justifies their number four. For as there are four regions of the world which we inhabit, and four chief winds,[3] while the Church is spread over all the earth, and the pillar and ground of the Church are the breath of life, it is fitting that she should have four pillars breathing out immortality on every side, and quickening men anew.[4] Such arguments (and there are others) are not convincing. Their employment indicates that the books which stand at the head of our New Testament had been so long and so generally established in supremacy that no further proofs were required.

Behind Gospel and Prophecy and Law lies the whole history of humanity. To this great theme

[1] *Isaiah* vii, 14. [2] *Adv. Hæres.*, III, xxi, 1–2.

[3] καθολικὰ πνεύματα. Irenæus does not happen to use the term "catholic" of the Church.

[4] *Adv. Hæres.*, III, xi, 8.

of the continuity of Providence Irenæus recurs again and again with a solemn joy. It fills his imagination and begets a sense of absolute security which can support the most incongruous applications. In the Gospel parable God planted the vineyard of the human race at the creation; he let it out to husbandmen at the giving of the Law; when he ordained the priestly worship of the sacred Dwelling he hedged it round about; in the choice of Jerusalem he built a tower; the winepress hollowed in the rock provided a receptacle for the Holy Spirit. Vainly did the prophets appeal to an unbelieving people; the wicked husbandmen slew even God's own Son. The vineyard passed to other cultivators, hedged in no more but thrown open to the whole world; in every place was the tower of election raised, the wine-press dug. From first to last one and the same Father planned and wrought the great design.[1] From the call of Abraham, therefore, at every stage in his posterity, the Church is in sight. Even Lot's wife in her pillar becomes a type. Was not the Church the salt of the earth, and while the martyrs went forward to the heavenly life was not she left behind, exposed to the vicissitudes of human things, yet standing like a column, the solid foundation of the faith?[2]

Such vindications of the unity of creation, history, and the Gospel, were directed alike against Marcion's hypothesis of two Gods, one revealed

[1] *Adv.Hæres.*, IV, xxxvi, 1–2. [2] *Ibid.*, IV, xxxi, 3, cp. xxxiii, 9.

in the Old Testament and the other in the New, and against the various Gnostic schemes of Æons for connecting the ultimate essence of the invisible God with a world of change and suffering and death. The argument had then to be carried a further stage. Against the claim to possess the true interpretation of the Gospel by means of a secret tradition, the Church must establish the authority of its own Rule of Faith. It must prove itself the trustworthy guardian of the sacred deposit. For this purpose Irenæus appeals to the unity of its teaching from the days of the Apostles throughout all the world. The fidelity of the first preachers in proclaiming the peace of heaven to men is proved by the descent upon them of the Holy Spirit.[1] But the stress of his plea lies on the next step. He does not really meet the Gnostic objections that the Apostles themselves adulterated the Saviour's words, and even that the Lord himself spoke from different points of view,[2] he hastens on to the demonstration that the Church has faithfully preserved the original teaching, enshrined in the Scriptures as the basis and support of the faith.

For this purpose he points to the tradition derived from the Apostles and guarded by successive presbyters. It might be seen in every church throughout the world by those who cared to look at truth; but it sufficed to present two or three examples of its maintenance in churches founded by Apostles. Peter and Paul had planted it in

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, III, i, 1. [2] *Ibid.*, III, i, 2.

Rome, and the distinguished origin of this church made it a proper standard for comparison; there was the norm of truth with which the faithful in the churches everywhere could not fail to agree.[1] Irenæus then proceeds to enumerate the series of officers from the days of the blessed Apostles who had held the *episcopê*, pausing on Clement, whom he assumes to have seen the founders, so that their preaching still sounded in his ears. There, in the Roman letter to Corinth, was the irrefragable proof that in proclaiming one Almighty God, Maker of heaven and earth, the Church had established the apostolic tradition before the falsehoods of heresy had been devised. The same witness was borne at Ephesus where Paul had laboured and John had lived so long. At Smyrna Irenæus could appeal to the teacher of his own youth, Polycarp, who had (he says) conversed with many who had seen Christ himself, and had been appointed Bishop by Apostles. With him his successors and all the Asian churches were in concord.[2] Thus was the "plan of salvation" (*dispositio salutis*) guaranteed. On this the many nations of strange speech justly relied. They might possess no Scriptures, they might use no paper or ink, but the Spirit had written salvation on their hearts, and in righteousness and chastity they displayed the wisdom of faith.[3]

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, III, iii. In this paraphrase of the much disputed description of the Roman Church the words *potiorem principalitatem* are understood to mean the "superior beginning" (ἀρχήν).

[2] *Ibid.*, III, iii, 3–4.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, iv, 2.

The bond of unity in the Church was thus realized in the bishops. They transmitted and expounded the Scriptures; they preserved the apostolic teaching. The *charisma veritatis*, the gift of the truth bestowed upon mankind in the Gospel, was in their charge.[1] Believers, therefore, must obey the presbyters who possess the succession of the Apostles. It was only the heretics, the schismatics, or the hypocrites, who insisted on holding private meetings of their own.[2] It might be that Scripture, like Creation, still contained mysteries beyond our power to explain.[3] "Let us leave them," said Irenæus reverently, "in the hand of God, not only in this life but in that which is to come, that God may for ever teach and man for ever learn."[4]

Such a Church, ideally founded before the dawn of time, spread before human sight from land to land, possessing the apostolic doctrine, and bearing the essential mark of the body of Christ in each local church through the sequences of its bishops, is the home of the true *Gnosis* (knowledge). Ancient and universal, it is Scriptural withal,

[1] This does not mean that they were miraculously guarded against error, or endowed with any supernatural power of defining or developing dogma. It was a historical deposit, not a transcendental capacity.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, xxvi, 2.

[3] For instance, no answer could be given to the question, "What was God doing before he made the world?" Cp. August., *De Civ. Dei*, XI, iv ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, xxviii, 3.

needing no forgeries for its defence.[1] But it does not rely only on the testimony and interpretation of the past. Still does prophecy utter revelations, as the brethren speak all kinds of languages, bring to light human things, and declare the mysteries of God.[2] Still do they see visions, drive out devils, heal the sick, and even (with much fasting and prayer) raise the dead[3]; the gift of miracles had not passed away. Still among the successors of the Apostles is behaviour blameless and speech uncorrupt.[4] Still does the Church nourish that gift which was more precious than knowledge and more glorious than prophecy, the gift of love. Still in virtue of that love towards God does she send forward her host of martyrs to the Father, and bear the reproach of those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake.[5] But still does she renew her youth by the Spirit of God, bestowed on the first man that he might breathe, but on her that all those who receive it may be endowed with life. That is what secures for us a share in Christ. It is the pledge of incorruption, the power that strengthens faith, the *scala ascensionis ad Deum*, the ladder by which we mount to God.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, IV, xxxiii, 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, V, vi, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, xxxii, 4; cp. xxxi, 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV, xxvi. On the holiness of the Church see Lect. IV.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, xxxiii, 8–9.

[6] *Ibid.*, III, xxiv, 1. For Tertullian's development of the same line of argument in his treatise *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, see Note B, p. 210.

It was undoubtedly a great ideal. In defending it against heresy Irenæus was not concerned to point out the failure of the actual Church to realize it. Warning voices had again and again protested against its growing worldliness. Old standards were gradually modified; the strictness of early ethical demands was relaxed; the problem of how to deal with post-baptismal sin became acute. When Hermas watched the building of the great Tower which symbolized the Church, he saw the various stones of the fabric tested. Some cracked, some proved rotten, others were all stained, and some had turned black as pitch. They were removed and handed to twelve women clothed in black, whose names were Unbelief, Impurity, Disobedience, Deceit, Grief, Wickedness, Licentiousness, Bitterness, Lying, Foolishness, Evil-speaking, Hate. Double would be their punishment compared with those who had never known God; they should die for ever.[1] Even church officers could not always maintain their integrity. The generosity of believers created perpetual temptations. Polycarp deplores the fall of Valens, a presbyter at Philippi, through avarice.[2] Hermas denounces unfaithful deacons who appropriated to themselves funds entrusted to their administration, and devoured the living of widows and orphans.[3] But the gravest danger lies in the false

[1] *Shepherd*, Sim. IX, vi, 4; xv, 3; xviii, 2.
[2] *Ad Philipp.*, xi.
[3] *Shepherd*, Sim. IX, xxvi, 2.

prophets.[1] They played the part of heathen wizards, and professed to foretell the issues of private affairs; large fees enabled them to live in luxury. Between the earthly spirit which came from the Devil and the Spirit from God there was one sure means of judgment: "Test the man who has the divine Spirit by his life." Meek, gentle, lowly-minded, poorest among men, he only speaks when God wishes him to speak. The Angel of the prophetic Spirit fills him, and he addresses the congregation as the Lord wills. Prophecy has still its spontaneous and ecstatic character.[2] But with the changes which have gradually caused the disappearance of the itinerant apostolate, it has become less frequent, less enthusiastic. Organization has taken its place. The energy of belief in the impending return of Christ and the great conflict with the adversary, which was one of its early motives, has declined. The Church has adapted itself more or less comfortably to the World. We pray, says Tertullian, for the delay of the end.[3] Compromise was endangering sincerity. The sternness of the primitive message was softened. Was it possible to reassert the stringency of its first demands? This was the endeavour of what was called "the New Prophecy."

[1] *Shepherd*, Mand. XI. Cp. Justin, *Dialogue*, lxxxii.

[2] A little later Clement of Alexandria will fix on this as the mark of the false prophet, *Strom.*, I, xvii, §85[3].

[3] *Apologet.*, xxxii.

The movement started in a Mysian village named Ardabau, on the borders of Phrygia.[1] It was initiated by a convert named Montanus, and was interpreted by his opponents as a determined bid for leadership. Disappointed ambition was often assigned as a cause of heresy, and in the absence of any statements from his own disciples—for all their literature perished—there remain only the charges of his critics. Seized with ecstasy, he uttered strange words, and was at first rebuked as though under the control of a demon. But he was not to be repressed, and his enthusiasm drew to his side some women, among them Prisca (or Priscilla)[2] and Maximilla, who left their husbands to promote the work, and a third lady named Quintilla. Phrygia had long been the home of different types of orgiastic cult; and the "new prophecy" quickly spread. Different dates are assigned to its rise; it began most probably about 157 A.D.; in twenty years it is influential in the West; the Bishop of Rome considers it favourably; the martyrs at Lyons commend it; early in the third century it captures the first great writer of the Latin Church, the learned and ardent lawyer Tertullian of Carthage.

What, then, was the nature of its message?

[1] See the quotations from an unnamed writer in Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, xvi, 7. Further details, *ibid.*, 17–19. Bonwetsch's *Gesch. des Montanism.* (1881) is still the most useful monograph; cp. his article in the *Prot. Real-Encycl.* (1903), xiii, 417.

[2] Her prominence led to the designation of her followers as Priscillianists.

Its form was primarily a revival of the ecstatic teaching of the first days. Its content was primarily eschatological. The few strange sayings of Montanus and his prophetesses which later writers report[1] provide valuable clues, even if they may be somewhat distorted from their original form. Montanus appears to have believed that the promise of the Paraclete (the "Advocate" or "Comforter," *John* xiv, 16–17) was fulfilled in himself. More than the gift of Holy Spirit bestowed on the Apostles was vouchsafed to him. As the Gospel announced that the Father would himself come and Jesus with him to those who were loving and obedient, Montanus was said to have declared that the Lord God the Father had come in his person, and even "I am the Father and the Son and the Paraclete."[2] The purpose of this supreme manifestation was to announce the approaching end of the world. The expectations of the first days were revived. Maximilla proclaimed impending wars and revolutions; she felt herself hunted like a wolf from the flock; "I am no wolf," she cried, "I am word and spirit and power." Pepuza, in the western part of Phrygia,[3]

[1] They are collected by Bonwetsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–199.

[2] Apropos of this dependence on the fourth Gospel Harnack has remarked that "the first decided opponents of the Montanists in Asia—the so-called Alogi"—rejected the apostolic authorship of both the Gospel and the Apocalypse. *Hist. of Dogma* (Engl. transl.), Vol. ii, p. 99, note 2.

[3] Apollonius, cited by Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, xviii, 2, adds Tymion.

became the centre of the teaching. Priscilla had a strange vision in which Christ appeared to her in the form of a woman with shining garments, and revealed to her that it would be a holy place, and Jerusalem would descend there from the skies. There, it would seem, Montanus sought to gather the faithful out of the temptations of the world, and establish a community of saints unstained by its sordidness to await the great event. The righteous, he promised, should shine a hundred-fold more than the sun; and even "the little ones" should be a hundred times brighter than the moon.

Meantime a stricter practice was enforced. The rule of life was severe. Montanus was charged with dissolving marriages[1]; they were allowed but once. Fasts of a much severer type were enjoined; they no doubt promoted the conditions for seeing visions and receiving revelations. Missionaries were despatched to win adherents in other churches, and the movement began to attract general attention. It coincided with the agitation about the right time for the Easter celebration. Synods of bishops were summoned to deal with it. They attempted to refute Maximilla, but her followers triumphed; they endeavoured to suppress Themiso, one of the leaders after Montanus and a former confessor, but in vain. The disciples

[1] Apollonius in Euseb., *op. cit.* The charge may have been founded on the fact that Priscilla and Maximilla did leave their families.

were expelled from the churches and refused communion. The Bishop of Antioch, Serapion, sent round a letter against "this lying band of the New Prophecy,"[1] which contained testimonies from several bishops, among them one from the Bishop of Debeltum in Thrace, who reported that when Priscilla had visited that region the Bishop of Anchialus had sought to cast the demon out of her, but the hypocrites would not allow him.[2] All kinds of malicious accusations were circulated against the prophets. Montanus had established a financial organization for the support of the community and its teachers. The men were charged with gambling and dyeing their hair, the women with fondness for expensive dress. Their martyrs were disparaged, and Catholics in the same prison refused to have fellowship with them. Yet they used the same Scriptures and cherished the same doctrines. In the stress of increasing pressure from the ecclesiastical organization which gained strength with every decade, Montanism failed to establish itself in the West. In Africa[3] it maintained a precarious hold for more than two hundred years, for a tombstone of the fifth century bore the inscription, "In the name of the Father

[1] A Syrian bishop had induced some of his flock to march out with wives and children into the mountains to meet Christ,—an eastern parallel to the march of the Doukhobors in Canada a few years ago.

[2] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, xix, 3.

[3] It has often been argued that the famous martyrs Perpetua and her companions (probably in 203) were Montanists.

and of the Son and of the Lord Montanus."[1] In Asia Minor, however, it possessed a more vigorous life. Its discipline was upheld with great severity; no open sinners were tolerated; almost every transgression was punished with expulsion. Founded on the belief in the impending dissolution of this mortal scene, it had to pay the price of its own continued existence, and it developed regular orders, bishops, priests, and deacons, with a succession of patriarchs at Pepuza. Ecstatic prophecy could not supply an enduring basis for Church life. Intermittent and exceptional in its operation, it gave way before the cohesion of a wide-spread and permanent ministry. In the fifth and sixth centuries Montanism came under the ban of imperial legislation. Justinian finally resolved on its suppression, and it vanishes from our view as the devoted leaders gathered their adherents with their wives and children into the churches, set fire to the buildings, and died in the flames.[2]

In the meantime Catholic organization became more and more clearly conscious of its own functions. With the continued establishment of fresh congregations new problems of duty arose, and the mutual relations of Church officials needed further definition. Of this tendency the Canons attributed to Hippolytus of Rome early in the third

[1] *Corp. Inscrr. Lat.*, viii, 2272, quoted by Achelis, *Das Christenthum in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten*, ii, p. 51.

[2] Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, xi, ed. Dindorf, iii, p. 74.

century afford interesting illustration. They served as the base of later and more elaborate manuals of Church law.[1]

An earlier generation had recognized a series comprising bishop, presbyters, readers, deacons, and widows.[2] By the year 200 A. D. the deacons had acquired greater prominence, and they stand in the third place, before the readers. Martyrs and confessors may under certain conditions have the rank of presbyters without further ordination.[3] Beside the widows, engaged in prayer and fasting and the visitation of the sick, stand certain virgins. For the laity various duties are prescribed. They, too, must pray and fast. Daily and weekly they must be diligent in attendance at the worship of the community. They must provide the offerings for the altar and the alms for the poor. They must not forget that they were once themselves catechumens, and they must be willing to join those yet in that lower stage for mutual instruction about the service of God,[4] a great preservative against trouble from demons. But they have one privilege. They can join in the election of the bishop.

Various are the bishop's functions as he superintends the entire life of the church. He pre-

[1] See the edition by Achelis in *Texte und Untersuch.*, vi (1891), Heft 4, with his supplementary discussion.

[2] *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, ante, p. 186.

[3] The presbyters appear to have been honorary, having the status but not the function.

[4] Canon xxvii, §246.

sides over the higher solemnities of worship, though his presence is not required at the early daily prayer. He makes the oblations, he distributes the Eucharist, he supervises the *Agapê* which may follow. The conduct of his flock is under his constant inspection, and he decides what catechumens are ready for baptism. He receives reports from the deacons about the sick, and goes to pray over the sufferers. And he is the chief exorcist, for whom the ordaining bishop or elder entreats power from heaven for loosing all bonds of demons' wickedness. The presbyters are his fellow-workers. They may not indeed sit in the bishop's chair, or ordain elders and deacons. But like him they may lead in worship, and celebrate the Eucharist in his absence. In the ceremony which follows a bishop's ordination they lay their hands with his upon the offerings. In their own ordination (whether after congregational election, or appointment by the bishop, or co-optation by the presbytery, is not clear) the same prayer is recited as for the bishop himself, with the single substitution of the word "presbyterate" for "episcopate." For both the whole assembly prayed that the Spirit bestowed on the holy Apostles might descend on them.[1] The presbyters also visited the sick, and exorcised evil spirits.

To the deacons fell a wide range of duties. Their attendance was required at the daily prayers at

[1] Canon iii, §11.

cock-crow. They served bishop or presbyter at the Eucharist, which they might carry to a presbyter in sickness. They guarded the behaviour of the congregation. They noted cases for their superiors to visit; widows and orphans looked to them for help; they were charged to discover and relieve hidden poverty. For them was implored a gift of teaching that they might bring many to salvation in Holy Church. They must instruct the catechumens, and take care that none sought admission to the Church out of forbidden occupations without first fully renouncing them. They must see that all heathen usage was abandoned, and that the candidates for baptism had duly grasped the principles of Christian truth and realized the obligations of the Christian life.

By such officers, chosen for sanctity of spirit and blamelessness of conversation, was the believer guided upon the *scala ascensionis* as he climbed to heaven. It was a grave and solemn progress, yet withal full of joy and peace. But if he made a false step, missed his footing, and fell,—was his safety all undone? The Church replied by entreating for bishop and presbyter a new grace—*spiritum clementem et potestatem ad remittenda peccata*[1]—a merciful spirit and power to forgive sins. How was this power exercised, and what were its results? The answer to that question opens a new chapter in the evolution of the Church as the sphere of salvation.[2]

[1] Canon iii, §17.

[2] Cp. Lect. VI.

Note A, p. 139

did jesus found an "ecclesia?"

The term Ecclesia is only found in the Gospels in *Matt.* xvi, 18, and xviii, 17. What is its meaning there, and are these original utterances of Jesus? In xvi, 18, the Evangelist evidently speaks not of any particular congregation, but of the Church at large, which sprang originally from the community of disciples at Jerusalem. The significance of the term in xviii, 17, is more doubtful. Some interpreters suppose that it denotes the whole body of the disciples; Wellhausen suggests the church at Jerusalem; others, any local congregation. W. H. Lowe (*Fragment of Talmud Babli*, 1879, p. 95, note Cc, cited by Drummond, *Via, Veritas, Vita*, 1894, p. 16) identifies it with a body of ten persons required by Rabbinic law for various more solemn religious acts, and known as the *édhah* or "congregation" (cp. עֵדָה in Lévy's *Neuhebr. und Chald. Wörterb.*).

The reasons for doubting that the words in xvi, 18, were actually spoken by Jesus are various. (1) His preaching was mainly concerned with the speedy coming of "the Kingdom"; and his outlook on the future did not contemplate the foundation of a permanent community. (Paul, however, with a similar expectation of the approaching close of the age, does found churches from place to place.) (2) The Church is elsewhere represented as founded on Christ, 1 *Cor.* iii, 10, 11; on the Twelve, *Rev.* xxi, 14; on Apostles and Prophets, *Ephes.* ii, 20. (3) The prerogative here ascribed to Peter is promised elsewhere to the disciples, xviii, 18. There is no indication of its

special exercise by Peter, *e. g.* in *Acts*, or in the scene at Antioch described by Paul in *Gal.* ii, 11–14. (4) The passage is absent from *Mark* (founded upon Peter's reminiscences) and *Luke*. (5) It belongs to a group of peculiar insertions in *Matt.*, such as *Matt.* xiv, 28–31, xvii, 24–27, xviii, 21 ff. (6) Justin (*Dialog.*, c) who knows xvi, 17, does not quote 18. Nor does Irenæus, who also knows 17, but omits 18–19; cp. *Adv. Hæres.*, III, iii, 2; cp. III, xviii, 4; xiii, 2; xxi, 8; Resch, *Aussercanonische Texte* (1893), pp. 185–196. The first reference to 18–19 is found in Tert., *De Præscript. Hæret.*, xxii (about 199 A. D.); cp. Clem., *Hom.* xvii, 19. (7) There is some possibility that an early form of the Diatessaron of Tatian made known through an Armenian version of a Syriac commentary on Tatian's work did not contain them. (8) On the general historic conditions when the words are first clearly traceable, cp. Grill, *Der Primat des Petrus* (1904), p. 77. Grill dates them about 190 A. D.

Note B, p. 198

TERTULLIAN ON HERESY AND THE CHURCH

The treatise of Tertullian entitled *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum* is usually referred to the year 199 A. D. The term *Præscriptio* comes from the language of law, and indicates the "barring of a claim," a formal objection taken to a plea. The claim which Tertullian proposes to meet, the plea which he will set aside, is contained in the Gospel words adopted as a kind of charter by the heretics, "Seek and ye shall find." After a denunciation of philosophy as the parent of heresies—"What have Athens and Jerusalem, the

Academy and the Church, to do with one another?"—he urges that the words must be interpreted by the circumstances of their utterance. They belonged to the beginning of the Lord's ministry, when all were yet doubtful whether he were the Christ; Peter had not yet declared him to be the Son of God, and John the Baptist had ceased to feel assurance about him. Moreover the words were addressed to Jews who had received God's promises of which the Gentiles knew nothing. The Gentiles were to be taught afterwards by the Apostles, who were in possession of the Paraclete who would guide them into all the truth. Search was, however, justifiable provided it was made in the right place; the old woman in the parable did not go outside her own house to look for the lost coin; and the man who wanted bread for his friend did not go farther than his neighbour's door. Enquiry, therefore, must not pass beyond the Rule of Faith. But the heretics claimed the support of the Scriptures. Tertullian will not argue with them on that ground. Such a controversy would have no other effect than to upset either the stomach or the brain! Some of the sacred books the heretics rejected, others they mutilated, others they interpreted perversely. The orthodox disputant would lose his breath and gain nothing but vexation. Everything which he maintained would be denied; everything which he denied would be maintained; *ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est.* Where, then, should the truth be found? Christ was its source, the Apostles were its teachers, the churches which they founded were its witnesses. The *testimonium veritatis*, therefore, lay in agreement with their teaching. This chain consisted of three

links. Christ was admittedly incapable of error. What of the Apostles? Did not Paul's rebuke to Peter at Antioch show that even Apostles might go astray? [This was the case on which Porphyry afterwards laid such stress.] The fault was one of conduct, urges Tertullian, not of teaching, and Peter was on the same level with Paul in martyrdom. In the apostolic preaching there was neither error nor reserve. Had the faith, then, been corrupted in the third stage? Look at the number of the churches, it was pleaded for the defence. Their wide separation rendered it impossible to suppose that their united agreement resulted from chance. Let the heretics unfold the roll of their bishops, and show that the first of them had received apostolic ordination. This was the way in which churches like Smyrna and Rome could prove their apostolic origin. This general argument was a kind of preface to subsequent treatises directed against special heresies.

LECTURE IV

THE SACRAMENTS AS THE MEANS OF SALVATION

"WISDOM," says a Jewish teacher in the name of Solomon, "is initiated into the knowledge of God"; the mysteries of her origin and nature are revealed only to those who through prayer receive her spirit and prepare for themselves friendship with God.[1] Philo declared that he had been initiated by Moses into the great mysteries; Jeremiah, too, had been his hierophant; he is himself ready to act the same part to those who have been purified, and will guard the secrets as a sacred treasure in their inmost souls.[2] For the first Christians the kingdom of God was a mystery[3]; so were the great events of the near future, the working of Lawlessness and the impending revelation of the Lawless One,[4] whose power would be brought to nought by the Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ; the marvel of the instantaneous change of the living and the resurrection

[1] *Wisdom of Sol.* viii, 4, vi, 22, vii, 7, 14.

[2] *De Cherubim*, xii–xiv.

[3] *Mark* iv, 11; the explanation by a later day of the rejection of the Gospel by Jesus' own people.

[4] 2 *Thess.* ii, 7–8.

of the dead[1]; the wonder of God's purpose of salvation for the Gentile as well as the Jew.[2] Paul, too, had been "initiated" into the mystery of life, contentment alike with plenty and with want[3]; and his apostolic commission lays on him a high responsibility as "steward of the mysteries of God."[4] The seer of the Apocalypse learns that when the seventh Angel sounds, and the kingdoms of the world pass to their rightful Lord, the mystery of God will be completed.[5] Ignatius knows of three "mysteries of a cry wrought in the stillness of God": the virginity of Mary, the birth of the holy Child, and the death of the Lord.[6] But there is a hint of new meanings in another phrase. When the deacons are said to be the ministers (διάκονοι) not of food and drink but of the mysteries of Jesus Christ,[7] the phrase suggests something more than solemnities and secrets of truth, conceived primævally in the divine Mind and at length displayed in actual events, or the marvels of Nature whose Order is guarded by the Elemental spirits.[8] Justin can still speak of the mystery of Christ and of the Cross[9]; but he can also plead for "our mysteries," against those of Dionysus,

[1] 1 *Cor.* xv, 51.

[2] *Col.* i, 26, ii, 2, iv, 3; *Eph.* iii, 4, 9, vi, 19; *Romans* xvi, 25.

[3] *Philip.* iv, 12, μεμύημαι ("I have learned the secret," R. V.), the technical word of initiation.

[4] 1 *Cor.* iv, 1.

[5] *Rev.* x, 7: xi, 15.

[6] *Ephes.* xix.

[7] *Trall.* ii, 3.

[8] *Ad Diognet.* vii, 2, the στοιχεῖα of *Gal.* iv, 9.

[9] 1 *Apol.* xiii, 4, *Dial.* lxxiv, 3, cvi, 1, cxxxi, 2, cxxxiv, 5.

Adonis, Saturn, the Mother of the Gods, and Mithras.[1] What is the meaning of this designation of the Christian rites?

For many centuries Greece had been the home of certain cults distinguished alike from the domestic worship of the private citizen and the public ceremonies of the State. They were reserved for those who had been specially admitted after due preparation. The person of the candidate must be purified; he must be pledged to secrecy concerning the holy sights and sacred words; disclosure might involve the penalty of death. Such rituals of a ruder kind are now known to be wide-spread among the peoples of the lower culture, and certain elements in Greek practice which had acquired the sanctity of ancient custom may have been derived from an earlier and cruder stage of thought and life. Two great religious ideas emerge out of the obscurity in which these mysteries still remain in spite of all the labours of recent students for their elucidation. They were believed to open a way to direct communion with the Deity, and —perhaps as a natural consequence—to secure for the believer the promise of a happy immortality.

Most famous of all were the mysteries of Eleusis. The town stood on a low rocky height guarding a bay upon the coast of Attica, opposite the island of Salamis. Across the hills and the fertile plain which separated it from Athens ran the Sacred

[1] 1 *Apol.* xxix, 2; *Dial.* lxix, 2; 1 *Apol.* xxv, 1, xxvii, 4; 2 *Apol.* xii, 5; *Dial.* lxx, 1, lxxviii, 6; 1 *Apol.* lxvi, 4.

Way, twelve miles in length, adorned in the course of many generations with temples and monuments. Along this road as early as the seventh century (perhaps earlier still) passed the processions year by year in the month of September, to and fro, bearing the "holy things," or escorting the "fair young god" Iacchos. There were lustrations as the candidates for initiation (*mystæ*) bathed in the sea; and they were required to be sexually pure, and to have abstained from certain forbidden foods. There was something in the nature of a religious drama or passion-play, in which Demeter and the Maid (Korê, her daughter) and Aidoneus, lord of the under-world, took part. There was a display of consecrated objects, and the *mystæ* partook of some sacred food. There was a discourse by the presiding officer or hierophant. It probably explained the meaning of what was offered to the wondering gaze of the beholders. The fame of the Mysteries, the solemnity of the previous preparations, the concentration of thought and expectation on great themes, the contagion of numbers, the sympathy of a vast crowd from distant lands, all intensified the impression. The result was, as Aristotle phrased it, that they felt certain emotions, and were put into a certain frame of mind.[1] Writing in the time of Julian in the fourth century A.D., Themistius compared the experiences of the initiated with those of the soul at the point of death; there were glooms and

[1] Quoted by Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. iii, p. 192.

terrors, and then a wondrous light; the initiate was received into pure regions with holy dance and song; he joined in the divine communion and companied with the blessed, while those outside were huddled together in filth and fog. From the days of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter which practically threw the mysteries open to all Greece, it had been believed that they secured for the initiated a better lot in the world beyond the grave.[1] Women, and even slaves, were admitted, and finally all limits of nationality were transcended, and the entry was made as wide as Roman citizenship. The homicide was rejected, and Nero suffered the ignominy of exclusion. The professor of unhallowed rites might not enter, and the door was closed against Apollonius of Tyana as a wandering magician. Otherwise there seem to have been no definite moral demands upon the candidates. They were not redeemed from any sinful ways. No pattern of conduct was held up before them; nor was the nature of the future life made clear. But they were inspired with faith in a happy immortality; and the sense of belonging to a vast community who had marched together along the Sacred Way, added to the conviction of a consecrated destiny, may well have given to many devout spirits an elevation of sen-

[1] "Happy is he among deathly men who hath beheld these things! and he that is uninitiate, and hath no lot in them, hath never equal lot in death beneath the murky gloom": transl. Andrew Lang.

timent which dignified and strengthened their whole character. A decree of the Amphictyonic Council in the second century B.C. declared it to be "the tradition of the mysteries that the greatest of human blessings is fellowship and mutual trust."[1] The epitaph on a certain hierophant, who passed on to the immortals in the tenth year of his office, affirmed that he found death not an evil but a blessing. The Eleusinian faith spread far and wide, and doubtless prompted many a prayer like that inscribed on Alexandrian grave-reliefs that the departed "might reach the region of the holy ones."[2]

The hope of immortality in Greece, said Herodotus, was derived from Egypt.[3] Apart from the accuracy of this statement as to the origin of Hellenic belief, the place which the doctrine occupied in the religious interest of the Egyptians is well known. The figure of the "Good Being," Osiris, served as the age-long centre of the visions of the future. His life of beneficence had ended through the cruel stratagem of his brother Seth-Typhon, and legend told of the wanderings of his sister-wife Isis, of her recovery of the corpse, of its brutal dismemberment subsequently by the murderer, and of the quest of the scattered limbs by the devoted Isis, who with the aid of her son Horus succeeded in putting them together and effecting the resurrection of her dead spouse; or, as Plutarch

[1] Farnell, *ibid.*, pp. 191, 347.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 350.
[3] *Herodot.* ii, 123.

has it, "Isis invented the remedy which confers immortality."[1] All this was wrought into a sacred drama of Osiris and his sufferings, which Herodotus witnessed at its annual performance at Sais.[2] Similar representations took place at the same time in fifteen other cities. Herodotus states that they were called the "Mysteries." The term, however, is not employed in the technical Greek sense. There were no initiations, no vows imposed on the spectators, nor any special blessings secured for them after death. But the ceremonies repeated in the story of the god, on the most impressive scale, what was supposed to happen to the ordinary man. From very ancient times the deceased Egyptian was identified with the Ruler of the land of the departed; he, too, was symbolically dismembered, and through mystical assimilation with the resurrection of Osiris by magic formulæ was reconstructed and prepared for the new life.[3] Like other deities who perished and rose again, such as Dionysos or Attis, Osiris had not died voluntarily, and the ancient myth could not present him as a Saviour-god.[4] Yet he became the type of blessed immortality. In the

[1] Quoted by Moret, *Kings and Gods of Egypt* (1912), p. 78.

[2] *Herodot.* ii, 171, τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ.

[3] For a late representation of this process, founded no doubt on earlier texts, see Legrain, *Livre des Transformations* (1890), from a demotic papyrus B.C. 57–56, where the process by which the dead man becomes Osiris is described in detail.

[4] Cp. Loisy, *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, iv, 1913, p. 402.

great hall of the twofold Justice he sat as judge; and century after century, millennium after millennium, the generations of men prepared themselves for death, confiding in the hope that when their deeds were weighed in the balance they would be pronounced pure, and would pass into the fellowship and felicity of the gods.[1] Still, in the days of imperial Rome did he vouchsafe to bestow the cooling water of life,[2] which gave rise to the worshipper's prayer "*Deus te refrigeret,*" and may not have been without its influence upon the later religious language of the Church, where the term *refrigerium* came to include the heavenly and eternal meal of which the saints partook with Christ and his angels.[3]

In the early centuries of our era, however, Isis had acquired a far more prominent place outside Egypt. Under the Ptolemies her worship had been carried from city to city along the Mediterranean; and after the fashion of the day she had been identified with one after another of the great deities, and exalted into the supreme sovereignty

[1] See the full treatment of this great scene in Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, Vol. i (1911), chap. x.

[2] Kaibel, *Inscrr. Græc.*, 1488, cp. 1705, 1782, τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ. Cp. 1842 (addressed to Aidoneus), and the pathetic touch in 1890, ψυχῇ διψώσῃ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ μεταδός.

[3] Cp. Kraus, *Realencyclopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer* (1882), *Bd.* ii, 685. The verb was already used with reference to the dead in the *Passio S. Perpetuæ*, 8; and earlier still (as Dr. Darwell Stone kindly points out) the noun occurs in a similar connection, *e.g.*, *Wisd. of Sol.* iv, 7, "Justus autem si morte præoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit."

of the universe. Merchants and sailors, literary men, slaves, united to support the rites which her priests planted in port after port; and in spite of repeated efforts to suppress them at Rome they won a permanent place in aristocratic favour through the erection of a great temple in her honour by Caligula on the Campus Martius probably in the year 38 A.D.[1] Her votaries claimed for her creative power over the world, and the institution of the duties and affections of human life, in language that repeatedly finds its parallels in the religious phraseology of the Greek Scriptures of the Old Testament. Here are a few phrases from an inscription discovered in the island of Ios[2]: "I am Isis, the mistress of every land, I gave and ordained laws unto men, which no one is able to change. I divided the earth from the heaven, I showed the paths of the stars, I ordered the course of the sun and moon. I made strong the right. I brought together woman and man. I showed mysteries to men; I taught them to honour images of the gods. I broke down the governments of tyrants. I ordained that the true should be thought good." When the goddess revealed herself, it is not surprising that she should declare herself the object of universal adoration: "The whole earth worships my godhead, one and individual, under many a changing shape, with varied

[1] Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (1911), p. 84.

[2] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (1910), p. 196.

rites and by many diverse names."[1] She presented herself to her votaries in dreams, announcing that she was "strong to aid"; and to Lucius, the bewitched hero of the "Golden Ass," she promises her aid to change him back into humanity on condition that the rest of his life should be dedicated to her. He shall pass his years beneath her protection, and in the world below he should see her shining through the darkness of Acheron, and dwell in the Elysian fields, engaged in continual worship and blest in the sunlight of her smile.[2] Such was salvation through Isis. How was it to be gained? The description of the Isis mysteries with which Apuleius concludes his novel (in the middle of the second century A.D.), is the most complete account of such rites which has survived the losses of the past.

When the hour of deliverance arrives, the transformation is effected while a great religious procession in honour of the Saviour Goddess passes by. The priest, who has been divinely warned at the same time that the goddess appeared to Lucius, bids him enrol himself in the sacred soldiery[3]: "Dedicate thyself to the ministry of our faith, and take upon thee the voluntary yoke of

[1] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, v (transl. Butler). Then follows a long series of identifications with the Mother of the Gods, Minerva, Venus, Diana, Juno, Bellona, Hecate, and others.

[2] *Ibid.*, vi.

[3] "Da nomen huic sanctæ militiæ"; in the Latin text afterwards occur the terms *sacramentum* and *jugum*, *ministerium* and *libertas*, all familiar words in the Christian sphere.

service. For when thou hast begun to be the servant of the goddess, then shalt thou perceive more fully the greatness of thy liberty."[1] Such was the call of religion, and Lucius hastened to obey. More than any other of the deities who were elevated into the sovereignty of the world, Isis evoked personal devotion, a glowing piety. Lucius followed the practice of those who vowed themselves to her worship, and took rooms in the temple—it was at Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth—to prepare for his initiation. There he lived among those who sought the service of the goddess, and spent months, or years, or even their whole lives awaiting her summons.[2] The time passed in intercourse with the priests and the rites of worship. Night after night the queenly form of the deity appeared to him and bade him make ready. But he was held back by a dread of the severity of her discipline; the laws of chastity and abstinence were not easy to obey; and he kept putting off the completion of his vows. There were fasts and festivals; sometimes liturgical prayers were recited from a book, for the prosperity of the Emperor, the Senate, and the whole Roman people. At length the time of fulfilment arrived. He had been forewarned of its solemnity. The gates of hell, he was told, and the power of life were in the hands of the goddess, and the act of self-dedication was a kind of voluntary death,

[1] Apuleius, *Metam.*, xv.

[2] Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterien-Religionen*, p. 80.

followed by new birth and the beginning of a new race of life. After the morning sacrifice certain books written in strange hieroglyphic characters were brought forth from the great shrine, and he was informed of the provisions he must make for the ceremony. Then he was led to the *lavacrum* or font, and after the priest's prayer for the favour of the gods he was sprinkled with the purest water. Thus cleansed, he was taken back to the feet of the goddess herself in the temple; holy secrets were imparted to him; and he was publicly instructed to abstain from the pleasures of the table for ten days, to eat nothing that had life, and drink no wine. After due compliance when the tenth day was complete, he received gifts from the holy initiates, and then towards sunset was led, clothed in a new linen robe, into the very heart of the holy place. He seemed to himself to approach the unseen world and return. "I drew nigh to the confines of death, I trod the threshold of Proserpine, I was borne through all the elements and returned to earth again. I saw the sun gleaming with bright splendour at dead of night, I approached the gods above, and the gods below, and worshipped them face to face. Behold I have told thee things of which, though thou hast heard them, thou must yet know naught."[1] When the rites were accomplished the next morning, he was adorned like the sun and set up like to the

[1] Apuleius, *Metam.*, xxiii. For a conjectural explanation of this experience cp. Moret, *Kings and Gods of Egypt*, p. 181 ff.

image of a god upon a platform veiled by curtains; they were suddenly drawn aside, and the wondering crowd thronged in to gaze upon him. He was mystically identified with the Sun-god whom he had beheld in midnight vision, the mysterious Deity for ever dying and for ever reborn, the source of the energies of the universe; he is endowed with immortality.

Lofty ideas might gather round these rites. Truth, says Plutarch to the Lady Clea, priestess of Isis,[1] is the greatest good for man to receive, and the most venerable gift for God to bestow; for the blessedness of Deity consists in knowledge and understanding. The happiness of the eternal life which is the lot of God lies in this, that nothing that happens escapes his cognizance. Were the knowledge and understanding of real being withdrawn, immortality would not be life but mere duration. To desire truth, especially about the gods, is to reach out after Deity, a more holy work than all ritual sanctification and temple-service. The very name of Isis (as Plutarch interpreted it) implied her pre-eminent possession of wisdom and insight, and the title of her temple promised knowledge and the vision of Reality. *Iseion* meant "approach to the knowledge of Being,"[2] if with reason and purity we enter the sanctuary of the Goddess. To those who dwell with her, and endure her austere service, she vouchsafes the knowledge (*gnosis*) of the God who is First

[1] *De Iside*, § 1.

[2] εἰσόμενον τὸ ὄν, § 2.

and Sovereign and perceived only by the mind. Such is the holy teaching which she delivers to those who are initiated for the attainment of divinity.[1] The Isiac salvation, philosophically interpreted, meant participation in the divine nature.

One other notable religion comes into the view of Christian writers in the middle of the second century and in a hundred years of struggle threatens the very existence of Christianity itself. Justin at Rome denounces the initiatory rites of Mithra as a demonic parody of the true worship.[2] Founded on homage to one of the ancient Aryan gods of light, the heavenly "Friend," august companion of the all-seeing Varuna, chief deity of the sky,[3] the rites of Mithra had certainly reached Rome in the latter part of the first century of our era, if they had not, as Plutarch tells, been introduced before the end of the Republic, through the captive Cilician pirates subdued by Pompey. The religion of Persia out of which they came had already helped to give to Judaism doctrines of resurrection and judgment which were planted deep in Christianity. It was not surprising therefore, that both teaching and practice should show many common features in the two faiths. The brilliant scholar whose researches have thrown such a flood of

[1] *τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον ὃν ἡ θεὸς . . . παραδίδωσι τοῖς τελουμένοις θειώσεως.*

[2] 1 *Apol.* lxvi, 4.

[3] The equation Varuna = Greek Ouranos is still maintained by competent scholars.

light on the Mithraic monuments, Prof. Franz Cumont, has thus summed up their parallel elements[1]:

The adepts of both formed secret conventicles, closely united, the members of which gave themselves the name of "Brothers." The rites which they practised offered numerous analogies. The sectaries of the Persian God, like the Christians, purified themselves by baptism; received by a species of confirmation the power necessary to combat the spirits of evil; and expected from a Lord's Supper salvation of body and soul. Like the latter, they also held Sunday sacred, and celebrated the birth of the Sun on December 25th, the same day on which Christmas has been celebrated since the fourth century at least. They both preached a categorical system of ethics, regarded asceticism as meritorious, and counted among their principal virtues abstinence and continence, renunciation and self-control. Their conceptions of the world and of the destiny of man were similar. They both admitted the existence of a Heaven inhabited by beatified ones, situate in the upper regions, and of a Hell peopled by demons, situate in the bowels of the earth. They both placed a Flood at the beginning of history; they both assigned as the source of their traditions a primitive revelation; they both, finally, believed in the immortality of the soul, in a last judgment, and in a resurrection of the dead consequent upon a final conflagration of the universe.

[1] *Textes et Monuments de Mithra*, i, p. 339: transl. McCormack, *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Chicago, 1903), p. 190.

Such were some of the ritual forms created by different types of religious life. They sought in various ways to bring the believer into fellowship with the Powers that ruled the world, and secure his welfare in the realm beyond the grave. It was a widespread need; so general was the longing for help and assurance in the better minds that Athenagoras could affirm as a universal fact that mysteries were celebrated among every nation and people.[1] The first requirement always was for purity of person as an outward symbol of purity of heart, and the entry into a consecrated community lay through the cleansing bath. It was with correct feeling that Clement of Alexandria recognized an affinity between the Greek rites of purification and Christian baptism: "Not without reason is it that in the mysteries in vogue among the Greeks lustrations hold the first place, as also the laver among the barbarians."[2]

All over the world ceremonies of initiation are to be found, guarding admission into different types of community. In the lower culture they introduce youth into the duties and privileges of manhood, and the traditions, laws, and customs of the tribe. Many of these are modelled on a common idea, a symbolic death and resurrection.[3]

[1] *Legatio*, i. [2] *Strom.* V, xi.

[3] Cp. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (1908), p. 38; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, xi (*Balder the Beautiful*, ii, 1913), p. 225, "The Ritual of the Resurrection." For a very elaborate ex-

They may be traced all round the world from Australia and New Guinea to Fiji, among the Indians of America and the negroes of West Africa. In the higher religious communities the more common figure is that of rebirth. The three upper castes of ancient India belonged to the "Twice-born." The youthful Brahman, somewhere between the ages of eight and sixteen, was led to his preceptor to be invested with the sacred thread. Blessings were uttered over it, and holy water was sprinkled on it[1]; modern ceremonial is more complicated and includes at least two baths. Sprinkling with water took away evil thoughts, bad dreams, misfortune, and distress.[2] To bathe in a river and worship king Dharma on the fourteenth of each half of the month was the appointed way of purification from every sin.[3] The daily bath in the prescribed form even secured exemption from the tortures of Yama's hell.[4] The disciple of the Good Religion (of Zoroaster) must celebrate the ritual and become *navazîd*, "newly born," born again, regenerate.[5] In the Roman Empire a new rite was brought to Italy from Phrygia and introduced into the cult of the Great

ample (though in a different connection) see the account of the Sed Festival in Egypt, *ibid.*, vi (*Adonis*, ii, 1914), p. 153, for the renewal of the King's life, through mystical identification with the death of Osiris, followed by his rebirth.

[1] Monier Williams, *Religious Thought in India* (1883), p. 361.

[2] *Institutes of Vishnu* (Sacred Books of the East, VII,) lxiv, 41.

[3] *Ibid.*, xc, 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxiv, 42.

[5] *Sacred Books of the East*, XXIV, p. 262.

Mother, known as the *Taurobolium*. The first record of its performance in the West belongs to the year 134 A.D., but in its Asian home it was doubtless much older, and represented some cruder savage practice. A pit was dug and planks were laid across it. On this rough platform a bull was slaughtered. In the pit beneath stood the worshipper, crowned with gold, who sought the New Birth. The blood flowed over the planks and dripped upon him through the chinks between them; it was charged with quickening energy. His head and face, his clothes, his body, were all drenched. He emerged *renatus in eternum*, reborn for ever, purified from sin. He had died to his old life, he had become the equal of the god, he was made divine.[1]

Similar ideas, couched in various forms, meet us in contemporary cults. In one of the Hermetic tracts, entitled *The Bowl or the Monad*, Hermes tells his son Tat that the whole world was made by the Creator with Reason (*Logos*) not with hands; he must be conceived, therefore, as everywhere present and always existing, though his body is not extended, and cannot be touched or seen or measured. Men, too, were sharers in reason, but a yet higher power was set before them as a prize, viz. participation in the supreme Mind (*Nous*).

[1] Among recent descriptions cp. Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, p. 66; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, v, (*Adonis*, i), p. 274. Tertullian says *De Bapt.* v, that those who were bathed in the *ludi Apollinares* and the Eleusinian mysteries believed themselves regenerated and relieved of punishment for their perjuries.

God filled a mighty bowl with it, and sent it down to earth with a herald whom he commanded to proclaim to human hearts, "Baptize thyself who canst in this bowl, believing that thou mayest ascend to him who sent down the bowl, acknowledging for what thou hast been made."[1] This is the way of salvation, which is elsewhere described as rebirth.[2] In the discourses which belong to what we might call the common type or school, and serve as a kind of scripture[3] for the disciples, Tat reminds his father Hermes that it has been laid down that "no man can be saved before rebirth"; and he enquires what sort of being he will be who is born *theos* (divine), a child of God. Hermes replies in mystical language that he has passed out of himself into an immortal body, he is no longer what he was before, he has been born in Mind.[4] It is a doctrine analogous to that of the Isiac mysteries, where the initiates were in a fashion reborn.[5] The priest who was the human "parent" of the new birth of Lucius bore the name of Mithra[6]; and in the strange text—whether liturgy or apocalypse—so brilliantly edited by the lamented scholar Dieterich, the believer closes with the declaration that he is born again, he has died and been born with the birth that gives life.[7]

[1] Cap. iv, Ὁ κρατὴρ ἡ μονάς, § 4.
[2] In the Λόγος ἀπόκρυφος περὶ παλιγγενεσίας, Cap. xiii (xiv).
[3] Λογοὶ γενικοί, x (xi) §§ 1, 7; xiii (xiv) § 1.
[4] Ἐγεννήθην ἐν Νῷ, § 3.
[5] Apuleius, *Metam.* XI, xxi, *quodammodo renatos.*
[6] *Ibid.*, xxv. [7] *Eine Mithras liturgie* (1903), p. 14, ll. 31–34.

The precise origin of Christian baptism is obscure. How early the rite was applied to converts from heathenism into the Synagogue is uncertain. The earliest outside testimony is found curiously enough in the discourses of Epictetus.[1] The purifying bath played a great part in the discipline of the Essenes, and the Gospels describe the baptism of John as designed for the "remission of sins."[2] In carrying the message of the desert-preacher into Galilee, "Repent for the kingdom of God has come nigh," Jesus did not continue his practice. Nor did he instruct his missionaries to revive it. The Fourth Gospel does indeed ascribe baptism to the Teacher and his disciples,[3] but soon after withdraws the statement concerning Jesus himself (iv, 2). Cautious scholars agree in viewing the injunction on the Mount in Galilee[4] as the utterance rather of the Church than of the Master; for the triple formula "Into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" only superseded at a later time the earlier usage

[1] *Arrian*, II, ix, quoted by Brandt, Hastings's *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, ii, p. 408. Cp. *Jewish Encycl.*, art. "Baptism," and Kohler, *Grundriss einer Systematischen Theologie des Judentums* (1910), p. 307.

[2] Cp. *Mark* i, 4; *Luke* iii, 3. The omission of this reference in *Matt.* iii, is probably due to reflection on the difficulty involved in the implied consequence that the destined Messiah in submitting himself to such baptism made a confession of sin, cp. iii, 14–15, and the well-known passage in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, preserved by Jerome, *Contra Pelag.*, iii, 2, cp. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*[2], p. 4.

[3] *John* iii, 22.

[4] *Matt.* xxviii, 19.

of baptism "in the name of Jesus Christ."[1] The scene at Pentecost in Jerusalem closes with the revival of the appeal of John, "Repent and be baptized unto the remission of sins." But it is with a difference. It has the same outlook towards the future, but it sounds a new note, not of threat but of promise. It is not a warning to prepare for impending judgment; it is an invitation to receive a gift, the quickening energy known as "Holy Spirit"; and this is bestowed on those who recognize that Jesus has been indeed "made Lord and Christ," and are ready to place themselves under the protection of his name. For names were powers; and their use by those who were duly authorized to employ them brought all kinds of mysterious forces into operation, which might react dangerously on persons who had no proper title to wield them.[2] Baptism thus became the means of entry into the community of the heirs of the Kingdom. It carried within it the privilege of fellowship with the believers who waited for their returning Lord, the forgiveness of past transgression and consequent acquittal at

[1] *Acts* ii, 38, viii, 16, x, 48, xix, 5. Modern students have ceased to distinguish between the prepositions rendered in English by "in" and "into." On the textual evidence for *Matt.* xxviii, 19, *see* Dr. F. C. Conybeare in the *Hibbert Journal* (1903), Vol. i, p. 102, and the reply of Dr. Chase, *Journal of Theological Studies* (1905), Vol. vi, p. 483. Cp. Professor Kirsopp Lake in Hastings's *E. R. E.*, ii, p. 380.

[2] See the story of the strolling exorcists at Ephesus and the seven sons of Sceva, *Acts* xix, 13–17, cp. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu* (1903), p. 266, ff.

the approaching great assize, and a mystical participation in a new kind of life known as Spirit.

No special interpretation of the rite is suggested in the Book of Acts. But the Apostle Paul supplies it with a meaning which is all the more remarkable because of his own apparent indifference to it: "Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the Gospel"; and at Corinth he could only remember baptizing Crispus and Gaius and the household of Stephanas.[1] Who initiated the other converts we are not told. But in the same letter he reminds them that they had been washed and consecrated and made righteous in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of God.[2] These two agencies, however, were not really distinct. The equation "The Lord is the spirit"[3] enabled the Apostle to use either name in different connections with practically the same meaning. To be in Christ or to have Christ formed within was an experience of like kind with life in the Spirit or the possession of the indwelling Spirit. The attempt to express the sense of union with an unseen Power in terms of space relations which could be absolutely inverted, involved no less confusion than the endeavour to separate ideas that constantly tended to run together. Just as at the baptism of Jesus the Spirit was affirmed to have actually descended into him,[4] so did the believer receive the sanctifying power into his

[1] 1 *Cor.* i, 14–17. [2] 1 *Cor.* vi, 11. [3] 2 *Cor.* iii, 17.
[4] So all the best texts in *Mark* i, 10, instead of "upon."

own person. There it wrought wondrous effects. By its hallowed might the dominion of sin was broken, and sin itself was done to death. A fresh element of being was imparted; a new creation started into life; the disciple had put on Christ; the process had been begun which should give him a form like the image of the Son himself, when the time should come for the Lord to fashion out of the body of our humiliation a new shape like that worn by himself in glory.[1]

With impassioned imagination Paul works out this conception into a kind of mystical drama. Analogies and metaphors are rapidly employed to indicate meanings more poignant than ordinary words could hold. Israel had received its baptism into Moses as it journeyed under the guidance of the sacred cloud, and entered the waters of the Red Sea.[2] Thus was it brought within the sphere of the Providential purpose which culminated at Sinai in the covenant of the Law. Baptism into Christ was the miniature representation of a yet vaster scheme. The redemption of sinners had required the Messiah's death, but in virtue of his spirit of holiness Jesus had been raised from the dead and exalted as Lord to the right hand of God. Thence he dispensed the gifts and graces of salvation, and prepared the great era when the saints should reign with him, and share in the judgment destined to overtake the Powers and Principalities

[1] *Gal.* iii, 27; *Rom.* viii, 11, 29; *Phil.* iii, 21.
[2] 1 *Cor.* x, 1–2.

which had disputed his sway. What Christ had done as the Man from heaven for humanity at large, the believer must repeat within the limits of his own person. He, too, must die to sin, that he might live to righteousness. So sharp must be his separation from all evil that it could only be described as "crucifixion to the world" (with the singular consequence that the world was crucified to him).[1] How could this profound experience be renewed in the disciple? The process of baptism, as he was immersed beneath the water, suggested his deposition in a tomb. There he was buried with Christ as though dead. When he returned to the familiar ways, it was to "walk in newness of life." He was acquitted of his sin by this symbolic death; he was alive unto God for he was risen with Christ. So completely were the conditions of the present identified with the destinies of the future that even in this life the saved were already in possession of seats "in the heavenlies" with their Lord on high.[2]

No second Paul was found to repeat this language.[3] It is echoed in the Johannine saying "we know that we have passed out of death into life because we love the brethren."[4] But this

[1] *Gal.* vi, 14.

[2] *Rom.* vi, 3–11; *Ephes.* ii, 6. The part which the water actually played in this result is not explained. The Apostle's thought moved in a different sphere.

[3] The author of *Ephesians*, if not Paul himself, is very nearly his double.

[4] 1 *John* iii, 14.

transition is not effected through any assimilation of the disciple with the mystery of the Cross. The death of the Son of God is not a type which must be reproduced within the sphere of the Church. The escape from death is not achieved by passing through it as a single act, but by emergence out of it as a permanent unspiritual state. The instruments of this passage are obedience and faith. "He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life."[1] The Hellenic mind fixed on new birth as the more natural emblem of this mighty change.[2] The believer must be "begotten of God."[3] Those who are "of God" have already shared in the victory of Christ, they too are conquerors of the Evil One.[4] This divine generation is already announced in the Fourth Gospel and connected with baptism: "Except a man be born of water and spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." There is good reason for suspecting that the reference to water is a later intrusion into the text.[5] But the promise of "living water" to the Samaritan woman, parallel to the promise of the sacred bread,[6]

[1] *John* v, 24. [2] Cp. *ante*, p. 229.

[3] 1 *John* iii, 9, iv, 7 etc. [4] *Ibid.*, ii, 14; *John* xvi, 33.

[5] Cp. Wendt, *The Gospel according to St. John* (1902), p. 120; Lake, *The Influence of Textual Criticism on the Exegesis of the N. T.* (1904), p. 15.

[6] Cp. *John* iv, 10, vi, 32; "give me this water," iv, 15; "give us this bread," vi, 34.

points already to the baptism of the Gentiles[1]; and the mysterious issue of blood and water out of Jesus' side upon the cross is probably correctly interpreted as a symbol of the life-giving sacraments which flowed from his redeeming death.

Baptism thus became something more than a rite of entrance into a holy community; it was the actual means of imparting a seed of immortality. As it acquired more and more significance for placing the believer on the first step of the *scala ascensionis*, it was invested with increasing solemnity. In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*[2] the candidate must first be duly instructed in the two Paths of Life and Death. Together with the baptizer (of whose status in the church nothing is said)[3] he must fast beforehand, to secure a purity of person where there is nothing of which demons can lay hold. It is well if the fast is shared by others also. The "living water" of a running stream is preferable. Thrice, it would seem, should the catechumen be immersed "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit"[4]; if immersion was impracti-

[1] The Evangelist has already given a hint in that direction by the allusion to baptism and the activity of the disciples, iv, 1–2.

[2] Chap. vii.

[3] Ignatius, *Smyrn.* viii, 2, declares the presence or at least the sanction of the bishop necessary.

[4] Cp. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi, 520–3, ridiculing the Romans who would break the ice in the Tiber and descend thrice into the sacred stream.

cable, it would suffice to pour water three times on the head with the same words. The triple formula replaces the simpler and more ancient style, "in the name of Jesus Christ," which long held its ground in traditional use, and was only finally set aside in the third century.

The importance attached to baptism to which the name of "the seal" was applied,[1] may be inferred from the Corinthian practice cited by the Apostle Paul, of baptizing the living on behalf of the dead.[2] Even the departed must share the grace. The great tower of the Church which Hermas sees in vision with its shining stones is built on water, for that is the element by which life is saved.[3] In a later vision certain stones are brought up from the deep. They are the men of past generations to whom "the seal" has been preached by apostles and teachers who descended to those who had fallen asleep, and bestowed on them the baptism which gave them life and brought them within the Church.[4] Baptism carried with it the knowledge of the name of the Son of God. Without this knowledge not even

[1] Cp. 2 *Clem.* vi, 9; viii, 6. It corresponded to the Jewish circumcision, also designated "the seal," Achelis, *Das Christenthum*, i, p. 122. Cp. *Rev.* vii, 3–4, where the 144,000 are sealed on their foreheads, ix, 4, contrasted with the mark of the Beast, xiii, 16. For the use of the symbol cp. *Odes of Solomon*, iv, 8; viii, 16.

[2] 1 *Cor.* xv, 29. Cp. prayers and sin-offerings for the dead in later Judaism; 2 *Macc.* xii, 42–45. On analogous Orphic practice, cp. Rohde, *Psyche*[3], ii, 128.

[3] *Shepherd*, Vis. III, ii, 4, iii, 5. [4] *Ibid.*, Simil. IX, xvi.

the angels could enter the kingdom of God.[1] Must they, also, enter the "laver of regeneration"?

Baptism was thus the necessary preliminary to full participation in the privileges of the Church. Borrowing a term from the Mysteries, Justin describes it as "illumination."[2] It is a rebirth, in which the believer is made anew. He is no longer a child of necessity and ignorance; he enters into freedom and enlightenment; he becomes a child of choice and knowledge. With prayer and fasting the company of the faithful joined the candidates in beseeching God for the remission of their sins. In the water the sacred names are pronounced over them, of "God the Father and Lord of the universe," of "Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate," and "of the holy Spirit who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus." The terms are gaining clearer definition to ward off heresy. The Father is no ultimate Being, so ultra-spiritualized that he can have nothing to do with creation; he is himself its Author and Sovereign. Christ is no phantasm who vanished before the hour of pain and left Jesus to suffer a cruel death; he shared the agony of the cross. The holy Spirit provides the proof of Christ's mission through the conformity of its incidents with the prophetic word. Here are the beginnings of a simple explanation of the Christian's faith, but speculation has not yet sought to determine the nature of the action of the water in the rite.

[1] *Shepherd*, Simil. IX, xii, 6–8. [2] 1 *Apol.* lxi.

The growth of the Church and the rising dignity of its officers naturally enhanced the solemnities by which entrance into it was guarded. The *Canons of Hippolytus* afford us precious insight into the process of receiving those who sought salvation within its fold in the beginning of the third century.[1] The first step was to examine the candidate carefully and obtain satisfactory assurance of the sincerity of his purpose; why did he abandon his own previous religious practice? was he prepared to renounce occupations which the Church declared unlawful? This might involve grave sacrifices. No silversmith or wood-carver or painter engaged in ministering to idolatry might continue his craft. The actor must leave the stage, and take no more part in the odious spectacles of the abominations of the gods. The gladiator and the fighter with wild beasts must abandon the arena. The school-master, if he does not know how to make a living otherwise, might retain his post; but on condition of denouncing the heathen gods whose hateful stories he had to teach as demons, and daily proclaiming to his pupils "There is no God but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." The case of the soldier involved many difficulties. No Christian might voluntarily take service under the Emperor; that would involve expulsion from the

[1] Cp. §§60–140. Cp. the Egyptian Church Order, and later manuals in the fourth century, in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, book viii, and the *Testament of Jesus Christ.*

Church.[1] Compulsion might alter the case, but the sword must not shed blood under pain of the wearer's exclusion from the mysteries. Every form of livelihood promoting unchastity was of course prohibited; and no one who practised magic or astrology or conjuring, or the interpretation of dreams, could be received except on the condition of surrendering his art. The maker of amulets must cease the sale of "phylacteries," and the usurer must exact interest no more. Three witnesses must testify that these renunciations were complete. Holders of office must be clothed in the ornament of justice, or they may not remain in church during the bishop's prayers. The spread of Christianity among the wealthy in the third century raised many difficulties in the performance of ceremonial and judicial duties, which were solved by various compromises. Members of heathen priesthoods of course resigned their functions. The slave of an idolatrous master must not be baptized without his master's consent: "Let him be content that he is a Christian." Was faith sufficient, then, to procure salvation? After all, his eternal safety must not be imperilled. If he was in danger of death before "admission to the gift," let him not be "separated from the rest of the flock." Ere the last hour arrived the holy rite might be administered. A catechumen who suffered martyrdom was baptized in his own blood.[2]

[1] Egyptian Church Order, in the *Can. Hippol.*, p. 82.

[2] Cp. Thecla's baptism of herself in the arena, *Acts of Paul*

The period of preparation for baptism when the candidate was once admitted to instruction, varied with many circumstances. The teaching was usually given by a deacon, who required his catechumens at the end of each lesson to repeat their renunciation of Satan and all his *pompa*. After forty days they might be sufficiently advanced to attend the service of praise and the sermon in church; and if they were judged worthy baptism might follow. But some might be kept back for months or even for years, for baptism was sometimes delayed until old age. Meanwhile the candidate must give proof of the graces of charity and lowliness; he must visit the sick, support the weak, refrain from evil speech, sing in the church psalms, abhor vain glory, despise pride, and love humility. Thus trained in the principles and practice of Christian brotherhood, when he is at length truly pure, let him confess to the bishop, and seek his sanction to enjoy the mysteries. The gospel for the season must be read over him; the last trace of double-mindedness, of secret shame, must be removed beneath its solemn utterance; in the kingdom of heaven none can be insincere. It was a severe discipline, designed to produce a grave and lofty type of character.

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and Thecla, xxxiv. In the *Acts of Callistratus*, §13 (Conybeare, *The Armenian Apology*, etc., p. 333), some soldiers are bound and thrown into the sea, and Callistratus prays that the waters may be to them for the baptism of regeneration. Such incidents are frequent.

On the fifth day of the week before the Sunday on which the rite was to be performed[1] the baptizands bathed and took food. The next day (Friday) they fasted. On Saturday they were assembled by the bishop who bade them kneel facing the east, and spread his hands over them to expel the evil spirit from their every limb, warning them against any action that would bring it back. Breathing on them he made the sign of the cross on breast and forehead, ears and mouth. They passed the night in solemn vigil, aided by holy exhortations and prayers. With such reverence did they approach the hour when they should be born again for immortality.

At cockcrow on Sunday morning a little company took their stand by running water, or on the sea-shore. The sponsors removed the clothes of little children; adults prepared themselves; for women female aid was at hand to take off their ornaments and unbind their hair, that nothing belonging to alien spirits might descend into the water of regeneration. The bishop then offered prayer over the oil of exorcism which he handed to a presbyter upon his left, and the oil of unction entrusted to one upon his right. Facing the west the baptizand then renewed his renunciation of Satan and was anointed with the oil of exorcism. Turning to the east and bowing himself in the presence of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,

[1] Any Sunday apparently. There was a tendency to concentrate on Easter and Pentecost.

and all their *pompa*, he went down into the water, where a presbyter laid his hand upon his head and asked the first solemn question:

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?

On the affirmative answer "*ego credo*" the baptizand was dipped beneath the water: and similarly after the second and third questions:

Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom Mary the Virgin bore by the Holy Spirit, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, died and rose from the dead on the third day, and ascended to heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the living and the dead?

Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?

At each immersion the sacred formula was repeated, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

Not yet, however, was the rite complete. On coming up out of the water the new-born was anointed with the chrism of thanksgiving over his whole person, face, and head, with the sign of the cross on forehead, mouth, and breast. Then he was dressed and brought into the church. Laying his hands on each in turn, the bishop prayed thus:

We bless thee, Almighty Lord God, that thou hast made these worthy to be born again and dost pour over them thy Holy Spirit, that they may now be

united to the body of the Church, never to be separated from it by unworthy deeds. Grant rather to those to whom thou hast now granted remission of sins the further pledge of thy kingdom through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom be glory to thee with himself and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever, Amen.

Then each of the baptized was kissed upon the forehead by the bishop as a mark of love, with the words "The Lord be with you." They answered, "And with thy Spirit"; and the whole ceremony concluded with prayer in which the entire congregation joined, kissing the newly born with great rejoicing.[1] Such was the formal beginning of "becoming God."

Round such a rite, the culmination of such strenuous discipline, such earnest prayers, such solemn ceremonies, with so august a purpose, emotion quickly gathered. The "water of life" as Justin called it, the "seal of Christ," became for Tertullian the "standard of faith," the "sacrament of water," the "enrolment of God."[2] Later on it is "the beginning and source of Christian graces," the "new creating wave," the "second birth into a new man," the "union with immortality."[3] But how could immersion in

[1] In the eucharistic celebration which followed, cups of milk and honey were brought to remind them that they had just been born again as babes in Christ.

[2] *Census Dei*, cp. Warren, *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church*, p. 62.

[3] Allen, *Christian Institutions*, p. 401.

water accompanied by the utterance of certain words confer so great a gift, and endue the perishable soul with everlasting life? Naturally a manual of Church Order provides no answer to such a question. To many minds it had perhaps never occurred. If Justin ever speculated on it in private, he only offers description to his readers without explanation. But other writers attempt some kind of rationale. Barnabas[1] connects the water of baptism that brings remission of sins with the cross, and following the usual identification of the cross with a tree discovers in the first Psalm a prophetic forecast of the water and the cross together. "He who doeth these things shall be as the tree which is planted at the partings of the waters" means "Blessed are those who hoped on the cross and descended into the waters"; and the "unfading leaf" signifies that "every word which shall come forth from your mouth in faith and love shall be for the conversion and hope of many."[2] For this use water had been prepared by the example of Jesus himself, for "our God," says Ignatius,[3] "Jesus the Christ, was conceived by Mary, by the dispensation of God both of the seed of David and of the Holy Spirit. He was born and was baptized, that by this experience[4]

[1] In the letter contained in the Codex Sinaiticus of the New Testament, now at Petrograd.

[2] *Ep. Barnab.* xi, 1. [3] *Ephes.* xviii, 2.

[4] τῷ πάθει, *i.e.*, by thus submitting; or perhaps "by his suffering."

he might purify the water." The idea apparently is that Jesus carried the Spirit into the water, and thus endowed it with efficacy to purge away sin.

On this theme Tertullian joyfully enlarges in his tract on Baptism.[1] He has to meet criticism founded on the simplicity of the act compared with the magnitude of the promised effect. There was no pomp, no special novelty of preparation, no expense.[2] A man is dipped in water, a few words are uttered, he comes forth not much (or not at all) the cleaner—how can the *consecutio eternitatis* be rendered credible under such conditions? How impossible, said his opponents, to be made over again by water! So he points to its age at the beginning of the world. It was the oldest element in the universe, and the most dignified, as the seat of the spirit brooding over it in creative purpose. Water, therefore, knows how to impart life. God has made the material substance which he has disposed throughout all his works, obey him also in his own peculiar sacraments. What governs the earthly life becomes the agent also of the heavenly; and the nature of the waters, sanctified by the Holy One, itself conceived the power of sanctifying. The attribute of the genus is of course to be found also in the species. It makes no difference whether a man be washed in sea or pool, in stream or spring, in lake

[1] In the opening chapters, i–vi.

[2] Contrast Apuleius' account of the costs of his successive initiations into the mysteries of Isis and Osiris.

or trough; all waters, in virtue of the ancient privilege of their origin, after invocation of God, attain the sacramental power of sanctification. The Spirit immediately supervenes from heaven, and rests upon them, sanctifying them from himself, with the result (expressed in violently antithetic terms) that the spirit of man is corporeally washed in the waters, and the flesh is spiritually cleansed. The guilt being removed, concludes Tertullian, the penalty vanishes too; and the way is open for restoration to the likeness of God which man first lost by sin. That likeness, he affirms, lies in his eternity. Elsewhere he sums up the whole matter thus[1]:

The flesh is washed that the soul may be rid of its stains. The flesh is anointed that the soul may be consecrated. The flesh is sealed (signed with the cross) that the soul also may be protected. The flesh is overshadowed by the imposition of hands that the soul may be illuminated by the Spirit. The flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ that the soul may be made fat from God.

The gift of the Spirit was not, however, complete in the water, for after the baptizand had emerged and been duly anointed, the Holy Spirit was invoked upon him with the imposition of hands.

Then, over our cleansed and blessed bodies that Holiest Spirit willingly descends from the Father. It is like the dove after the waters of the Flood by

[1] *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, viii.

which the old iniquity was purged, announcing peace to the earth after the divine wrath. So as our flesh issues from the *lavacrum* after its old sins, the dove of the Holy Spirit flies to us with the peace of God sent out from heaven where is the Church typified by the Ark.

There were still objectors who pleaded that baptism could not be indispensable to salvation because there is no mention of the baptism of the Twelve. The plea was evaded, though Tertullian admits that the answer was forced enough, by the suggestion that the Apostles were sprinkled when the spray dashed over the boat in the storm upon the lake; and Peter was certainly immersed when he tried to walk upon the waves. The answer of a good Scripturalist was plain. Whatever might have been omitted in the case of men chosen by Christ himself, the Law of baptism has been imposed, and the formula prescribed: "Go and teach the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The comparison of the definition "Unless a man be reborn of water and spirit he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" with this law has tied faith to the necessity of baptism.[1]

Baptism, then, was a rebirth, ἀναγέννησις as Justin called it[2]; it was the passage from death to life in the language of Hermas[3]: "Before a man

[1] *De Baptism.* xiii.
[2] 1 *Apol.* lxi, lxv.
[3] *Shepherd*, Sim. IX, xvi, 3.

bears the name of the Son of God he is dead; but when he receives the seal he puts away mortality and receives life. The seal, then, is the water. They go down into the water dead and come up alive." "When we received the remission of sins," says Barnabas,[1] "and put our hope in the Name, we became new, being created again from the beginning, wherefore God truly dwells in us in the habitation which we are." "Being baptized," says Clement of Alexandria, "we are illuminated; being illuminated we become sons; being made sons, we are made perfect; being made perfect, we are made immortal."[2]

The newly baptized were then led into the church; they entered for the first time into the full privileges of membership; they were admitted into its most sacred rites. The Sunday worship had long been the chief agency in maintaining and quickening their religious life; it gained now a still richer significance. They were delivered from the control of a rigid Fate; they were safe from the assaults of demons; they were brought into direct communion through the Eucharist with their heavenly Lord, present as Spirit even in hymn and prayer, and mysteriously imparting his own body and blood in the sacred food.

[1] xvi, 8.

[2] *Pædag.*, I, xxvi, 1 (ed. Stählin); φωτιζόμεθα is, of course, the mystery-word. The passage closes with the citation, "I have said that ye are gods and all sons of the Highest," *Ps.* lxxxii, 6, cp. *ante*, p. 56. The process was only completed at the Resurrection.

The general features of Christian worship had been derived from the Jewish synagogue. The Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures supplied the lessons with which the readers opened the service while the congregation assembled. By the side of prophecy and psalm the "Recollections of the Apostles," called Gospels, took their place; and letters bearing apostolic names, or those of honoured churches such as the Roman letter to Corinth, or of eminent personalities like Ignatius,—Apocalypses full of prophetic fire and ascribed to companions of the Lord like John or Peter,—were read for instruction, encouragement, and hope. Psalms and hymns were sung, and prayers were offered. Hymn and prayer doubtless belonged also to Gentile worship. Unhappily none of the stated prayers used in the temple services of the Greek ritual have been preserved. But poet and philosopher alike attest the growth of an elevated spirit in private devotion, and inscriptional evidence is not wanting for the demand for purity of heart in the approach to God through the public sanctuary. The more formal petitions were directed like those of the Athenian state "for the health and safety of the Athenians, their wives and children, and all in the country." Socrates commended the Lacedæmonians because they prayed alike in public and private that the Gods would give them τὰ καλά in addition to τὰ ἀγαθα.[1] It is the term for the high blessings of

[1] Plato, 2 *Alcibiades*, 148c.

noble character, as when Pindar prays: "O God, grant me to desire things honourable, earnestly seeking things possible in my life's prime."[1] The note of tragedy with its passionate oppositions of grief and suffering and its conviction that the fundamental justice of the world will secure the punishment of wrong, reminds us again and again of the pleadings of the Psalms. The Chorus of the Medea pray for a pure heart: "May chastity, the fairest gift of the gods, abide with me."[2] When Socrates and Phædrus rise from the shade of the plane-tree beneath which they have been conversing, Socrates cries, "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul, and may the outward and the inward man be at one"; and Phædrus adds, "Ask the same for me, for friends should have all things in common."[3] So Epictetus bade the tempted youth resort in his hour of need to God:

Desire to be in purity with your own pure self and with God. Then when any such appearance visits you (the mental picture of a wanton wife), Plato says, Have recourse to expiations, go a suppliant to the temples of the Averting Deities . . . Great is the combat, divine is the work; it is for kingship, for liberty, for happiness, for freedom from perturbation. Remember God, call upon him as a helper and protector.[4]

[1] *Pyth.*, xi, 51.
[2] *Medea*, 633.
[3] Plato, *Phædrus*, 279.
[4] Arrian, II, xviii, 4–5.

The disciple in the Hermetic community sang:

Ye Powers that are within me, praise the One and All; sing with my will, O all ye Powers within me. O holy Knowledge, illumined by thee, praising through thee the light which Mind discerns, I rejoice in the joy of Mind. And thou, Self-control, sing praise with me; O my Righteousness, praise the Righteous through me; O my Fellowship, praise the All; O Truth through me praise the Truth; O Good, praise the Good! I thank thee, Father, thy Word (*Logos*) praises thee through me. Receive from me all reasonable sacrifice.[1]

The devotional idiom is not ours; but well might Iamblichus, the pupil of Porphyry, affirm that the highest kind of prayer is sealed with that ineffable union which places all power in the gods, and enables our souls to rest perfectly in them: "Prayer nourishes our intellect, gently draws up the manners of our mind, implants divine things within us, awakens an indissoluble communion and friendship, nourishes the love of God, and kindles the divine element in the soul."[2] Plutarch might gently deprecate some of the cruder forms of Hellenic ritual; Tertullian and Cyprian might look back with shame and loathing at some of the baser spectacles into which the stories of the gods were dramatized; but other tendencies were powerfully at work in popular religion as well as

[1] Λογικὴν θύσιαν, cp. *Rom.* xii, 1. *Corp. Hermet.*, xiii, 18–19 (slightly condensed).

[2] *On the Mysteries*, v, 26.

in philosophy. Over the sanctuary of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, the Deity whom devout worshippers addressed as Saviour, Healer, King, and even identified with Zeus himself, ran the inscription:

> "Into an odorous temple he who goes
> Should pure and holy be; but to be wise
> In what makes holiness is to be pure."[1]

The Delphic oracle had long discerned the needful conditions of spiritual approach to divine things, and the Pythia uttered her warnings against reliance on outward rites instead of inward sanctity:

O stranger, if holy of soul, enter the shrine of the holy God, having but touched the lustral water; lustration is an easy matter for the good; but all ocean with its streams cannot cleanse the evil man. [And again:] The temples of the gods are open to all good men, nor is there any need of purification; no stain can ever cleave to virtue. But depart, whoever is baneful at heart, for thy soul will never be washed by the cleansing of the body.[2]

In North Africa a Numidian sanctuary tersely summed up its own significance in words addressed to those who came to pray, *Bonus intra, melior exi.*[3]

[1] Cp. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, V, i.

[2] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv, p. 212.

[3] "Enter good, go forth better." The Roman writers of the first century A.D. are full of lofty sentiments of a similar kind; cp. Pliny, *Panegyr.*, 3; Seneca, *Ep.* xl, xlvii, and a passage quoted by Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, VI, xxv; Persius, *Sat.* ii, *ad fin.*

Within the Church the Christian was brought into immediate fellowship with his heavenly Lord. There Christ was present in the form of Spirit; and with him, as later belief testified, was the host of angels ready to bear the prayers of the faithful to the throne of grace.[1] The first mould of these prayers was supplied from the synagogue. The Psalter and the prophetic books of the Old Testament constituted an inexhaustible source of the language of petition; and Hellenic piety was not without its own influence from the side of philosophy and mystical religion.[2] Judaism was already engaged in framing its own liturgical forms, and the first Christian prayers in the Gentile churches, while employing Greek speech, were naturally imbued with the motives and sentiments of the "Praises" of Israel. The brief utterances reported in the Book of Acts, the hymns of heavenly worship in the Apocalypse, are typical representatives of the new devotions. The invocation, "O Master,[3] thou that didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that in them is," has its parallels in the later Jewish

[1] *Testament of Jesus Christ*, i, 22; they visit the church at night.

[2] Cp. for example the hymn of the Stoic Cleanthes, or the prayer with which the *Poimandres* closes. On the general theme see Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, and Reitzenstein, *Hellenist. Mysterien-Religionen.*

[3] *Acts* iv, 24. The term δέσποτα was in use, though rarely, in Greek religious language, as an epithet (for instance) of Zeus, Apollo, Dionysus, Asclepius, etc.

literature, such as Judith's entreaty, "Master of the heavens and of the earth, creator of the waters, king of every creature,"[1] or Moses' prayer to the "Lord of all that is in heaven and earth and sea."[2] Creation itself, throughout the whole sphere of existence in heaven, on earth, beneath the earth, and on the sea, joins in a mighty hymn, ascribing "blessing and honour and glory and dominion to him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb."[3] This motive powerfully influenced Christian thought, as the repeated descriptions of God as "Father of the universe" suffice to prove: "Let us fix our gaze," says the Roman letter to the Corinthians, "on the Father and Creator of the whole world."[4] It was reinforced by philosophy: had not Plato described God as the "Father and Maker of all this universe,"[5] and did not Epictetus teach that he was the Maker and Father and Guardian also of man? To the troublers of the Corinthian Church Clement depicts the order of the world designed by its Creator and Master for peace and concord, in terms such as Balbus might have used in pleading for the Stoics in the Ciceronian debate on the "Nature

[1] *Judith* ix, 12. Cp. *3 Macc.* ii, 2, "Lord, King of the heavens, and Master of all creation."

[2] Josephus, *Antiqq.*, IV, iii, 2.

[3] *Rev.* v, 13; cp. xiv, 7; *Acts* xiv, 15; *Secrets of Enoch*, ii, 2. On the general significance of God as Creator in the Jewish theology, cp. Bousset, *Rel. des Judenthums*[2], pp. 410–12; Bertholet, *Bibl. Theol. des A. Ts.*, ii (1911), p. 367.

[4] 1 *Clem.* xix, 2. [5] Cp. *ante*, Epictetus, in *Arrian*, I, ix.

of the Gods."[1] So deeply was Epictetus moved by the spectacle, even to its smallest details, that he becomes himself almost lyrical, he longs "to sing hymns and bless the Deity and tell of his benefits."[2]

For this element of piety Christian worship provided ample expression. Its most sacred service bore the name of Eucharist or "Thanksgiving." Scripture, prayers, preaching, all combined to prepare for it. After his solemn counsel to the discontented Corinthians, Clement breaks into a lofty prayer which may be taken as a typical Church utterance.[3] It ranges over many themes, and may reproduce many current phrases already cherished through familiar use. But it is in no sense a compilation from fixed forms; it is still free, as it was half a century later in the days of Justin. Tenderly are the needs of the sick and suffering, the wanderers, the hungry, the prisoners and the weak, presented to the Master who can help and succour.[4] Gratitude for creation, humble confession of sin, pass into petitions for peace and concord among all the dwellers upon earth; and the prayer concludes with the entreaty that the counsels of rulers may be

[1] 1 *Clem.* xx; cp. *De Natura Deorum*, II, v, xix, xxxvi–xl. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), p. 204.

[2] *Arrian*, I, xvi.

[3] 1 *Clem.* lix, 3–lxi. The text only came to light in the Codex discovered by Bryennius in Constantinople, 1875.

[4] 1 *Clem.* lix 4. Phrases from this prayer are found in later liturgies, cp. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies* (1884), p. 40.

directed by the heavenly Master, king of eternity, to what is fair and pleasing in his sight. When these prayers ended, the unbaptized (and at a later day the penitents) were dismissed, while any who had been newly received into the Church prepared for the first time to share in what the Apostle Paul had called "the Lord's Supper."[1]

This was originally the common meal of the Church. Such celebrations were widely practised. In recounting the privileges accorded to his nation Josephus proudly related that Cæsar had granted permission to the Jews of the Dispersion to meet for this purpose.[2] Among the papyri recovered from Oxyrhynchus are two invitations to dine at the "table of the Lord Serapis," one in the Serapeum, the other in a private house, at three o'clock in the afternoon.[3] The worshippers of Mithras followed a similar usage. In the temple of Isis at Pompeii a large apartment was discovered where such meals were served; it was furnished with a marble table; there were remains of vessels and the bones of fowls.[4] Beside the market-hall in the forum stood a chamber belonging to a College of the Augustales. It held an altar for offerings to the genius of the Emperor; remains of sheep and goats were found in a small pen; the common chest still contained silver and

[1] 1 *Cor.* xi, 20. [2] Joseph., *Antiqq.*, XIV, x, 8.

[3] *Pap. Oxyrh*, i, 110, iii, 523.

[4] Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, tr. Kelsey, 2nd ed. (New York, 1902), p. 180; *Führer durch Pompeii*[2] (1898), p. 46.

copper coins to furnish forth the meal.[1] The Therapeuts of Egypt kept a special festival on the evening of Pentecost. The members of the community, dressed in white, took their places in order of seniority, the men on one side, the women on the other, while the young men served. The simple food, bread and hyssop seasoned with salt, and plain water, warm or cold, made an austere contrast to the elaborate temple banquets which Tertullian derided in the Gentile cults. The Scriptures were read and hymns were sung; a solemn dance diversified the proceedings; at sunrise a prayer was offered as the worshippers turned to the east, and the meeting ended.[2]

At Corinth the brethren brought their own food to their feast of love,[3] but it might happen that the host of the house-church might provide the meal, or that the wealthier might share their contributions with the poor. That the gathering was exposed to occasional disorders is plain from the severe warnings of the Apostle Paul.[4] Gluttony and drunkenness disfigured it; the punishments of unworthy participation were grave; sickness and even death had overtaken the guilty. At what point in the meal the hallowed act of commemoration took place which proclaimed the Lord's death till his return from heaven, is not

[1] Mau, *Pompeii*, p. 100; Führer, p. 28.

[2] Philo, *The Contemplative Life*, viii–xi.

[3] As an expression of fraternal "charity" it bore the name of *Agapê*, cp. *Jude*, ver. 12.

[4] *1 Cor.* xi, 20–34.

clear. The Apostle writes to correct a crying abuse, not to inform posterity. Who presided, who broke the bread and gave thanks, who distributed it, what words were said, what prayers were offered, we know not. The rite looked backward to the Cross, it pointed forwards to the Parousia. It brought the believer into direct communion with his Lord, a fellowship of life to the pure, of mortal peril to the unworthy. The loaf and the cup, therefore, were something more than bread and wine. Those who had received Christ into their own persons in the form of Spirit at their baptism, received him again through these other physical media in the Thanksgiving; but how the daily food became the vehicle of such an effect was a sacred mystery.

Little by little, however, the holy Supper took the central place in the worship of the Church. The details of usage are obscure; they varied from place to place; and the literature of the second century gives us scanty details till we reach the writers of its latter decades. For the communities addressed in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* the Thanksgiving was still connected with a meal of the whole congregation.[1] Ignatius, also, apparently uses the terms Eucharist and Agapê as equivalent: "Let that be considered a valid Eucha-

[1] *Teaching*, x, 1. The prayers that follow seem to refer to the general blessings of creation and sustenance and close the Agapê. The Eucharistic prayers in ix are placed first in dignity, but probably followed in order of time.

rist which is celebrated by the bishop, or by one whom he appoints . . . it is not lawful to baptize or to hold an Agapê without the bishop."[1] By the middle of the century, however, there is a change. Whether in consequence of the Edict of Trajan, or because the wealthier Christians no longer cared to sit at the same table with their humbler brethren, or to avoid the risk of unseemly conduct such as Paul rebuked, or to rebut the popular charges of "Thyestean banquets" founded on gross interpretations of ritual language, or to maintain and enhance the solemnity of the Thanksgiving, it was detached from the Agapê, and celebrated as the chief function of the Sunday worship. After the lessons from the Gospels and the Prophets, the exhortation of the President and the congregational prayers, bread, wine, and water, says Justin,[2] were brought. Over these simple elements further prayers and thanksgivings were offered by the presiding officer. There were apparently no fixed forms in obligatory use; just as the travelling prophets had been permitted complete freedom of utterance,[3] the pastor of the congregation or one of his colleagues among the presbyters spoke from the fulness of his heart "according to his ability," and the people

[1] *Smyrn.*, viii.

[2] 1 *Apology*, lxvii. According to the *Martyrium* Justin did not attend the church-meetings in Rome, §2; he may, therefore, be describing the usage of Asia Minor, from which he had come.

[3] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, x, 6.

responded with Amen.[1] The bread and wine, no longer "common," were distributed, as the worshippers approached the table and received the elements from the President. Alms were collected and deposited with him; it was his duty to apply them to the relief of the poor, the maintenance of widows and orphans, the succour of prisoners, the support of strangers from other churches. For the sick to whom the consecrated food might bring bodily health as well as spiritual grace, portions were reserved and carried away by the deacons.

Around the Thanksgiving, for which the bread and wine were at first brought by the faithful, gathered other offerings, sometimes of milk or even cheese,[2] fruits and flowers, possibly also fish for the Agapê, and oil for the unction at baptism. Store-chambers were built beside the churches, and rules were made for the appropriation of the gifts unconsumed in the holy service. In later usage part was allotted to the clergy, and part was distributed among the needy. Those who on baptism had abandoned forbidden trades, the refugees from persecution, the sufferers in prison and mine, the captives of pirates or hostile marauders, the stricken with plague, all made large demands on Christian benevolence; and the

[1] In 1 *Apol.*, lxv, the thanks are offered to "the Father of the Universe through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

[2] The Montanists were mockingly called Arto-tyrites, "Bread-and-Cheesers," Epiphanius, *Haer.*, xlix, 2, quoted by Achelis, *Das Christentum*, i, 179.

Eucharistic service, where the donors' names were mentioned in prayer and the appeal of charity was reinforced by the example of the Son of God who had given himself for man's salvation, became the occasion for the continuous response of brotherly love.

The early frescoes reveal the original simplicity of the arrangements. In the Greek Chapel at Santa Priscilla a painting was discovered in 1896 belonging probably to the second century. The congregation—represented by five men and one woman—are seated at the table on which are bread and fish and a cup, and large baskets of bread are placed on each side. The President stands on the left and stretches out his hand to the loaves before him. Bread and fish are represented also in the early catacomb of St. Domitilla. In the Church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro the same offerings are presented, and two women, Agapê (love) and Irênê (peace), stand on either side, ready to mingle the cup of water and wine.[1]

At the beginning of the third century the usage is already changing. The congregations, it might be, were too large to sit around the President's table. The number of church officers had increased. But the ancient idea of the last meal of Christ with his disciples still found expression as the presbyters were seated round their bishop.

[1] Cp. Barnes, *The Early Church in the Light of the Monuments* (1913). On the use of water only in the Eucharistic cup see Harnack's essay, *Texte und Untersuch.*, vii, 2 (1891).

The service has already gained at Rome the name of *Missa*, "mass"[1]; its secret character is indicated in the title "mysteries."[2] It was celebrated on Sunday by the bishop, apparently in the afternoon,[3] but custom varied greatly. In Carthage the celebration took place before dawn[4]; Alexandria maintained the evening hour.[5] The sacred food was already guarded with such reverence that for crumb or drop to touch the ground was a presage of ill and a cause of pain; and nothing unclean, such as a fly, must soil the cup.[6] Those who intended to communicate must have purified themselves by previous fast, like the baptizands; and the church officers around the bishop, presbyters, deacons, and even readers, must be dressed in white as for a festival.[7] The offerings for the actual rite are brought by the deacons from the store-chamber; the bishop and presbyters lay their hands on them together, the bishop saying "The Lord be with (you) all," and the people responding "And with thy spirit."[8] The "Missa" followed; the people came up to the table, and received the Eucharist from the bishop (presbyters

[1] The formula of dismissal for catechumens ran, *Ite, missa est*, where "missa" is said to be equivalent to "missio."

[2] *Canons of Hippolytus*, 201, 204.

[3] An agapê for widows might follow, which must be over before sunset, 183; and the oblations must be distributed before the same hour, 160.

[4] Tert., *De Cor.*, iii.

[5] Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (1886), p.103.

[6] *Canons*, 207, 209; Tert., *ibid.*

[7] *Canons*, 201–3.

[8] *Ibid.*, 20–22.

and deacons might assist in the distribution), the bread being handed to them with the sacred words *Hoc est corpus meum*. The offerings of first-fruits were then presented.[1] Still were gifts made from the threshing-floor and the wine-press, fruits, vegetables, oil, honey, milk, wool, and the wages of manual labour; and separate thanksgivings, concluding with the *Gloria*, were uttered over each.[2]

That symbolism of various kinds should gather round such a ritual was perfectly natural, and inscriptional evidence of high interest came to light in the last century, attesting the character of the sacred food. In 1881 Professor (now Sir William) Ramsay, travelling in Phrygia, discovered a stone inscribed with some verses, and bearing a date equivalent to 216 of our era. The poem proved to be the epitaph of Abercius a priest, perhaps bishop of Hieropolis, a champion of the Catholic hierarchy against the Montanists.[3] In highly poetic style Abercius described his travels, in the East through Syria and beyond the Euphrates, in the West to Rome. Among the sectaries of his native hills he announces that he had found fellow-worshippers everywhere:

In company with Paul I followed, while everywhere Faith led the way, and set before me for food the Fish from the fountain mighty and stainless (whom

[1] *Canons*, 186, 187, 194. [2] *Ibid.*, 29.
[3] See Lect. III, p. 201.

a pure virgin grasped), and gave this to friends to eat always, having good wine, and giving the mixed cup with bread.[1]

With the letters of St. Paul in his hands the Apostle was his travelling companion, and the orthodox Faith his guide, and from city to city she brought to him the sacred food of the mighty and spotless Fish, once enclosed by a pure virgin, the mysterious symbol of the Son of God.[2] The fountain which gushed from the rock in Hebrew story became the emblem of baptism in the Catacombs, where the rock was the accepted symbol of Christ. Only the baptized might eat the bread and drink the cup, through which they fed upon the person of their Lord. Similar imagery occurs in an inscription of slightly later date, found at Autun in France in 1839, commemorating an unknown Pectorius.

Celestial offspring of the Divine Fish, fortify thy heart, since thou hast received in the midst of mortals the immortal source of divine love. Friend, rejoice thy soul with the water that ever gushes forth from

[1] Translation of Bishop Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 480.

[2] The origin of this is very obscure. The derivation of it from the initial letters of the Greek title Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, is of course only an ingenious device to provide some sort of explanation. Christ is often represented in the catacombs as a fisherman, cp. *Mark* i, 17; but the source of the identification of him with a Fish has never been satisfactorily traced. Cp. Tert., *De Baptismo*, 1, "But we little fishes (*pisciculi*) after the example of our ΙΧΘΤΣ Jesus Christ, are born in water."

the wisdom that gives treasures. Receive this sweet sustenance as the honey of the Saviour of the saints; eat with delight, holding the Fish in thy hands.[1]

What, then, were the ideas which gathered round this rite? When the believer had been baptized, had been adopted as a son of God, had been even born again out of God, had been endowed with immortality and had become θεός, what significance had it for his salvation, why was it so carefully guarded from common eyes?

Three ideas may be traced in the scanty remains of early literature concerning it. As its name implies, it was primarily an act of thanksgiving. In accordance with the teaching of the Apostle Paul, it was also an act of commemoration and communion. Under the influence of tradition, in its environment of Gentile cults and with the background of Jewish analogies, it became a sacrifice and begot a priesthood.

Thank-offerings were, of course, not unknown in Greek practice; Hellenic worship had also its *eucharisteria.*[2] But the Church gave the name Eucharist to its most sacred function in token of its gratitude for the twofold blessings of nature and of grace. The thanksgivings at the close of the common meal prepared the way for the adminis-

[1] Barnes, *The Early Church in the Light of the Monuments* (1913), p. 133.

[2] Εὐχαριστήρια, sc. ἱερά, *e.g.* τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν εὐχαριστήρια, *Polyb.*, V, xiv, 8.

tration of the bread and the cup, in the simple ritual of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles:*

Then, after being filled, thus give ye thanks:

We give thanks to thee, Holy Father, for thy holy Name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou didst make known to us through Jesus Christ thy Servant[1]; to thee be the glory for ever.

Thou, Almighty Sovereign, didst create all things for thy name's sake, and food and drink thou didst give to men for enjoyment, that they should give thanks unto thee; but to us thou didst of thy grace give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy Servant.

Before all things we give thee thanks that thou art mighty; to thee be the glory for ever.

The actual words of blessing ran thus:

First concerning the cup: We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy Servant,[2] which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory for ever.

And concerning the broken bread: We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory for ever.

Justin explains to Trypho that this element in Christian devotion was founded on the two-fold

[1] Cp. *Acts* iii, 13, 26; iv, 27, 30.

[2] Cp. *Acts*, iv, 25; *Ps.* lxxx, 8–19.

manifestation of God's goodness, the creation of the world with all things therein for the sake of man, and our deliverance from the evil in which we were involved, and the total overthrow of the hostile Principalities and Powers through the death of Christ.[1] Physical and spiritual benefits were thus set side by side. Grateful acknowledgment of the Divine Goodness was the foundation of the Christian's trust, the temper of his whole life. "Every morning," says the earliest of the Apologists, Aristides,[2] "they give thanks and praise to God for his loving-kindness towards them, and for their food and drink they offer thanksgiving to him." The same motive appears again and again in connection especially with the believer's redemption in the various *Acta* of the Apostles[3]; and it is elaborated at great length in the liturgies of the fourth century, such as the *Testament of our Lord*,[4] the prayers in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii, 25, viii, 12), and other sources. Around the Eucharist gathered all the Christian's hopes. Joy in the divine gifts of earth and heaven, the sense of deliverance, of rescue from the constraint of Fate, of release from bondage to evil and the control of demons, of a passage from great darkness into marvellous light,

[1] *Dialogue*, xlvi, cp. 1 *Apol.*, lxvi. [2] *Apol.*, xv.

[3] Von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (1901), p. 300.

[4] Cooper and Maclean (1902); ascribed by Maclean to 310 A.D., see the beautiful "Hymn of Praise for the Dawn" with which the Sunday morning service opened, p. 79, etc.

of freedom and gladness even in the midst of danger and trial,—are all blended in the mystery of the Thanksgiving.

The practice of commemoration had long been familiar to Greece in the cultus of heroes; and temples, monuments, and coins, spread through Asia Minor, the Archipelago, and south Italy, show how widely it was diffused through the Eastern Mediterranean. The founders of schools were the objects of reverent regard to their disciples. Epicurus provided by his will for an annual ceremony in commemoration of his father, mother, and brothers as well as himself upon his birthday, the 10th of Gamelion, and he further instituted a reunion of his disciples in honour of Metrodorus and himself on the 20th of each month.[1] To a philosopher like Justin it was therefore perfectly natural to quote the memorial words reported by the Apostle Paul, "Do this in remembrance of me[2]"; and to Trypho he emphasizes the Passion which Christ had endured on behalf of those who were purified in soul from all iniquity. This sentiment is indeed for the most part in the background in the literature of the second century, but it re-appears later, and is vigorous in the liturgies of the fourth.[3] It passes, however, into something much more

[1] Diog. Laert. x, 10. Cp. the arrangements of the lady Epicteta of Thera, Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, ii, 361, No. 2448.

[2] 1 *Apol.*, lxvi.

[3] Cp. *Testament of our Lord*, pp. 73, 172.

intimate, uniting the believer to his heavenly Lord in such a way that the disciple who had already received the pledge of immortality in baptism was confirmed in the process of becoming θεός by partaking mystically of Christ's body and blood, the physical media of his incarnate life.

When the Apostle Paul was urging the Corinthian converts to flee from idolatry, he reminded them of the significance of participation in consecrated food. The pious Israelite of early days who went to the sanctuary "to see God's face," was privileged to share through his sacrifice in a common meal with Deity.[1] The worshipper who sat at the table of Sarapis[2] was brought into the sphere of his activity, placed under his protection. "To lay a couch for the god" was the common Greek phrase, where we should say to "lay a table."[3] The ritual was known in Rome as *lectisternia*. The old Latins and Italians believed the deities of the house to be present at their meals, and Mr. Warde Fowler has shown that the Penates were the spirits of the food itself.[4] Among the most solemn festivals of the Roman year was the Banquet of Jove, on the Ides of September, in the temple on the Capitol. Jupiter, with his face painted red, was present on a couch;

[1] Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (1889), p. 247.

[2] Cp. *ante*, p. 64.

[3] Rohde, *Psyché*[3] (1903), i, 129[3].

[4] *Religious Experience of the Roman People* (1911), pp. 172, 193.

Juno and Minerva, each on her own *sella*, were on his right and left. The ceremony began with a sacrifice, probably of a white heifer. It was attended by the Magistrates and Senate, who thus entered into communion with the august Deities, and formed "one of the most singular and striking scenes of Roman public life."[1] Not only, however, did the worshipper thus feast with the Deity, he might even be still more closely united with him by feeding on him. There were strange rites in different forms of Dionysus-worship, in which a sacrificial bull representing the god himself was torn in pieces and consumed in haste. The devotees who took part in this Omophagy[2] received the deity into themselves. The believer became *entheos*, he was so closely identified with the object of his worship that the god deigned to enter into him through the consumption of the divine flesh, and nourish him with a mysterious supernatural power. Happy is he, says Euripides, "who knoweth the mysteries of gods, is pure in life, and revelling on the mountains hath the Bacchic communion in his soul!"[3] Dancing furiously over the mountain slopes to the wild

[1] Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals* (1899), p. 216. Cp. Ramsay, *Journ. Hellen. Studies*, 1912, pt. i. "The Tekmorcian Guest-Friends."

[2] Literally "raw-eating." See Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903), pp. 481–497: Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v (1909), pp. 161, 164 ff.; cp. *Hibbert Journal*, 1904, p. 306.

[3] First choral ode in the *Bacchae*, 75 ff., tr. Farnell.

strains of savage music, the mystic fell on the bull, tore it asunder, and swallowed the bleeding flesh. It was a hideous, ghastly form of purification. But it produced in the allied Orphic communities "a doctrine irrational and unintelligible, and for that very reason wrapped in the deepest and most sacred mystery; a belief in the sacrifice of Dionysus himself, and the purification of man by his blood." It was the more noteworthy because, "apart from this sacramental tasting of the blood, the Orphic worshipper held it an abomination to eat the flesh of animals at all."[1] All true worshippers, accordingly, became in a mystical sense one with the god, they bore his name, just as some of the obscurer communities of Christians have believed that they have so completely assimilated their Lord that they have called themselves "Christs."

In the Osiris ritual, as interpreted by M. Moret, kindred ideas are to be traced.[2] In the mystery by which the dead man is identified with the god, is dismembered, and renewed, Osiris again undergoes his death and reconstruction. After this sacrifice a supper is served, and the offerings—bread, fruits, wines, milk, and butter—which are presented to him bear the curious name of "the Eye of Horus." This means, says our guide, that "they are the offspring of the son of Osiris, his progeny, his flesh, for, according to Egyptian

[1] Prof. Gilbert Murray in *Euripides* ("Athenian Drama," iii), pp. 167–8.

[2] *Kings and Gods of Egypt* (1912), p. 97.

metaphysics, the god brings forth into reality everything that he names and that he sees. That which is offered to Osiris is his own body and blood, which the god divides among the priests and relatives, under the appearances of liquid and solid offerings. This holy food, eaten in common, this holy communion, makes clergy and worshippers together participants in the blessings of his passion and sacrifice."

Such examples as these made it possible for believers at a very early date to place a highly realistic interpretation on the language of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist.[1] The Apostle regarded the bread and the cup as charged with a mysterious energy, capable of inflicting even death on those who did not distinguish their sacred character from common food.[2] For that reason the person and the heart must both be prepared to receive them worthily. To secure purity of body, the intending communicant must fast beforehand; to secure purity of spirit, he must confess his sins and be reconciled with his enemies.[3] The letters of Ignatius reveal the importance which he

[1] The suggestion that Paul owed anything himself to the Mysteries has been discussed recently by Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions* (1913), and Clemen, *Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum* (1913); cp. Lietzmann, on 1 *Cor.* (1907), p. 124 (in *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*). The few affinities of language are sufficiently explained out of current usage.

[2] 1 *Cor.* xi, 29–30.

[3] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, xiv, 1–2.

attached to the service. Heretics are charged with abstaining from the Eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins, and was raised by the Father's goodness.[1] Such is its intrinsic power that it is the medicine of immortality, the antidote against death, which secures life for ever in Jesus Christ.[2] So it holds a central place in the bishop's exhortations to unity. One Eucharist must be observed, he tells the Church at Philadelphia, because there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for union with his blood.[3]

There is already a suggestion that it is a sacrifice, for the ardent writer continues that there is one altar, as there is one bishop with the presbytery and the deacons his fellow-servants.[4] How far his language is figurative his enthusiastic style really prevents us from deciding. The Gospel is for him a sort of body of Jesus in which he can take refuge as Christ's flesh[5]; or faith is the Lord's flesh, and love his blood.[6] But these metaphors cannot outbalance the practical identification of the "bread of God" with the actual body that was crucified and afterwards taken to the skies.[7] In what sense the two could be regarded as the same,

[1] *Smyrn.*, vii, 1. [2] *Ephes.* xx, 2. [3] *Philad.*, iv.

[4] The phrase suggests that Ignatius had been chosen bishop from his diaconate, and had never been a presbyter, and perhaps even found them rather in the way (Dr. Odgers).

[5] *Philad.*, v, 1. [6] *Trall.*, viii, 1.

[7] *Ephes.* v, 2; *Smyrn.* vii, 1.

or how one was transmuted into the other, we are not told. The imperative command that no Eucharist shall be accounted valid which is not celebrated by the bishop (or one whom he appoints)[1] implies his possession of some special authority, but of its method of operation no word is said.

It is no common bread or common drink, pleads Justin to Emperor, Senate, and people of Rome; it has the power to effect a change in our flesh and blood, and nourish them so as to become incorruptible.[2] He compares the change to that of the Logos at the incarnation in assuming both flesh and blood for our salvation in the person of Jesus Christ. So does the Logos, when his own prayer is uttered, unite himself with the elements in loaf and cup. For Irenaeus also the bread which receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread. Arguing with heretics who denied the resurrection of the body, he appeals to the Eucharist for confirmation. It consists of two realities, an earthly and a heavenly, and when our bodies receive it, they cease to be liable to corruption, they possess the hope of resurrection to eternity.[3] The mode of union of the two πράγματα is not explained, nor is the nature of the heavenly energy which imparts the guarantee of bodily revival

[1] *Smyrn.*, viii, 1.

[2] 1 *Apol.*, lxvi; Loofs, art. *Abendmahl*, in Hauck's *Prot. Real-Encycl.*, i, p. 41.

[3] *Adv. Hær.*, IV, xviii, 5.

further defined. Irenæus is content to reason after the fashion of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians. If the flesh does not attain salvation, the Lord has not redeemed us with his blood; the cup and the bread are fruitless, in the Eucharist there is no communion with him.[1] The cutting of the vine when duly planted fructifies in its season, the grain of wheat cast into the ground bears increase in the ear, through the agency of God's Spirit; when they receive the Logos, they become the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ. So our bodies may suffer decomposition in the earth; but if they have been nourished with the Eucharist, the Word of God will grant them resurrection and the Father will bestow on them immortality.[2] For those who have become θεοί by incorporation into the Church, the Eucharist is thus a kind of physical insurance that soul and body shall enjoy together the blessedness of everlasting life. Tertullian lays it down that while the soul is chosen for God's service in virtue of its salvation, it can only render that service through the flesh. Step by step are they associated, in the water of baptism, in the holy unction, in the signing with the cross, in the imposition of hands; so the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ that the soul may fatten upon God. They are united in service, they cannot be separated in their reward.[3] Food of such mysterious efficacy must be guarded

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, V, ii, 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, V, ii, 3.
[3] *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, viii.

with the utmost care. No fly must pollute the cup, no crumb fall on the ground. A little later stories will begin to circulate of its saving power to blot out transgressions and bring the sinner back to the fold of Christ.[1]

There was another aspect of the idea of communion which deeply moved the early Christian imagination, and passed into the cognate idea of sacrifice. The Apostle Paul had told his converts at Corinth that by sharing one loaf they all became one, a mystic unity was created among them, they were one loaf, one body.[2] But of what was a loaf made? The corn that supplied the baker with his flour might have grown in distant lands; how many grains must have been united to form one loaf! It was an emblem of a spiritual unity one day to be realized by the whole body of believers. The eschatological significance attached to the memorial rite when it was designed to "show forth the Lord's death till he come" thus underwent a complete transformation. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* repeats the prayer *Marân athâ*, "Our Lord, come!" When the Agapê was finished the congregation prayed:

Remember, Lord, thy Church to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in thy love, and gather it together duly hallowed from the four winds into thy kingdom

[1] See the case of the aged Serapion related by Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria in the letter quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VI, xliv.

[2] 1 *Cor.* x, 17.

which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory for ever.

And over the broken bread this petition followed:

As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and, being brought together, became one, so let thy Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power though Jesus Christ for ever.

Cyprian applies the same figure to the cup, in a wandering argument directed against the temperance practice of a water-Eucharist, starting from the example of Noah who is strangely cited—drunkenness and all—as expressing the figure of the passion of the Lord.[1] The miracle at Cana showed that at the marriage of Christ and the Church, as the Jews failed, the peoples of the Gentiles should flow together, for water was the Apocalyptic emblem of the nations.[2] So when water was mingled in the cup with wine the congregation of believers was joined with the object of their faith; just as in the bread many grains are collected, ground, and mixed to make one loaf, and the people are thus made one in Christ.[3] This sentiment of union deeply affected

[1] *Ep.* lxiii, 3., cp. 11; ed. Hartel, ii, p. 702.

[2] *Ibid.*, 12; *Rev.* xvii, 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, 13. The argument halts a little, for, as Cyprian remarks, bread cannot be made without water, and the plea that in the cup without wine the people would have no union with Christ suggests that in the loaf (where the water symbolizes the people) the grain ought to represent Christ!

the later language of devotion. The figure may be traced through liturgy after liturgy, and even found its way into England under the auspices of the Sovereign who was proud to call himself *Defensor Fidei*, Defender of the Faith.[1]

One further element enters at an early date into the Eucharistic commemoration, destined to effect a profound change in the whole conception of the Christian Church. The traditional worship of Israel, like that of all the nations amid which the new faith made its way, was founded upon rituals of sacrifice. These covered various ideas, from simple gifts of homage or thanksgiving to elaborate ceremonies of purification, propitiation, and atone-

[1] Cp. *Apostolical Constitutions*, vii, 25. In the prayer ascribed to Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Delta, about 350 A.D. (*Texte und Untersuch.*, N.F., ii, 1899, Heft 3b, p. 5, 1, 25 ff.), the eschatological reference is dropped, and the scattered people are to be made into "one living Catholic Church." It may be noted that the prayer entreats the sojourn of the Logos on the bread that the bread may become the body of the Logos and the cup the blood of the Truth. The bread is thus only the "likeness" of the body of the Only-begotten. The influence of Origen seems traceable here; "the bread which God the Word declared to be his body is the Word that nourishes souls," *In Matth.*, ser. 85, ed. Lommatsch, iv, 416. Origen applies the same interpretation to the "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer, cp. *De Orat.*, §9, ed. Koetschau, vol. ii, 1899. The ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος in which we participate by the Word and the Eucharist brings health and strength to the soul and imparts to the eater of its own immortality (p. 369), so that he becomes a son of God (p. 170). For Henry VIII, see the Ten Articles of 1536 (quoted by Dr. J. E. Odgers, *The Teaching, etc., for English Readers*, 1906), "that all Christian men be one Body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf."

ment. When Clement pleads with the disturbers at Corinth on behalf of the displaced presbyters, he reminds them of God's commands that offerings should be made at fixed times and places, as part of a divine order of worship, and declares that as it is part of the duty of the *episcopê*[1] to offer the gifts, it is no small sin to eject from office those who have done so blamelessly.[2] There are already, therefore, offerings to be presented, and persons designated for the service. For the communities addressed in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, the Eucharist is already identified with the "pure sacrifice" which Malachi had declared the Lord had promised to accept not only in Jerusalem but in every place.[3] So natural was it to use the language of temple-ceremonial that Polycarp could urge the widows of Philippi to behave discreetly knowing that they were God's altar, where everything was open to his view, and none of the heart's secrets could escape his gaze.[4] Prayer was one of the Christian sacrifices, and one of the widows' duties was to be frequent and earnest in it; moreover they were maintained out of the alms of the faithful, laid on the table before the "president" among the offerings in the weekly worship. Justin emphatically vindicates the priesthood of all Christians; but he affirms at

[1] The function of supervision, and so (personally) the supervisors. Cp. Lect. III, p. 172.

[2] 1 *Clem.* xl, 2, xliv, 4. [3] *Didachê*, xiv, 3; *Mal.* i, 11.

[4] *Ad Philipp.* iv, 3.

the same time that God only receives sacrifices through his priests, and the Eucharistic bread and wine, with the associated prayers and thanksgivings offered by Christians throughout the world, are at once true sacrifices which by their wide diffusion are obviously well pleasing to him.[1] The memorial aspect of the celebration is carefully maintained, and with it is associated the twofold ground of thanksgiving for our original creation and our subsequent deliverance from evil. There is no hint of any propitiatory character in the offering. But some one must utter the words which endowed the simple food with the power to impart or to sustain the gift of immortality. So great a treasure could not be left to casual use, or placed in irresponsible hands. The insistence of Ignatius that no Eucharist was valid unless celebrated by a bishop or some person designated by him[2] points to the growing sense that safeguards must be erected to keep the offering pure.

Irenæus is too good a traditionalist to discard the application of Malachi's prophecy. The Eucharist is a real offering to God by which the worshipper presents the homage of his honour and affection to his King; it is a gift of gratitude which a pure conscience hallows, so that God is moved to accept it as from a friend. Thankful to our Maker we needs must be, in faith without hypocrisy, in sure hope, in fervent love.[3] The

[1] *Dialogue*, cxvi–cxvii.
[2] *Smyrn.* viii, 1–2.
[3] *Adv. Haer.*, IV, xvii, 5; xviii, 1–4.

believer's mind is occupied, however, with the future rather than the past. He does not look back to the cross but forwards to the life of his risen Lord. He is not concerned with a redemption already accomplished but with an immortality to be attained. He has been started on the path of eternity; what is significant is not by what process he was first set there, but by what means his advance may be assured. The commemoration of death fades away in the transcendent hope of becoming divine. The incarnation rather than the atonement is the centre of the teaching of Irenæus, and its extension through all ranks of the faithful is the aim of the Church. Baptism and the Eucharist thus become sacraments for Tertullian,[1] and they are part of the functions or duty of a priesthood.[2] These terms become common from the beginning of the third century. They reach their completest recognition under Cyprian of Carthage, fifty years later. Latin theology did not concern itself with the process of becoming *Theos*, so dear to Hellenic thought. It was more occupied in the sphere of salvation with the conceptions of sin and satisfaction. From the days of the Flood all history converged upon the Passion, and to that the Christian's sacrifice

[1] *Adv. Marcion*, IV, xxxiv.

[2] *Sacerdotalia munera, sacerdotale officium, sacerdotalis ordo.* Cp. Achelis, *Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, ii, p. 16. In Tertullian's time, also, the Eucharist was already celebrated on the "birthdays" of the dead, *De Corona*, iii, *Exhort. Castitatis*, xi.

must correspond.[1] The language of episcopal letters is not that of theologians framing dogmatic definitions; but in his emphasis on the Passion of Christ as "the sacrifice which we offer" Cyprian seems to leave the barer idea of commemoration a good way behind.[2] Christ, he urges, "our Lord and God," is himself the chief priest of the Father, and first offered himself to him as a sacrifice. This he has commanded to be done in commemoration of himself, and that priest truly discharges the office of Christ, who imitates what Christ did. Then only does he offer a true and full sacrifice to the Father when he strictly follows the practice of Christ himself.[3]

The Eucharist is thus on the way to become a repetition by the priest of the actual Passion of Christ; and the faithful will be supported on their path of difficulty and danger by the mystic renewal from time to time of their Lord's redeeming death. Of this the Church will become the guarantee. Around its members it will fling an invisible sanctity. But what if they are unfaithful to their baptismal vow, and fail to keep their "seal" undefiled? When enthusiasm flags, and loyalty is strained to the utmost, when worldliness corrodes the purity of first intentions and sudden peril tries the stoutest heart, what happens to those who have set out to become divine? Is the gift of immortality withdrawn? Can salvation, once conferred, be lost? The time was

[1] Cypr., *Ep.* lxiii, 9. [2] *Ibid.*, 17. [3] *Ibid.*, 14.

shortly to arrive when these questions would become urgent. For new evils new remedies must be devised. The Church would cease to be an assembly of saints marching side by side to reach eternity. It would be a Noah's ark where the clean would be mingled with the unclean. The sinner should not, indeed, be denied all hope. A discipline of penance should be organized which should become another sacrament; the power to remit or to retain sins should at length be vested in a consecrated order; and the most powerful priesthood which the world has ever seen should day by day reproduce all round the earth the awful sacrifice of Calvary without its blood, and claim to keep the keys of heaven and hell.

LECTURE V

SALVATION BY GNOSIS

IF the Law was a tutor to bring the Jews to Christ, Philosophy, said Clement of Alexandria, performed the same function for the Greeks.[1] In the deepening of the religious life of the Roman Empire which marked the second century of our era, philosophy was assuredly not without its share. Cities like Athens and Alexandria had long been the seats of teaching analogous to that of the mediæval Universities. At Rome the Emperor Hadrian established public chairs for philosophy, and Antoninus Pius, extending the arrangement to the provinces, exempted the lecturers from taxation. Four schools, Platonic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean, were endowed at Athens by Marcus Aurelius, each having two professors, with a yearly salary of 10,000 drachmas apiece.[2] The election was vested in the "best and oldest and wisest" of the citizens. Through what body the choice was made is uncertain; possibly the members of the faculty were associated with a special board for the purpose; and the im-

[1] *Stromata*, I, v, § 28, 3 (ed. Stählin).

[2] Zeller, *A History of Eclecticism* (1883), p. 191 f.

perial consent may have been needed for ratification. Honours and emoluments fell freely to the teachers' lot. They might openly attack the popular religion, complains Tertullian, and denounce its superstitions, but who compelled *them* to sacrifice to the Emperor? For the Christians who equally taught innocence and justice, patience, sobriety, chastity, there was the sword or the wild beast; for the philosophers, statues and salaries.[1]

Among these various schools the Platonists had naturally most affinity with Christian thought. The disciples of Aristotle were chiefly occupied with learned literary activity; they produced elaborate commentaries on their master's writings; they did not influence spiritual religion. The day when the philosophy of the Stagirite would provide an intellectual form for Christian theology would not arrive for a thousand years. Many Church-writers felt the influence of the Stoic ethics, though they repudiated the conception of *Heimarmenê* or Fate, and could find nothing in cosmic pantheism equivalent to the Gospel message of the "Father who is in heaven." Even Tertullian, who angrily asked what Athens and Jerusalem had to do with each other, found support for his rigorism in Seneca. With the Epicureans and their *fainéant* gods the followers of Jesus could have no sympathy; the sceptics, and the vulgar materialism into which the popular

[1] *Apologeticus*, xlvi.

mind translated their teaching, were odious to them. In Platonism, however, especially in its partial alliance with the revival of Pythagoreanism, the higher minds saw much that was akin to their own thought and feeling; and when the Fourth Evangelist introduced the person of the Son of God under the form of the Hellenic conception of the Logos, a definite alliance was established which brought Greek thought into the closest connection with Christian life.[1]

The Johannine contrast between "earthly" and "heavenly" things, like that of the Apostle Paul (in another connection) between the things of time and sense and the invisible and enduring, can be traced ultimately to Platonic idealism. Plato had himself, of course, a strong sympathy with many elements in Pythagorean teaching; and his splendid genius absorbed so much of the elder master's thought and presented it in such new and captivating forms, that Pythagoreanism as a philosophy was unable to hold its own, though communities which practised the discipline continued to maintain their observance. But in the first century before our era a revival took place. Biographies of the Founder were written, in which he was presented as half divine. Religious conceptions of revelation and authority gathered round him. Pious followers ascribed to him what they had learned from Plato, Aristotle, or Zeno, and a flourishing literature sprang up in the second

[1] Cp. Lect. II, p. 85.

half of the first century of our era.[1] It was a time when sharp divisions were being broken down; and schools which cherished common ideas about human destiny were drawn together. The new Pythagoreans Platonized; and the Platonists Pythagorized. Characteristic modes of thought influenced each other, and reason and imagination sought in numbers and their relations, or in symbols and half-concrete forms, to express different aspects of spiritual reality. To conciliate these with traditional religion became one of the tasks of the philosophic theologian. The unity of the world demanded a single Cause. Behind all experience of change and succession must lie permanences of Being which no decay could touch. Through vicissitudes of life and death, of happiness or pain, it must be possible to reach a Mind that comprehended all, and dwelt serenely above mortal woes, the Absolutely Good. How was such a conception to be harmonized with the temple-ritual of the Gods of Greece?

While Christianity was being launched into the Empire, Plutarch, the gentle and learned priest of Chæronea, was wrestling with these problems. Sprung from an old Bœotian family he had seen the world, like many another young man of parts. He had studied at Athens, he had visited Alexandria, he had travelled in Italy, he had lectured in Rome. His life of more than threescore years and

[1] Cp. Hans von Arnim, *Allgemeine Gesch. der Philos.* (1913, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abtheil. v,), p. 238 f.

ten (about 48–120 A. D.) covered the composition of most of the books of the New Testament, and much of the literature of the post-apostolic age. When he retired to his native town he loved to gather friends around him, or meet them in some pleasant resort near famous shrines, or by the sea, and there they discoursed of high themes of morals and religion. Beside his wonderful gallery of heroes and statesmen he sets pictures of quiet talk on a wide range of topics ethical and theological. Literature, history, philosophy, are all laid under contribution. He has been described as "the greatest Hellenist of his day."[1] His stores of learning, his family affection, his deep attachment to the ancient usages of traditional piety, shine through debate or discourse; and his admiration for what was highest in human character and achievement made him a teacher of righteousness for all who were willing to take on themselves the solemn responsibilities of self-direction towards the Good. He was, indeed, no prophet, crying "Thus saith the Lord"; he was for his own day the helper of those who sought to live in the Spirit.

Plutarch was profoundly convinced of the need of religion. It came to him enveloped in sacred custom. As priest of Apollo he loved the ritual which centuries had hallowed; he believed in the divine inspiration claimed for the oracles; and

[1] Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (1904), p. 405.

though he recognized that there might be aspects of sacrifice which were savage and unlovely, he was loyal to the service of the altar, where tradition sanctified ancient practice and new meanings sprang up in old ceremonies under "the unimaginable touch of Time." Philosophy, indeed, might be unable to justify the significance of many a consecrated act. It proclaimed unhesitatingly that God was One; and that Unity implied that it was for ever unchangeably the same. A blank eternal self-identity, however, was no object of religious trust. It must needs be intelligent, and cognizant of the natural disposition of every individual man, so as to reward the good and punish the evil.[1] The moral government of the world was essential to Plutarch's notion of the Deity. God, he argued, is perfectly good; no virtue is wanting in him, least of all justice and friendship, which most become the divine nature.[2] On the one hand was the conception of the Absolute, everlasting, immutable; on the other, the faith in Providence, the sleepless guardian of the right, the benevolent administrator of all sorts of other possible worlds as well as this. "What, then, is it that really is?"[3] asks the Athenian professor, Ammonius, in a discussion at Delphi over the famous syllable *EI* inscribed on the narrow entrance of the Amphictyonic Temple. The

[1] See the remarkable tract *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, xx.

[2] *De Defect. Orac.*, xxiv.

[3] Τί οὖν ὄντως ὄν ἐστι; *De EI apud Delphos*, xix.

answer is, "That which is eternal and unbegotten and incorruptible, to which time can bring no change." As the worshipper entered the shrine, the Deity saluted him through the famous text upon the wall, "Know thyself"; "we in our turn," says Ammonius, "answering the God, say EI, thou art, rendering to him the true unfeigned and sole address of Existence which alone befits him Alone."[1] God, it is afterwards laid down, absolutely *is;* and this existence has no reference to time, it belongs to an immovable timeless eternity, there is nothing before or after it. With the Unity in which he exists now he has filled the Everlasting, and nothing *is* which does not share this reality of Being, neither what was originated, nor what shall come to pass, what began or what shall end.[2] The metaphysical problem is to connect this changeless Spirit with our world of change; and the theological to find the relation to it of the gods of traditional worship, ancient custom, social law. For this purpose Plutarch calls in the help of the Daimons.

These were not the hostile and degraded agents of evil against whose mischievous attacks popular demonology bid man be for ever on his guard. In the discussion in the Cnidian Hall at Delphi on the decline of answers from the Oracles, the traveller Cleombrotus points to the identification which Homer had made between Gods and Daimons, and the place which Hesiod had assigned

[1] *De EI*, xvii. [2] *Ibid.*, xx.

them between Gods and men. Clear and ancient witnesses, he declares, will prove that there are natures thus midway between the divine and human, subject to mortal passions and necessary change, and in accordance with the custom of our fathers we rightly name them Daimons and pay them reverence.[1] It must not be supposed, therefore, that sacrifices and ceremonies are slighted by the gods, nor must we imagine that God himself takes part in them. They are entrusted to the Daimons as his ministers, supervisors[2] of sacred rites and performers of mysteries, while others move around to punish pride and injustice.[3] A complete scheme of subordinate instruments of varying might and character is thus provided through which God can act upon the world, and the whole burden of mythology and cultus is shifted on to them. For God, thus released from innumerable odious associations and projected into immensity, new aspects of being and activity must be opened. It is not fitting to limit his goodness to the scene we know; his boundless justice and affection are social virtues, he does not exercise them upon himself; it is not likely that he is without friends and neighbours, or that this universe floats alone in a void infinitude.[4] This multiplication of possibilities enhances the conception of the greatness of Deity, but it makes no difference to his metaphysical relation to the sphere

[1] *De Defect. Orac.*, x, xii.
[2] "Bishops," cp. *ante*, p. 168.
[3] *Ibid.*, xiii.
[4] *Ibid.*, xxiv.

of change. Whether there be one world or many is of no consequence to the difference between the Eternal and that which has a beginning and an end. With the help of a World-soul, of numbers and harmony,[1] and the powers lodged in the Daimons, a series of intermediate agencies is established by which the Unity of the Absolute can for ever uphold the ceaseless process of cosmic production and decay.

How, then, shall this Absolute ever be reached by human thought? What direct knowledge of it is possible to man? To these questions Plutarch gives no clear answer. They appear, indeed, to lie beyond his range. He drops, however, some pregnant hints in the discussion of the great myth of Isis and Osiris. Study and travel have convinced him that there is a fundamental unity of religious experience. Behind varieties of name lie real identities of belief and worship. There are no different gods among Greeks and barbarians; they are the same as sun and moon are the same, or land and sea. One Reason arranges these things, and one Providence administers them; attendant Powers have been appointed over all, and laws prescribe the several modes in which they should be honoured and addressed. The use of symbols is not without danger, the quagmire of superstition is on one side, the precipice of atheism on the other. In the sphere of religion, pleads Plutarch, we should accept Reason from philo-

[1] Cp. Dill, *Roman Society*, etc., p. 419.

sophy as our Mystagogue.[1] The different vestments of Osiris and Isis provide him with a pretty allegory.[2] That of Osiris has neither shadow nor variety of colour; it is simple, one, and luminous. The first principle is uncompounded; what is apprehended by thought is unmixed. Once used, they lay the garment by and preserve it; for the object of thought is beyond sight and touch. The vestments of Isis may be used many times. They are like objects of sense, which we employ and handle, and in their several changes look at in many ways. But the apprehension of what only thought can apprehend[3]—what is sincere and holy—flashes like lightning through the soul; to touch and gaze upon it may be possible but once. Plato and Aristotle called this the "epoptic" part of philosophy, as though it were reached only by the highest initiates in the mystery; who by the help of Reason leap up to what is primary and simple and immaterial. Thus to reach pure Truth is to attain the goal of Philosophy. Yet how are we hindered from arriving there! The souls of men here below, Plutarch laments, encompassed by bodies and their affections, can have no communion with God, save as they may apprehend him through philosophy as in a dim dream. But when they are released and have passed into the sphere of the unseen and invisible, the passionless and pure, this God becomes their Guide and

[1] *De Isid. et Osir.*, lxvii, lxviii. [2] *Ibid.*, lxxviii.

[3] Ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοητοῦ νόησις.

King; they hang upon him, gazing and longing still unsatisfied after the beauty which no mortal tongue can utter.[1] The philosopher no longer reasons, he sees. The transient and obscure moments of earthly illumination are converted into the open vision of heaven.

Two generations before Plutarch Philo had wrestled with similar problems at Alexandria from the Jewish side.[2] But his task was in some respects more difficult. Like Plutarch he belonged to a priestly family, but unlike the Greek teacher he found his religion authoritatively embodied in a book. Hellenic piety had a long tradition behind it, but it had produced no Scripture. The faith and worship of Israel rested upon Revelation. It must, therefore, be an epitome of truth so far as it could be expressed in human speech. All other truth, accordingly, must be harmonized with it, and the teachings of philosophy could be confirmed out of the Mosaic Law. For three hundred years the Jews at Alexandria had been confronted on one side with the ancient wisdom of Egypt, on the other with the representatives of the schools of Greece. They had translated their sacred books into the common tongue of the Eastern Mediterranean; their historians sought to remove the reproach that their people had rendered no services to learning; they identified Moses with

[1] *De Isid. et Osir.*, lxxviii, lxxix.

[2] The limits of his career are not known exactly, but he speaks of himself as an old man in the year 40 A. D.

the legendary figure of Musæus, and derived Hellenic wisdom from the Hebrew legislator.[1] Philo had been brought up under the twofold influences of the Synagogue and the Museum. He had passed through the usual course of encyclical education; he had heard lectures in the schools; he had paid his devotions at Jerusalem. He sought to interpret Greek culture to his own people, and to commend his national scriptures to the trained Hellenic intelligence. For him the Pythagoreans constituted a "most sacred band"; Empedocles, Parmenides, and Xenophanes were little short of divine; with Zeno and Cleanthes they made a holy assembly; Plato is above all "the great."[2]

With the allegorical method by which Philo sought to accomplish his aim we are not here concerned. It was not his invention; it had been practised before him, and it was freely applied by the interpreters of Homer no less than by the expounders of Genesis. Largely through his writings it passed into the Church, and was destined to have a profound influence on Christian theology. It enabled Philo to extract Platonism from the Pentateuch, and to present the patriarch Abraham as a representative of the "divine Logos."[3] The lack of definite principles in his

[1] Cp. Eupolemos and Artapanos in Euseb., *Praep. Evang.*, IX, xxvi, xxvii.

[2] See the passages quoted by Edersheim, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iv, p. 374; or Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*[3], iii., p. 544.

[3] *Legum Alleg.*, iii, 218, ed. Cohn, i, p. 161.

treatment of Scripture finds a counterpart in the loose structure of his philosophy, where the doctrines of different systems sometimes jostle each other, and incongruities of thought are ignored. But the lofty elevation of his spirit triumphs over gaps of construction. His ethical enthusiasm never flags. At times he reaches the vision of the mystic, and argument is lost in contemplation. The two-fold aim of Hellenistic piety is ever before him, the yearning for knowledge of God (*gnosis*), and the desire of incorruption.[1]

Using the language of Elea, Philo designates God as Τὸ ὄν, "the Existent."[2] Like Plutarch he conceives the nature of Deity as simple, uncompounded, unmingled with aught else. Behind all time and number he abides in unity,[3] immutable, imperishable, incapable of being reckoned in any class, for that would imply the possession of qualities in which others share, and would consequently impair his uniqueness.[4] To demonstrate his existence the argument from causality may suffice. But what his essential nature is must remain unknown to man who cannot even tell what he is himself. Contrasted with the world of our experience he dwells unconfined by space, unchanged by the succession of created things,

[1] Cp. Hans Windisch, *Die Frömmigkeit Philos* (1909), 4.

[2] See references in Bréhier, *Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philo* (1908), p. 70 ff.

[3] The formula is hardly translatable, κατὰ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὴν μονάδα, *Leg. Alleg.*, ii, 3.

[4] Cp. Drummond, *Philo Judæus* (1888), ii, p. 25.

yet he is Maker and Father of the universe. Between this lofty abstraction and the plurality to which our senses testify, what links of connection can be found? The answer is supplied by the doctrine of the Logos and the Powers ranged beneath. The Logos is pure Reason (νοῦς); he is Son of God, even a second God; he is the image of God, and the Idea of ideas; but how he comes into being, streaming forth from the primeval Light, and is invested with operative force, is not disclosed. He stands at the head of a group of Powers, six altogether in number, allegorically connected with the Pentateuchal institution of six Cities of Refuge.[1] Next to the Logos come the Creative and the Regal energies; the Propitious follows, by which the Artificer compassionates his own work; and lowest in the descending scale are the Legislative pair concerned with Precept and Prohibition. The group, whose procession from the fount of Being is nowhere described, bears some resemblance to the emanations which figure in the genealogies of the Gnostic Æons. Last and most numerous of all are the types or ideas of classes or genera in the material world; they, too, suddenly appear endowed with active efficacy; in Scripture language they may be identified with the Angels. But how intellectual conceptions become dynamic agencies Philo does not seem to have enquired. He draws the constituents of his philosophical fabric from various sources,

[1] See the exposition of Dr. Drummond, *Philo*, ii, p. 83.

and it is not surprising that they do not always fit.

Between heaven and earth the air is full of incorporeal souls. Some of them are of exalted rank, and can be employed as the Creator's ministers in human affairs. Others descend into human bodies,[1] and in the whirlpool of sense-experience are swallowed down and engulfed. Others succeed in swimming on the top, and at length fly back into the upper realm. They have learned the secret of philosophy, they have practised the life of dying to the body that they may obtain the life which is incorporeal and incorruptible in the presence of the Uncreate and Eternal. That is the goal of human endeavour. Had not Plato taught that "we ought to fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to fly away is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like him is to become holy, just, and wise."[2] For this end, indeed, God deigns himself to come to our aid. He visits mankind in his goodness, and what dwelling can be prepared for him? Though the whole earth were gold, it were no proper resting-place for his feet, but a fitting soul is a worthy house. It must, indeed, be suitably arranged. The foundations must be laid in right disposition and teaching, the edifice of the virtues must be reared with noble deeds,

[1] *De Gigant.*, 12 ff. (ed. Wendland, ii, p. 44).

[2] *Theætet.*, 176, tr. Jowett, iv, p. 235. Philo, *De Fuga*, 63 (ed. Wendland, iii, p. 123).

for additional ornaments it must receive the discipline of university education, and then the Powers of God will descend. To a soul thus made ready they will bring laws and ordinances from heaven to hallow and consecrate it with the encouragement of their Father.[1] What house, exclaims the devout philosopher, can be more fitting for God than a soul perfectly purified; and deeming the Beautiful alone the Good?[2]

But if God deigns through his Powers to descend to man and make his abode in the lowly soul, can man in his turn ascend towards God and rise into direct communion with him? Like a good Platonist Philo endows the soul with wings, and describes the vision that breaks upon her in her upward flight. When a man loves God his soul springs upward towards truth from earth to heaven and traverses the air on wings, eager to join the dance with sun and moon and the most holy band of the stars in harmony, where God is king alone and unopposed, with just sovereignty over each and all.[3] It is, then, possible for the contemplative mind with the help not of sense but reason to reach a fellowship with divine things, and pass from outward sight to what is incorporeal and known by thought. Of the high virtue needful for this vision Abraham was the type. The reward of such approach to truth was faith; its

[1] Philo, *De Cherub.*, 29–31 (ed. Cohn, i, p. 194).
[2] *De Sobriet.*, 62 (ed. Wendland, ii, p. 227).
[3] *De Spec. Leg.*, i, 207 (ed. Cohn, v, p. 50).

prize was joy; the crown of tireless toil was the vision of God. For what can be more gainful or worshipful than to believe in God, to rejoice evermore, and unceasingly behold real Being (τὸ ὄν).[1] If the eyes of the body can reach the topmost heights of the sky, how vast a course must be open to the eyes of the soul, when, yearning to gaze clearly on "What Is," they not only mount on wings to the furthest ether, but even pass the boundaries of the world in haste to reach the Uncreate.[2]

There is, then, for the pure spirit an immediate knowledge of God. The common mind may respond to the Stoic arguments founded on the intelligence revealed in the great world-city, the harmonies of earth and air and sea, the successions of day and night, the regularity of the seasons, the order of the stars.[3] But there is a higher kind of direct evidence. "See that I am he," it is said in the character of God in the great Song (*Deut.* xxxii. 39), for Real Being (τὸ ὄντως ὄν) is apprehended by clear insight (ἐναργείᾳ) rather than by reasoning.[4] True, this does not pierce to the ultimate secret of God's essence. The Absolute alone can understand himself. But it does bring the human spirit into such close relation to the Divine that man can become *theo-phoros*, a verit-

[1] *De Præm. et Poen.*, 26 f. (ed. Cohn, v, p. 341).
[2] *De Plantat.*, 22 (ed. Wendland, ii, p. 138).
[3] Cp. *De Monarch.* I, cap. vi.
[4] *De Poster. Cain.*, 167 (ed. Wendland, ii, p. 37).

able "bearer" of God, for the Ruler of the universe deigns himself alone and unseen to company with minds that have reached the highest purity: was it not promised, "I will walk among you and will be your God" (*Lev.* xxvi, 12)?[1] For such souls, who offer their reason as a sacred cup, the Ruler of the feast, the Logos, the cupbearer of God, pours forth deep draughts of joy.[2] This is the path to freedom and to peace, for the true City of God, Jerusalem, "the vision of peace," lies in the soul wherein God makes his home.[3] Lifted above the strife of the world, and aiming at likeness to God who is raised above all need and perfectly suffices for himself,[4] he quits the sphere of corruption and necessity; he wins the unchanging mind which draws nigh to the power of God, he approaches the steadfastness of the Eternal,[5] he enters on life and immortality.[6]

Such were the possibilities of salvation by philosophy. Philo was destined to be one of the progenitors of Christian theology; but at its birth the Christian Church was occupied with other things. The language of Jesus was the speech of the home and the field, the market place and the vineyard; the insight of the prophet rested on the

[1] *De Somn.*, i, 148 (ed. Wendland, iii, p. 236). For *θεόφορος* cp. Bréhier, *Idées*, p. 201[3].

[2] *De Somn.*, ii, 249 (*ibid.*, p. 298). [3] *Ibid.*, 250–1.

[4] *De Fortitud.*, 8–9 (ed. Cohn, v, p. 268).

[5] *De Cherub.*, 19 (ed. Cohn, i, p. 174).

[6] *De Plantat.*, 37 (ed. Wendland, ii, p. 141). Cp. Drummond, *Philo*, ii, p. 323–4.

education of life, not of the schools. Paul distrusts the world's wisdom, content that the world's "foolish things" might put its professional teachers to shame. He must needs use every now and then some philosophical term, he cannot escape from his own culture. The author of *Acts* ascribes to him the arguments from natural religion in common use in the Stoic schools.[1] He, too, teaches the elevation of God above every want in sublime self-sufficiency.[2] The same appeals are made by Clement from Rome. By way of persuading the Corinthians to concord he dwells on the divine gifts of peace in the harmony of the universe. Day and night follow each other without interference; sun and moon and the unswerving stars pursue their appointed way; the ocean observes the bounds prescribed for it; the winds fulfil their service unopposed.[3] For Clement, too, the Sovereign of creation is in need of nothing,[4] but the doctrine of God receives no elaboration; Clement's background is that of the Old Testament resting on the common culture of the day. Ignatius writes as a mystic not a philosopher. Visions of unity float before his eyes. But it is not the nature-mysticism of the pantheist; it is the unity of history, which crowns the series of Patriarchs and Prophets with the Gospel, and the

[1] Cp. *Acts* xiv, 15–17, xvii, 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, xvii, 25; cp. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913), p. 14.

[3] 1 *Clem.* xx.

[4] Ἀπροσδεής ὁ δεσπότης, *ibid.*, lii. The title is frequent in the LXX.

unity of the Church which mirrors the government of God.[1] Hermas is concerned with the sins of the present and the destinies of the future; his problems are practical, speculation has no interest for him.

In the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, however, another strain enters Christian teaching. The stately phrases of its opening sentence imply familiarity with philosophic thought; and the numerous parallels of its language with the *Wisdom of Solomon* and the writings of Philo show the beginnings of a definite alliance with Hellenistic culture. Under this influence the Gospel is translated into new forms. A concept of the schools is employed by the Fourth Evangelist to interpret the person of Jesus; and salvation is placed in a kind of *gnosis* or knowledge: "This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ."[2] Christianity was thus brought into the sphere of the intellectual problems which occupy the philosophic theologian, and the leaven of a fresh interest began to work in many ways. Justin, wearing the philosopher's mantle, is accosted in the Xystus at Ephesus by the Jew Trypho, who defines the object of philosophy as the investigation of the Deity. Justin recites the steps of his search, and

[1] Cp. *Philad.*, ix, *Trall.*, iii, etc.

[2] *John* xvii, 3. The term *gnosis* does not appear in the Gospel, but the corresponding verb "know" is one of its most important words.

traces his pilgrimage from Stoic to Peripatetic, Pythagorean, and Platonist, till finally he found himself a lover of the prophets and the friends of Christ. Their philosophy was secure and profitable, and he begins to discuss from the Greek side some of the difficulties which the application of the doctrine of the Logos begot. The Christian missionaries could not evade these difficulties, and their language indicates their need of harmonizing the Biblical teaching with the phraseology of the culture of the day. The *Preaching of Peter* in the first part of the second century[1] defines God as "the Unseen who sees all things, the Uncontained who contains all things, the Unneeding whom all things need, and through whom they exist, Incomprehensible, Eternal, Incorruptible, Unmade, who made all things by the Word of his Power (the Gnostic "Beginning"), that is his Son."[2] What is the meaning of this curious identification? Who were the Gnostics, and what was the nature of their *gnosis* or secret knowledge?

The name "Gnostic" covers a large and complicated variety of movements within the field of Christianity which rose rapidly into importance in the second century.[3] The new teaching gravely

[1] Before 140 A.D., Hennecke, *N. T.liche Apokryphen* (1904), p. 169.

[2] Clem. Alex., *Stromat.*, VI, v, § 39.

[3] The name Gnostic seems to have been used by Celsus (about 178 B.C.?), Origen, *Contra Cels.*, V, lxi. Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, V, i, says that the Naassenes were the first so to describe themselves.

threatened the stability of the Faith. It assumed widely different forms in the hands of different leaders, but in spite of the diversity of its sects it was marked by certain common features which distinguished it from the growing consciousness of the Catholic Church. It drew into itself elements from many sources, Babylonian, Persian, Phrygian, Syrian, Egyptian, Greek. It had affinities with the Babylonian dualism of an upper and a lower world, with the Persian dualism of light and darkness, with the Greek dualism of matter and spirit. It produced an active literature, but little of the works of its most thoughtful writers remains to provide first-hand evidence of their ideas. It created austere moral disciplines on the one hand, and it issued in strange forms of licentiousness upon the other. In the course of a few generations it reached its culmination as the Church, in the persons of Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, marshalled its arguments against it; it declined in the third century and faded away in the fourth when a new type of heresy took its place under the name of Manichæism. In self-defence the Church armed itself with a fresh Canon and set the Scriptures of the New Testament beside those of the Old; elaborated its doctrine of tradition; and provided itself with a guarantee of unity by formulating a Rule of Faith.[1]

"Know thyself" was the warning addressed to the Greek worshipper as he approached the sanc-

[1] Cp. Lect. II., p. 83.

tuary of Apollo at Delphi. "Know the Lord" was the appeal of the Hebrew prophet to the people of Israel. One of the Gnostic formulæ sought to link the two orders of knowledge together: "The beginning of perfection is the knowledge of man," ran a saying of the sect known as Naassenes,[1] "the end of perfection is the knowledge of God."[2] If this was the aim of religion, it was no less that of philosophy, and to some of the critics and opponents of Gnosticism, notably to Tertullian, philosophy appeared in the odious light of the origin of all the heresies.[3] In reality, however, it would seem that tendencies analogous to those which produced the teachers of the second century had already been at work in Judaism before Christianity arose.[4] Paul has to contend with cognate ideas at Colossê.[5] The first prominent figure, however, held up for patristic reprobation is that of Simon the Mage of Samaria who went, like so many other sectaries, to Rome.[6] His dis-

[1] The name is founded on the Hebrew word for snake, and corresponds to the Greek Ophites, as though they were the "Serpentines."

[2] Hippol., *Refutatio*, V, i, 8.

[3] Tert., *De Præscript. Hereticos*., vii. But in the *Apol*., xvii, and *De Testimon. Animæ*, he takes a different view.

[4] Cp. Philo, *De Poster. Cain*., xi, xiv–xv. On the general question of the origins of Gnosticism see the brilliant treatise of Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (1907), especially p. 54 ff. Cp. Friedländer, *Der Vorchristliche Jüdische Gnosticismus* (1898).

[5] Cp. Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon* (1904), p. 71 sqq.

[6] See Harnack's bold and original view of his doctrines, *Hist. of Dogma*, i, p. 244.

ciple, Menander of Capparatea, established himself at Antioch, the brilliant city of the East, and there Basilides and Saturninus were said to have studied under him. Basilides made his home in Alexandria, whence Cerinthus, another traditional father of heresy, had already proceeded to Ephesus, where Church legend represented him as the adversary of the Apostle John. Egypt was the home, too, of Valentinus, trained in the school of Platonism, whose followers were among the most numerous and wide-spread of all the sects. From among the Alexandrian Platonists, also, came Carpocrates and his son Epiphanes, so that the fundamental Platonic conception of the transcendence and spirituality of God was deeply impressed on much of the Gnostic teaching. The leaders of the second century boldly attempted on the philosophical side to do what Philo had done before them, viz., to construct a series of links between the Being of God conceived as the ultimate Monad (a Platonic term) and the world of change known to our senses. And from this scene of temptation and suffering they sought to rescue the soul which had fallen from the realm of light into the darkness of error and sin, and restore it to its true home above. It was on this side that the Gnostic teachers kept close to Christianity as a religion of salvation and emphasized the function of Christ as a Saviour.

The founders of different schools, however, though they might have been students of philo-

sophy, did not base their *gnosis* on reasoning. Their methods were not dialectic. Valentinus, for example, was poet and mystic, soaring into a realm of imaginative creation, as if he had discarded altogether the discipline of the schools. The goal for which he strove was the vision of God. In a letter quoted by Clement of Alexandria,[1] he declares that there is only One who is good, and through him alone can the heart become pure when every evil spirit is expelled from it. Like an inn on which men bestow no care because it belongs to some one else, the heart which is uncared for becomes unclean, the abode of many demons. "But when the Father who alone is good, visits it, it is sanctified and shines with light; and thus he who has such a heart is to be called blessed, for he shall see God." The type of *gnosis* by which this was to be reached might vary, like the mode of its communication. Ultimately, of course, it was traced back to Christ, and depended on a revelation first communicated by him. A Naassene hymn preserved by Hippolytus[2] contains his promise to unfold all mysteries, and adds the declaration

> "The secrets of the Holy Path
> Called Gnosis I'll impart."

For such teaching, hidden from the world and delivered privately to the disciples, abundant room was found by extending the period of the

[1] *Stromata*, II, xx, § 114. [2] *Refutatio*, V, v.

Lord's intercourse with the Twelve after the resurrection. The curious treatise entitled Pistis Sophia ("Faith-Wisdom"), belonging probably to the third century,[1] allowed eleven years for this purpose, during which sacred mysteries were revealed. Another method was the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. Basilides wrote explanations of the Gospels in twenty-four books. Heracleon composed the first commentary on the Fourth Gospel, from which Origen made considerable extracts; and in the exercise of religious phantasy it would be difficult sometimes to say which of the two expositors wandered the farthest from the plain meaning of the text. The Old Testament might be absolutely rejected as a religious authority, after the fashion of Marcion.[2] There are traces of strange sects which transformed offenders like Cain, the men of Sodom, Esau, Korah, Dathan and Abiram, into elect worthies; while Judas became a sort of partner in the redemption by bringing about the death of Jesus which the hostile powers desired to prevent lest thereby humanity should be saved.[3] From the New Testament a selection might be made, like Marcion's Canon, which consisted of the Gospel according to Luke with some excisions, and eleven

[1] Edited from a Coptic translation from the original Greek, *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*, i. (1905), by Carl Schmidt.

[2] Cp. Lect. II, p. 80.

[3] De Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* (1913), p. 349 f. There was even a Gospel of Judas.

letters of the Apostle Paul. But the scanty references of their opponents make it impossible to determine in detail the attitude of the different sects to the several books now included in the Scriptures. Their fundamental conception of a fall and a redemption has most affinity with certain elements in the Pauline teaching, however different might be the mythological forms in which it was clothed. With the eschatological outlook of primitive Christianity they had no sympathy. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body was altogether alien to their thought.

Divided into a great variety of sects, the Gnostics had their meetings for worship, but their followers formed no united church. Valentinus, it would seem, had at first no idea of founding a separate community. Of their organization, their methods of spreading their teaching, their ministries and missionary labours, their critics tell us little or nothing. They were active in literary production. They composed psalms and hymns, they wrote letters, they drew up narratives under Apostolic names. Deeply conscious of the element of passion in human nature, the early teachers like Basilides and Valentinus occupied themselves with the problem of evil, whence did it come, and in what did it consist?[1] The Platonic dualism of matter and spirit led them to find its seat, in part at any rate, in man's physical constitution. The body was formed by inferior angels, who em-

[1] Tert., *De Præscript. Heretic.*, vii, "unde malum."

ployed matter from this lower world, and introduced into it the passions which disturbed the higher nature lodged within it.[1] To master these a strict asceticism was often demanded. There were obscure sects which claimed a liberty above all law, though charges of licentiousness must always be received with caution. But the great Gnostics, such as Valentinus (whose followers were the most numerous and the most widely diffused) and Marcion (who in this respect may be reckoned with them), were emphatic rigorists. Marcion even condemned marriage, and one of the later works preserved in Coptic translations exalts virginity.[2]

The disappearance of the best Gnostic literature, and the confused expositions of their ecclesiastical opponents, render it extremely difficult to trace the rise and development of particular schools. Our fullest information gathers round Valentinus and his disciples. Valentinus himself taught at Rome. Heracleon and Ptolemy were connected with Italy; Irenæus encountered Valentinians in the valley of the Rhone; in Asia Minor Theodotus was at work, and a series of extracts from his writings has been preserved by the pen of Clement of Alexandria. The main purpose of the *gnosis* was deliverance from evil, or redemption; it explained

[1] This seems to have been the view of Valentinus, De Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, p. 43.

[2] See the *Book of Jeû*, i, 4, in Schmidt's *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*, i, p. 260, concerning those who bore the virginity of Jesus.

"who we were, what we have become, where we were, whither we have been flung, whither we hasten, whence we are redeemed, what is birth, and what is rebirth."[1] The Valentinian doctrine of existing mankind distributed them into three groups. Highest of all were the "*pneumatics*," or "spirituals"; lowest were the "*hylics*," or "materials"; between the two extremes were the "*psychics*," who might rise into the upper rank or sink into that which was beneath. The fragments of Heracleon's commentary on the Fourth Gospel preserved by Origen illustrate this division in connection with the story of the woman of Samaria.[2] The spiritual nature is declared to be *homoousios* (of the same substance) with the Unbegotten; such are they who worship God in spirit[3]; they are compared with the High Priests who enter the Holy of Holies.[4] The mountain of the Samaritan cultus represents the world over which the devil presides.[5] The water in Jacob's well is the worldly life; that which the Saviour gives is eternal. In asking for it the Samaritan woman reveals herself as a true "pneumatic," temporarily fallen from her proper home and

[1] *Excerpt. Theod.*, 78, 2, in Clem. Alex. (ed. Stählin), Vol. iii, p. 131.

[2] Heracleon, the most distinguished of the disciples of Valentinus according to Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, IV, ix, § 71, was known to Irenæus, cp. Brooke, *Texts and Studies* (Cambridge), i, 4, p. 34, and may be placed between 155 & 180, De Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[3] *Fragm.*, 24, ed. Brooke, p. 81.

[4] *Ibid.*, 13, *ibid.*, p. 68. [5] *Ibid.*, 20.

seeking for the means of return.[1] The element which is related to the Father has been lost in the deep matter of error, hence it is "sought" that the Father may be worshipped by his true kindred.[2] Inasmuch as they are of the same nature with him, they who worship in truth are spirit.[3] Redemption is apparently effected by the awakening of the consciousness of their real character, an inward enlightenment which brings with it the saving *gnosis*. But whether this is the destiny of all "spirituals," or whether some are lost and never found, the surviving fragments do not make clear. The "psychics" like the "spirituals" are entangled in matter, but not hopelessly. They, too, may rise into the higher life; they are αὐτεξούσιοι, they possess free will.[4] They have at least the capacity for salvation, the corruptible can put on incorruption. They are represented by the men who come forth from the city on the summons of the woman. On the other hand the lowest class, the "hylics," the earthy and the carnal, are incapable of salvation. Emphasizing the dualism of the Fourth Gospel, "ye are of your father the devil" (*John* viii, 44), Heracleon declares that they are ὁμοούσιοι (of the same substance) with him,[5] and as such essentially irredeemable. For his nature is not derived from truth, but from its contrary, error and ignorance, its characteristic is falsehood, truth is beyond its reach.[6] For such

[1] *Fragm.*, 17, 19. [2] *Ibid.*, 23. [3] *Ibid.*, 24.
[4] De Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 67. [5] *Fragm.*, 44. [6] *Ibid.*, 47.

as inherited being of this quality Jesus might well say "Whither I go ye cannot come" (*John* viii, 21). How could those who exist in ignorance and unbelief and sin attain incorruption?[1] Doom does indeed lie over the "earthy." But among the "devil's sons" might be some who were not his real offspring (φύσει), though they did his will of their own choice (γνώμῃ).[2] These were actually "psychics" who had temporarily lapsed, and might recover. The number of the hopelessly lost was thus reduced. Heracleon was evidently anxious to widen all possible avenues to salvation.

Behind all this process stood the Absolute, the unchanging God. Stainless and pure and invisible, said Heracleon, is his nature as Spirit.[3] He is the Father of Truth,[4] and if ecclesiastical tradition may be trusted, Heracleon applied to him the Pythagorean term the "Monad." How far Heracleon accepted the poetical construction of Valentinus for connecting the Unseen Deity with the visible world, the surviving fragments are insufficient to prove. Valentinus wrought out his system by imagination rather than by reason, and boldly soared into a realm of immensity which he could people with vast grandiose figures by way of picturesque expression of his ideas. He, too, had drunk deep draughts of the wisdom of Pythagoras and Plato,[5] and posited as the ultimate ground of all existence "a Monad unbegotten, imperishable,

[1] Fragm., 41. [2] *Ibid.*, 46. [3] *Ibid.*, 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, 20. [5] Hippolyt., *Refutatio*, VI, xxiv.

incomprehensible," to whom was given the name of Father. Unhampered by conditions of time and space, he became the source of a series of beings from whose lowest term the world and man at last proceeded. Like other mystics Valentinus could only conceive the activity of God as love. In infinite solitude love sought an object of affection. Whether or not Silence was by his side as a mysterious consort to break his sublime isolation the Valentinians were not agreed.[1] Forth from himself the Father projected the first pair of energies, Mind and Truth. From them descended a series known as Æons, beginning with Logos (Word) and Life, and proceeding onwards through Man and Church. The whole Godhead with these successive projections constituted the Plerôma or Fulness, which consisted of thirty terms; and with the curious numerical symbolism which his critics attributed to Pythagorean influence Valentinus found them typified in the thirty years of Christ's age at baptism.[2] Last of these Æons was Sophia (Wisdom), consequently the most remote from the fountain-head of Deity. In the beginning Mind only knew the Father. Rejoicing in his immeasurable majesty he meditated how to reveal him to the rest of the Æons. They in their turn were

[1] So Hippolytus. Among recent interpreters Profs. Bousset and De Faye (whom I have followed) also differ. The testimony of Hippolytus to the views of Valentinus himself seems clear. Heracleon says nothing about Silence in the extant fragments.

[2] Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, I, i, 3; II, xxii.

filled with calm desire to behold the Projector of their seed, and contemplate their Root without beginning. But the youngest Æon, Wisdom, greatly daring, and grieved that she could not share Mind's communion with the perfect Father, sought to comprehend his greatness. As she stretched forward and was in danger of being reabsorbed into his Being, she encountered Horos, the "Limit." He held her back, persuaded her of the incomprehensibility of the Father, weaned her from her passion, and thus restored peace within the Fulness.[1]

Such was the beginning of the strange myth of the fall of Wisdom. It ends with the creation of the world. Our universe results from the passion of Sophia. In the incoherence and confusion of the reports the details of the process are obscure. But the Demiurge or Creator finally comes into view in a homily of Valentinus quoted by Clement of Alexandria.[2] Over against the Church teaching which declared the identity of the God of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, Valentinus affirmed that the Creator described in Genesis was only an "image" or "prophet" of the True God. He might bear the titles God and Father, but he was only like a "painter" seeking to reproduce in the visible scene the likeness of Wisdom, to the glory of the Invisible. Thus the last link was forged in the long chain uniting the world of time and change with the Eternal. In the creation of

[1] Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, I, ii. [2] *Stromata*, IV, xiii, § 90.

man the Demiurge, it would seem, was assisted by subordinate Rulers. From him came, at least into some men (the "spirituals"), the divine seed which guaranteed their immortality; from them, the physical elements of coarser matter which dragged them into sin. "From the beginning," said Valentinus, "ye are immortal, and children of eternal life." In mysterious words he foretold how death itself should die in them and through them, and they should become lords of all creation and corruption.[1] How should this hope be achieved?

The cosmic speculations of Gnosticism were really only the setting for the central theme of the soul's destiny. The past could not be without its interest, but it was on the future that attention was really fixed. If there was a divine element in humanity, how could it be set free from its entanglement in the flesh and restored to its home on high? The theme of its descent, its servitude in the world of pleasure and change, its forgetfulness of its origin, its awakening to its true nature and its return to the land of light, is expounded with the adornments of a folk-tale in the famous hymn put into the mouth of the Apostle Thomas when he was in prison "in the country of the Indians."[2] The poet tells how when he was yet

[1] *Stromata* IV, xiii, § 89.

[2] Cp. Bevan, *Texts and Studies* (Cambridge), 1897, Vol. v., 3; Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity* (1904), pp. 218 ff., and *The Quest*, July, 1914, p. 617; Preuschen, *Zwei Gnostische Hymnen* (1904); Mead, *The Hymn of the Robe of Glory* (1908), in *Echoes of the Gnosis*, Vol. x.

but a little child in the house of his Father, he was sent by his parents from his home in the Parthian Empire to fetch from Egypt the Pearl that was guarded by the all-swallowing Serpent. Gifts were given him for the journey, but his bright robe was taken from him as he departed, with the promise of its restoration when he should return with his prize, and this was engraven on his heart that he should not forget it. Alone and an exile in Egypt he watches for the Pearl. He wears the dress of the country to escape recognition, but a single confidant, whom he has entrusted with his secret, betrays him. In their guile the Egyptians give him to eat of their dainties; he forgets his race and the Pearl, and serves the king of the country. But his parents know what has befallen him, and they send him a letter which speeds to him with the flight of an eagle, and speaks to him in his native tongue. At the sound of its tones he awakens from his slumber. The words of the letter were like those engraved on his heart. He remembers his royal race and his free-born nature, remembers the task which he had been sent to fulfil. He charms the Serpent to sleep, seizes the Pearl, and sets his course straight for his own land, lighted upon his way by the letter. On the journey he meets the Robe of his childhood, now fashioned after his maturer likeness. Clad in its splendour he reaches the Palace-gate, and pays homage to his father's Viceroy for his protection. He is received with favour to be

with him in his kingdom, and awaits a yet higher joy:

"Now to the King of Kings one day he hath promised to take me,
There by his side with my gift and my Pearl I shall stand in the Presence."

The lovely allegory describes the mission of the soul from heaven, its native sphere, to the life of earth, represented by the unclean land of Egypt, full of magic and enchantments. The heavenly form must be left behind, but it keeps pace with the growth of its owner who will be "clothed upon" with its glory when he returns to his Father's house, victor over temptation with the prize of salvation in his hand. Father and Mother, the King of Kings and the Queen of the East, impersonate the Father and the Spirit. The Viceroy, who is also Brother of the soul, is Christ.

On this return of the soul to its heavenly home Gnostic imagination dwelt with insistent emphasis. It was usually presented under the figure of the Babylonian cosmology with its seven heavens,[1] which had spread all through the East and was firmly lodged in Judaism and some circles of early Christianity. Gate after gate must be passed on the ascent, and the soul must be provided with the proper formulæ by which to secure admission from the Seven Rulers presiding successively over

[1] Corresponding to the sun, the moon, and the five planets. Cp. *ante*, p. 129.

each sphere.[1] Instruction in these charms formed part of the Gnostic mysteries.[2] The nature and the names of the Seven must be duly known, but such knowledge was not by itself sufficient to unbar the gates. Before the soul could enter on the upward way, it must have been delivered from its ignorance and sin.

The need of redemption was generally recognized, but Irenæus laments that each mystagogue had a different scheme for its achievement. For those who received the perfect *gnosis*, rebirth into the Power which is over all was indispensable. Had not Jesus himself declared that he had a baptism to be baptized with, superior to that of John; had he not asked the sons of Zebedee if they could share it; and had not Paul proclaimed the redemption in Christ Jesus? Many were the modes in which it was effected,—the celebration of a mystic bridal after the type of the sacred Pairs above,[3]— initiations with strange words and formulæ,—unction with balsam,—baptism "into the name of the unknown Father of the universe, into Truth the Mother of all things, into him who came down into Jesus, into union and redemption and fellowship with the Powers."[4] The Valentinian Theo-

[1] Examples are supplied by Origen, *Contra Cels.*, VI, xxxi.

[2] Anz, in his *Ursprung des Gnosticismus* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1897, xv., 4), treats this as the central doctrine. Among the Valentinians, however, the traces of it are slight.

[3] There are traces of a strange myth of the union of the Saviour with the fallen Sophia.

[4] Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, I, xxi, 1–3.

dotus (in Anatolia) taught that whoever was baptized into God entered into God, and received authority over evil Powers. Destiny (Heimarmenê) might rule till baptism, but those who were born again into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were lifted above all evil Principalities, and the predictions of astrologers would be fulfilled no more.[1] Yet others affirmed that perfect redemption was independent of all corporeal rites. It consisted in the recognition (*epignosis*) of the unspeakable Majesty. The *gnosis* was the redemption of the inner man, and must therefore be spiritual.[2] For the Pauline doctrine of the "redemption of the body" the Gnostic speculators had no place.

That redemption was the work of Jesus formed the special contribution of Christianity to Gnosticism.[3] But in what this work consisted remained obscure and undefined. Theories of sacrifice and atonement did not flourish in the Gnostic atmosphere. The Valentinians converted the Cross into the mysterious "Limit,"[4] but of the "Messiah crucified" they could give no account. He imparts wisdom, he opens the inward eye to behold the truth, he redeems by revealing the eternal Light, and enabling the soul to understand itself. The

[1] *Excerpt. ex Theod.*, 76–78.

[2] Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, I, xxi, 4.

[3] Cp. Bevan, "The Gnostic Redeemer," in *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. xi (1913), p. 137.

[4] *Horos*, with which the Cross (*Stauros*) was identified, Iren., *ibid.*, I, ii, 4.

end[1] will be reached when the whole company of "Spirituals" is formed and perfected by *gnosis*.[2] To such modes of thought it was intolerable to suppose that Christ had occupied a material body. The Johannine letters already denounce those who denied that Christ had come in the flesh. Cerinthus is reported to have taught that the Christ descended on the man Jesus at the baptism, and withdrew before the crucifixion. A strange medley of views appears in the pages of Irenæus—that Christ was without body and was never born but was only a phantasm—that he was really an incorporeal Power taking what shape he pleased without suffering—that he changed places with Simon of Cyrene who was crucified in his stead—that his body came from heaven and the Virgin's womb was only the channel through which it was transmitted to the world. In the *Acts of John* ascribed to Leucius Charinus (belonging probably to the second century) the Apostle is said to have left the scene of the crucifixion and fled to the Mount of Olives, where he took refuge in a cave. There the Lord stood in the midst and showed him a cross of light set up, and a great multitude round about it with divers forms. But the Lord himself he saw above the cross without a form, only a voice, sweet and truly divine, which tells him that the cross will sometimes be called Logos,

[1] Or "consummation," as in *Matt.* xiii, 39, 49, xxiv, 3, but applied in quite a different connection.

[2] Iren., *ibid.*, I, vi, 1.

sometimes Mind, sometimes Jesus, sometimes Christ: "I was supposed to be what I am not, not being what I was for many others." In riddling words he declares that he has suffered, yet has not suffered, and when John descends from the mountain he laughs at what the spectators of the crucifixion tell him, holding fast within himself that the Lord had done all these things symbolically for the conversion and salvation of men.[1] The work of the Saviour is, however, conceived on the broadest scale. As the aged Apostle prepares to descend into the grave which his disciples have dug by his instructions, he offers a final prayer:

Thou who hast never rested but from the foundation of the world art for ever saving those that can be saved, who hast made thyself known throughout all nature, and hast proclaimed thyself even among the animals, who didst make the desolate and hunted soul calm and peaceful . . . who didst give her pure knowledge concerning thyself, God Jesus, Father of those above the heavens, Lord of those in the heavens, Law of those in the ether and Course of those in the air, Guardian of those on the earth, and Fear of those under the earth, and Grace of thine own—receive also the soul of thy John, if haply it be found worthy by thee.[2]

[1] Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II, i (1898), pp. 199–202. There are interesting affinities between the Light-Cross and the Valentinian Stauros-Horos, which it is impossible here to work out in detail.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

Here is an ardent devotion which does not trouble itself to distinguish theologically between the persons of the Godhead, but embraces in one sweep of thought a purpose pervading all time and all existence. In the shifting multitude of elements which the ecclesiastical critics of Gnosticism flung confusedly upon their pages, it must not be forgotten that for many pious souls it provided a real religion. It might emphasize the ascetic morality which had been implanted in the Church from the beginning. It might tend to decline into sacramentalism on the one hand and grosser forms of magic on the other, just as it might also profess to place the emancipated spirit above the restraints of law. But in the hands of its best teachers it could nourish a fruitful piety, just as it could also attempt the solution of difficult problems. While the Apologists were pleading the cause of Christianity before the Imperial Government and the educated public, the Gnostics were busy with the great themes of the relation of God to the world, the method of his self-revelation, the origin and destiny of souls, the function of Christ in the process of salvation, the divine and human elements in his person, the significance of the sacraments as hallowed mysteries. They inaugurated a theological movement to which the Church could not be indifferent, and opened the paths along which it should advance. The Church remained master of the field, but it was the Gnostics who had helped to sharpen the weapons by which its victory

over Hellenic culture and the Mystery-religions was secured.

In the last quarter of the second century the crisis became acute. A vigorous opposition was directed against the perverters of the truth. Ecclesiastical writers arrayed their arguments, and the Church armed itself with a Rule of Faith and a Canon of Scripture. But meanwhile a more subtle process was begun. Again and again in its history Christianity has been confronted with powerful new influences in the field of thought which threatened its supremacy, if not its very existence. Again and again it has assimilated them and survived. The entry of the Aristotelian philosophy into Europe, after its long pilgrimage from Bagdad to Cordova, gave to the Church of the thirteenth century a coherent body of thought which enlisted the noblest minds in its service. The "new learning" could not be kept out three hundred years later, and though it rent the Church in twain the conflict only evoked fresh energies which left Christendom, even though divided, purer and stronger than before. In our own time the marvellous developments of science were at first viewed with terror, and the foundations of faith seemed to rock beneath our feet; but its great ideas have been more or less skilfully incorporated in our theology, and it has become the ally instead of the enemy of religion. Through some such time of stress did the Church pass in the latter part of the second century. It was compelled to take account

of the great intellectual forces all around it; its whole future depended on the terms which it would make with them. The alliance with Greek philosophy begun by the Fourth Evangelist remained for some time quiescent. Justin appealed to the examples of Heraclcitus and Socrates, and claimed that Christians were the real owners of all the best teachings of the past. But while writers like Melito of Sardis or Miltiades were by no means hostile to the culture of their time, others took up an attitude of uncompromising opposition. The Assyrian Tatian, who had been a hearer of Justin in Rome, opened his "Address to the Greeks" with a vehement attack on the philosophers. With biting scorn he denounced their conflicting opinions, their arrogance and mutual hate, Pythagoras and his imitator Plato being the special objects of his derision. Theophilus, who was bishop of Antioch under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, was equally impatient, and his representative position made his language the more significant. From the vantage ground of the Church he denounced the discordant notions of the schools. Those who had blindly wandered into the chair of philosophy only taught lawlessness of life; and even Plato, who seemed to have been the most respectable of them all, was only too easily included in the indictment.[1] But the increasing number of educated men who enrolled themselves in the Christian ranks could not be

[1] *Ad Autolycum*, I, iv; III, iii, 6.

thus severed from the best thought around them. The penetrating criticisms of a philosopher like Celsus, the learning of the Gnostics, the accepted methods of intellectual training in the universities, all helped to compel the Church to provide a higher culture for those who were ready to accept its faith. Great schools arose where Biblical learning was eagerly pursued, and at Alexandria, where so many influences met, the task of providing Christianity with a philosophy of religion was seriously undertaken.

The origin of the Church in the city of the Ptolemies is unknown. One tradition affirmed that the Gospel had been first preached there by Barnabas.[1] The Egyptian Christians apparently claimed Mark as their founder.[2] In later times the Patriarchs of the see were elected beside the supposed tomb of the Evangelist in the great church of Baucalis, the most ancient ecclesiastical building in the city, close to the wharves and corn-magazines of the busy harbour.[3] Two elements probably subsisted in the community side by side from very early days. The Jewish colony provided a large number of converts, and as Christianity spread through the country it was embraced also by many native Egyptians. Two corresponding forms of Gospel were early in circulation, one "according to the Hebrews," the other "according to the Egyptians," and these still held their place

[1] *Clem. Hom.*, i, 8. [2] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, II, xvi.
[3] Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (1886), p. 36.

in current use at the end of the second century even when our canonical documents had won general recognition.[1] From the Gnostic teachers, as we have seen, an active literature proceeded; and Pantænus, who became the head of the school of catechumens about 180 A.D., was copious in commentaries on the Scriptures. He came into the Church from Stoicism; and Origen afterwards justified his own philosophical studies by reference to the example of his predecessor.[2] The young men of that day probably did as Philo had described them nearly two centuries before. They frequented the lecture-rooms as they did the theatres, full of all kinds of secular interests, their mercantile adventures, their estates and rents, their professions, their intrigues; they sat on the benches as deaf as statues; or, if they did attend, they forgot what they had heard when they went away. Only a few, lamented the Jewish teacher, were wise enough like Abraham to listen to the voice of Sarah, the queenly symbol of philosophy.[3] To such, who would study three or four years in preparation for baptism, the Christian instructor would unfold with its aid the higher principles of divine knowledge.

The zeal of Pantænus led to his despatch as a

[1] Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (1913), p. 55.

[2] In Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xix, 13. Cp. Lecture VI.

[3] *Genes.* xvi, 3. The whole allegory is worked out by Philo in the treatise *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia.* See xiii. It was borrowed freely by Clement.

preacher of the Gospel to India,[1] and he was succeeded in the catechetical school by Titus Flavius Clemens, who had been one of his hearers. His Roman name suggests some possible connection—perhaps through a freedman—with the consul Titus Flavius Clemens, cousin of the Emperor Domitian, who was suddenly executed in 95 A.D. by imperial order.[2] His family, his birthplace, are both unknown. Like many men of means with intellectual tastes he travelled widely. He studied at Athens, he sojourned in Magna Græcia, where he fell in with two missionaries, a Syrian and an Egyptian; but though he tells of his residence in South Italy, he does not mention Rome. He passed to the East, and learned from an Assyrian; in Palestine he studied under a converted Jew. Last of six teachers was the "Sicilian bee" whom he caught in Alexandria.[3] There he was ordained a Presbyter, and after the departure of Pantænus he lectured (apparently in his own house) till the outbreak of persecution under Severus, when he left to visit an old pupil, Alexander, bishop of a church in Cappadocia.[4] A long list of works is attached to his name,[5] and his extant writings contain numerous references to books which he had written or intended to

[1] So Eusebius and Jerome. It is uncertain what was the real field of his activity.

[2] Cp. Lect. I., p. 3.

[3] Supposed to be Pantænus. *Strom.*, I, i, § 11[2].

[4] He was afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, see Lect., VI.

[5] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xiii.

write. Among those which survive three stand out in pre-eminent importance, the *Protrepticus* or "Exhortation to the Greeks," the *Pædagogus* or "Instructor," and the *Stromata* or "Gnostic Notes according to the True Philosophy."[1] The first is a summons or challenge to the unconverted. In the second he depicts the conduct of the believer. The third expounds a higher way whereby the soul may rise from simple faith to the true *gnosis* which will enable it to become divine. Placed in this order they correspond with curious analogy to three stages in the mysteries, Purification, Initiation, and Vision (ἐποπτεία).[2] Clement, it would seem, had himself been initiated at Eleusis; he uses the sacred language without hesitation. The *Protrepticus*,[3] written with concentrated passion, surveys a vast range of mythologic lore, and in its place boldly holds up the figure of Christ as "our Mystagogue." "O truly holy mysteries!" he cries. "O stainless light! I am illumined to behold the heavens and God. I become holy by initiation. The Lord is the hierophant, and seals the initiate with his guiding light, and he presents the believer to the Father to be kept for ever. Such are the

[1] *Strom.*, III, xviii, § 110 *ad fin.* For recent discussions about the order of the composition of these works see De Faye, *Clément d' Alexandrie*[2] (1906), p. 340; Patrick, *Clement of Alexandria* (1914), p. 301; Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria* (1914), I, p. 204.

[2] *Strom.*, VII, xi, § 68[4].

[3] *Protrept.*, ii, § 21[2]; cp. Miss Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 155.

revelries of my mysteries."[1] For human salvation was the great purpose of the Incarnation. "The Word of God became man, that thou mayest learn from man how man may become God."[2] To trace this path of learning is Clement's aim.

He sees himself in the midst of a great variety of forces. The life of the world around him is reflected in his pages. The streets of Alexandria presented a picturesque epitome of many races; its quays and warehouses gathered the products of distant lands; its temples were the homes of native and foreign deities; its library stored up the wisdom of many centuries. Wealth and luxury ran riot in the most extravagant forms. A great lady would give ten thousand talents for a dress[3]; mothers who exposed their children would keep Indian birds and Median pea-fowls[4]; vast retinues of slaves were needed for the kitchen and the toilet, the banquet and the stable; there were silver footbaths, and gold-plated chairs. The theatres were thronged for the odious spectacles of a debasing mythology, against which philosophy made its unavailing protest. Every shade of opinion was represented in the schools, but there was no concord amid their differences. Poetry, indeed, was full of recognition of the solemn truths of the unity of God and his creative power; yet the impressiveness of such testimony was lost when it was overlaid with tales of lewdness and

[1] *Protrept.*, xii, § 120[1].
[2] *Ibid.*, i, § 8[4], cp. Lect. I, p. 57.
[3] *Pædagog.*, II, x, §115[4].
[4] *Ibid.*, III, iv, § 30[1].

brutality. In the midst of this welter of unspiritual elements Clement saw the Church advancing steadily. The word of the Teacher was spread over the whole world; in every nation and city and village alike of the Greeks and the barbarians it won whole households to the truth.[1] Here was a practical test with which to meet the attacks of the Gnostics. The Catholic Church had long preceded their heretical assemblies; the true Church, the really ancient, was one because God and the Lord were one. The same unity marked the teaching of the Apostles and the tradition which transmitted it. What claim could Basilides or Valentinus or Marcion establish against this massive harmony! The Church stood forth pre-eminent, and nothing equalled or resembled it.[2]

The Church on earth, indeed, is but the image of the heavenly where the will of God is done unhindered.[3] With an oft-repeated figure she is depicted as the Mother who draws her children to herself.[4] The ranks of bishops, priests, and deacons are imitations of angelic splendour[5]; with quaint application of the Pauline description of the last things he sees those who have lived in perfect righteousness according to the gospel caught up into the air[6] to serve as deacons, and then enrolled in a celestial presbyterate, with advancing glory, until they grow into a perfect

[1] *Strom.*, VI, xviii, § 167[3].
[2] *Ibid.*, VII, xii, § 107[3-6].
[3] *Ibid.*, IV, viii, § 66[1].
[4] *Pædagog.*, I, v, § 21[1].
[5] *Strom.*, VI, xiii, § 107[2].
[6] *1 Thess.* iv, 17.

man. So did the ideal brood over the real. Among the treatises which may never have been written Clement mentions one "On Angels," a second on "The Unity and Excellence of the Church," a third on "The Offices of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Widows." The angelic counterparts to the last-named order are nowhere specified in his surviving works. The Church provides the starting-point for the heavenly way; but Clement is no formalist. When he summons the Greeks it is to no ecclesiastical fold, but to the open ranges of the friendship of God.[1] The Church is, indeed, the sphere in which salvation is to be obtained. But it is no rigid organization whose rulers are concerned to devise short ways with heretics or unbelievers. She is the genial mother who calls her children to her and nourishes them with holy milk, the Word for babes.[2]

Salvation, in one aspect, is defined as "following Christ."[3] But he must be sought along the path which he was the first to tread. He was perfected by baptism alone, and sanctified by the descent of the Spirit. So close is the relation between the disciple and his Lord that the believer is perfected in the same manner. Like many mystics Clement was not afraid of high sacramental doctrine. "Baptized," he declares, "we are illuminated;

[1] *Protrept.*, xii, § 122[3]. Dr. Patrick remarks that the word Church only occurs in this Address in a quotation from *Hebr.* xii, 23; *Clement of Alex.*, p. 60.

[2] *Pædagog.*, I, vi, § 42[1]. [3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, § 27[1].

illuminated, we are made sons; made sons, we are perfected; perfected, we are made immortal," and the oft-quoted text is added, "I said that ye are gods, and all sons of the Most High."[1] Various names are given to this operation. It is a washing, because our sins are cleansed away. It is a gift, because the penalties of sins are remitted. It is illumination, by which the holy saving light is beheld, and we see clearly that which is Divine. For illumination has this grace, that we are not the same after the laver as before.[2] Repudiating the Valentinian distinction between "spirituals" and "psychics," Clement lays it down that all who have laid aside the desires of the flesh are equal and spiritual before the Lord.[3] The truly penitent, refined by baptism, speed back to the Eternal Light, as children to the Father.

The immortality conferred by baptism is strengthened by the Eucharist. Whether this was celebrated in the morning or was still connected with the evening Agapê, Clement's interpreters are not agreed. Similar uncertainty hangs over his language about the sacred food. He founds himself on the Johannine discourse concerning the bread of life. The heavenly bread, the flesh of Christ, nourishes the heavenly among men up to incorruption. As usual the literal and the symbolic seem to pass in and out of each other.

[1] *Pædagog.*, I, vi, § 26[1]; cp. Lect. I, p. 57. [2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, § 30[1]. [3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, § 31[2].

"Two-fold," he tells his converts, "is the blood of the Lord. There is its fleshly element, by which we have been redeemed from corruption, and there is the spiritual by which we have been anointed. To drink the blood of Jesus is to share in the Lord's incorruption." This is apparently a physico-spiritual effect; material food has an immaterial result in conferring immortality on souls. But we are told directly after that it is the Spirit which conducts to incorruption. The Eucharist, it is affirmed, consists of two things, the mingling of the drink and the Word. Those who partake of it in faith are sanctified in body and soul. For man is himself a divine mixture, and the Father's will mingles it in mystical fashion with the Spirit and the Word.[1] From such confused statements no coherent doctrine can be disentangled. Clement wrestles with the cruder interpretations often current round about him. The language of mystery is heard in the Church, it belongs naturally to his own modes of thought. For clearness of definition he is not concerned. The one thing for which he passionately cares is immortality.[2]

This blessed gift must be offered to all, and Clement dwells at length upon the theme of the descent of Christ and the Apostles after him to

[1] *Pædagog.*, II, ii, § 19⁴–20¹.

[2] He borrows the phrase of Ignatius, "the medicine of immortality," but applies it apparently to the "gentle word" which he offers to the Greeks. *Protrept.*, x, § 106².

preach the gospel to those who dwelt in Hades.[1] It was part of the Saviour's work to bring Gentiles as well as Jews to repentance. Whether they had practised the Law or Philosophy made no difference. Death could not close the possibilities of deliverance, for God's punishments are not so much retributive as disciplinary; and the disembodied spirit in Hades may be even more susceptible to the divine appeal, for when released from the flesh and its passions the soul has clearer vision, and can the more quickly repent and believe. "Judgment or grace" is his last word to the Greeks,[2] "which will profit you most? There is no room to doubt which is the better. It is not fitting to compare life with destruction." That there should be punishment for sin is only just, but it is applied like the pruning knife to the vine for purposes of training and correction; had not Plato (who had learned from Moses) rightly taught that just punishment made the soul better?[3] The Greek poets had announced that there is judgment in Hades; they, too, had looked for the dissolution of the world in flame.[4] It is a hint that the Church has its terrors in the background, but they do not loom large in Clement's imagination. Of the reappearance of Christ in glory, or the solemnities of the great assize amid angelic throngs, he never speaks. With repeated insistence on human free-

[1] *Strom.*, VI, vi, § 44[5] ff.; II, ix, § 44.
[2] *Protrept.*, xii, § 123[2].
[3] *Pædagog.*, I, viii, § 67[1].
[4] *Strom.*, V, xiv, § 121.

dom he would seem to leave the way of return always open.[1] But there are doubtless various ranks of blessedness, corresponding to degrees of worth. Following the accepted interpretation of the parable of the Sower, he sees in the ascending figures, thirty, sixty, and a hundred, the promise of a scale of felicity hereafter, culminating in the perfect inheritance of those who reach the image of the Lord, the adoption and friendship of God.[2] For the resurrection of the body there is here no place. Eternal life means everlasting communion with infinite Goodness, Love, and Truth.[3]

Such was in brief the Christian hope as Clement received it through the Church. It was no light thing to be a Christian when day after day brought its tales of martyrs burnt, impaled, beheaded.[4] The fourth book of the *Stromata* contains a long discussion which begins with the praises of those who make a good confession; quotes Plato's saying that the just man will be happy even on the rack; commends women, children, and slaves, who have often devoted themselves against the will of

[1] In *Strom.*, VII, ii, § 12[5], he seems to look forward to a divine compulsion to repentance "by necessary chastisements inflicted either through the agency of the attendant angels or through various preliminary judgments or through the great and final judgment, by the goodness of the great Judge whose eye is ever upon us" (tr. Mayor).

[2] *Ibid.*, VI, xiv, § 114.

[3] "The knowledge of God is participation in incorruption." *Ibid.*, IV, vi, § 27[2].

[4] *Ibid.*, II, xx, § 125[2].

husband, father, or master; protests against Basilides' explanation that such suffering was the punishment of sins committed in a previous life; but at the same time discourages the eagerness for martyrdom which led men to offer themselves for capture, trial, and execution. To challenge the persecutor was to become an accomplice in his crime. Christ had himself laid down the rule for his disciples. "When they persecute you in this city flee into the next." The shadow of death does indeed hang over the Christian's course; but it serves to encourage a grave and pure simplicity of life. To delineate this is the object of the *Pædagogus*, on the basis of the Scriptures. But behind the Scriptures Clement has another mighty influence in view. How can you love God and your neighbour, he asks, if you do not philosophize?[1]

As Clement looked out on the forces at work in contemporary society, as he surveyed the long story of Greek culture and climbed the heights of thought with poet and teacher, as he realized his own personal indebtedness to the ancient thinkers —especially to Pythagoras and Plato—he could not share the distrust of philosophy felt by many simple-minded believers. He must find a place for it in his scheme of Providence, and vindicate its significance as a permanent element in the Christian life. The task was not without difficulty. The majority of his co-believers were afraid of it;

[1] *Pædagog.*, III, xi, § 78[1].

did not faith suffice?[1] But the doctor, the athlete, the mariner, each needed training and experience; the husbandman must employ the pruning-knife upon the vine. The Lord had used that figure of himself; and so the soul, to which was addressed the precept "seek and ye shall find," must be variously exercised if it would reach the highest goodness. In a world made by the Logos it was impossible to suppose that the long development of Hellenic thought was worthless. There must be a meaning in the words of poet and sage who had seen visions of the unity and goodness of God. Here were truths like those of Law and Prophecy and Psalm; whence were they derived, how were they reached, if there was not some divine power guiding them to some destined end, and what end could that be but Christ himself?

By such pleas as these did Clement justify his bold declaration that the path of Truth is one. Like a perennial river it received streams into itself from every quarter. Side by side with Israel in the past the Greeks had needed an instrument of righteousness. They had found it in philosophy. The Law had been the tutor to bring the Jews to Christ. Philosophy had fulfilled the same function for the Hellenic spirit. It opened the way for being perfected by Christ.[2]

[1] "Bare faith," ψιλὴν τὴν πίστιν, *Strom.*, I, ix, § 43[1]. M. de Faye remarks that ψιλὴν means "free from metaphysics." *Clément d'Alexandrie*, p. 151.

[2] *Strom.*, I, v, § 28–29.

Here was a great historic generalization which lighted up the centuries since Thales and Heracleitus, and redeemed Providence from the charge of partiality in the exclusive selection of the Hebrew race to be the depositaries of the saving truth. God's beneficence is without beginning, it is bounded neither by place nor person.[1] Jews, Greeks, and Christians are all gathered into one race of the saved, trained, it is true, by different covenants, Philosophy fitting the ears of the Greeks for the gospel as Law and Prophecy had prepared the barbarians.[2] Such an element of divine training could not be lightly cast aside. It had not lost its meaning for the higher life. If Christ himself was Wisdom, if it was he who had worked in the prophets and taught the apostles, the tradition of the *gnosis* which had been transmitted by them must be cherished as sure and certain. To the philosopher who aimed at the contemplation of reality it brought the priceless privilege of knowledge; the present, the past, and the future were laid open to his view; he became the spectator of eternity.[3]

Dominating Clement's thought is thus the conception of the timeless and immutable. It was as impossible for him as for Philo to read that into the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures without the aid of allegory. He borrows from his predecessor the interpretation of Sarah's barrenness, for

[1] *Strom.*, VI, viii, § 64[1].
[2] *Ibid.*, VI, v, § 42, 44.
[3] *Ibid.*, VI, vii, § 61.

Wisdom dwelling with the man of faith was fruitless until the way had been prepared by secular culture in the person of Hagar. Not till he had learned by instruction to contemplate heavenly things could Abraham advance to the faith and righteousness which God required.[1] The New Testament taught the same lesson in another form. When the Lord fed the multitude with the two fishes and the five barley loaves, he pointed to the two factors which must be combined for the higher knowledge. The bread was the food cultivated under the law, the barley grain ripening quicker than the wheat. The fishes were the symbol of philosophy, born in the great ocean of Hellenic life; the careful inquirer might see in one the courses of preliminary study, and in the other advanced philosophy. They, too, shared the Lord's blessing, and the power of the Word breathed into them the divine might of resurrection.[2] By such devices did Clement seek to disarm opposition. The fundamental grandeur of his thought rose triumphant above this learned trifling.

Clement then draws from the same sources as Philo, Plutarch, or Valentinus. Behind them all stands Plato, with his fundamental dualism between the seen and the unseen, the world of the senses and the world of ideas. It is not, however, Plato the dialectician who sways Clement's thought. It is the theologian who teaches the doctrines of the divine transcendence, of the moral

[1] *Strom.*, I, v, § 31. [2] *Ibid.*, VI, xi, § 94.

order of the world, the immortality of the soul, the correction of the workers of evil that they may be turned to good. So far as human life and character are concerned, the ethical type is largely modelled upon Stoic teaching infused with a deep Christian sentiment. But the conception of God rises far above the materialistic pantheism of the *Anima Mundi*. It is reached by a process of abstraction (or, as Clement calls it, "analysis").[1] The properties of external objects must be thought away. Withdraw from any single body its dimensions in space, its depth and breadth and length, there still remains a point (or *monad*) related by position to other similar points. Abstract the element of position and the monad alone remains. Perform the same process on the whole sum of corporeal and incorporeal existence, cast yourself into the greatness of Christ, and go forward thence into immensity, and you may gain some notion of the Almighty by recognizing not what he *is*, but what he *is not*. The First Cause does not exist in space. He transcends all space and time, all names and understanding.

As Abraham journeyed to the place of which God had told him, on the third day he looked up and saw it afar off. So does the mind discern spiritual things when the eyes of the intellect are opened by the Teacher who rose on the third day (a Pythagorean harmony of number). The place was seen at a distance, for the region of God is

[1] *Strom.*, V, xi, § 71 [2].

hard to comprehend. Plato called it the region of ideas, having learned from Moses[1] that it was a place which contained the Universe.[2] Had not he taught that it was possible by reasoning to divine the being of God? "When a person starts on the discovery of the Absolute by the light of reason only without any assistance of sense," and never quits the existing scene until—mounting to transcendental reality—"by pure intelligence he arrives at the perception of the Absolute Good, he at last finds himself at the end of the intellectual world."[3] But how can he describe what he there apprehends? It is neither genus, nor difference, nor species, nor individual, nor number. His greatness makes him Father of the universe, but he has no parts. His unity is indivisible; it is infinite, but without dimensions.[4] God is One; and with a final effort to express his sublime transcendence Clement declares that he is even beyond the One and above the Monad itself.[5] Abstraction can proceed no further.

Philosophy might thus seem to have done its worst. It can no more call God by the dear name of Father; he so completely transcends the world of our experience that he must not be designated

[1] Clement held that Greek philosophy was really derived from Hebrew sources.

[2] In the Rabbinical theology God was sometimes called *Maqôm*, "place," inasmuch as he contained the world.

[3] *Strom.*, V, xi, § 73–74. The quotation is from the *Republic*, 532A (Jowett's translation).

[4] *Strom.*, V, xii, § 81[5].

[5] *Pædagog.*, I, viii, § 71[1].

its Creator or Lord. As he is not to be reached by demonstration, he cannot be an object of knowledge.[1] He has no wants; he is lifted above all feeling; neither wrath nor fear nor desire can move him. But what philosophy takes away, religion restores. Again and again Clement overflows with holy joy as he contemplates the goodness of God. He might, indeed, have learned that faith from his teacher, Plato. But he gives to it fresh extent and application. Highly significant is his ascription of it to the divine will. It is more than the warmth emitted by a fire which cannot choose but burn.[2] God is not good involuntarily or by necessity; his beneficence issues from free self-determination. Rejecting the Epicurean description of God as happy and incorruptible but removed from all participation in affairs,[3] he affirms that he is for ever active in goodness in his own divine way; it is no static quality, it is an energy of purpose that operates unceasingly. This doctrine is in fact closely connected with his interpretation of man. The freedom which he recognizes in God he demands also for humanity. To deny it is to lay on the Deity the whole burden of the world's sin. The dignity claimed by the Stoic as son of Zeus, the Gnostic pretension to community of nature with God, are intolerable to him. How should we dare to call ourselves part of

[1] Ἐπιστημονικός, *Strom.*, IV, xxv, 156[1].
[2] *Ibid.*, VII, vii, § 42[4].
[3] *Ibid.*, VI, xii, § 104[3], cp. Stählin *in loc.*

God, or of the same substance with him?[1] Look at our life, and see in what evils we are plunged. If the parts belong to the whole, God must have sinned in parts—an impious thought! But he, being rich in mercy, cares for us in his goodness, though we are no parts of him, nor his children by nature. Out of his love to man God comes to his help as the mother-bird flies to a nestling that has fallen out of the nest.[2] It is God's everlasting aim to save the human flock.[3] He cannot hate anything that he has made, and he must needs therefore love man, the fairest of all his creations, a being capable of loving God. Again Clement dwells on the purposive character of God's care. It is shown through the instruction imparted by the Word. It is manifest no less in the chastisement of sin; for this always has salvation for its aim. Rebuke is the medicine of the divine love to man. Each one who sins, sins by his own free will, and may be said therefore even to choose punishment.[4] But Clement cannot rest in visions of doom, even though it be self-incurred. The sweep of God's love embraces all. The Lord of the universe has arranged everything for the salvation of the whole alike in part and in totality.[5] Adopting the Philonian interpretation of "today,"[6] the

[1] Ὁμοουσίους, *Strom.*, II, xvi, § 74[1], cp. *ante*, p. 315.

[2] *Protrept.*, x, § 91[3]. [3] *Ibid.*, xi, § 116[1].

[4] See the long section in the *Pædagog.*, I, viii, § 63 ff.; it is a theme to which Clement often returns.

[5] *Strom.*, VII, ii, § 12[2].

[6] "Today if ye will hear his voice," *Protrept.*, ix, § 84[6].

real today, the unending day of God which lasts for ever, he opens the way for repentance after death. He provides for the encompassing of the wayward soul with all kinds of divine graces and invitations, and sooner than risk the sinner's choice of eternal alienation from his Maker, he surrenders his fundamental principle of free-will and looks for necessary chastisements by the goodness of the great all-seeing Judge which will constrain the most hardened sinners to repent.[1]

What, then, is the mediating agency between the metaphysical Monad, beyond all space and time, and the humanity which is the perpetual object of God's saving love? Between Deity and the universe Plato could interpose a World-Soul. Plutarch could call the nobler *Daimons* to the service of his Transcendent One. The Gnostics had traced the gradual descent of divine energies from the Absolute down to the Creator of this material scene. For Clement the necessary step was provided by the Philonic and Johannine Word. Clement was less concerned, however, to explain the universe than to provide for man. His interest is not so much cosmologic as religious. Many quaint touches from the observation of nature brighten his pages; but he can take the world for granted, if he can establish the true principles of the divine dealings with man. To Philo's Logos he therefore adds the Christ of the Gospels, and the first serious attempt is made from the side of

[1] *Strom.*, VII, ii, § 12[5], cp. xii, § 76, 78[3]; *ante*, p. 340.

philosophical theology to define the function of the Word within the Godhead. In Johannine language the Word is the Son; and while the Absolute is indemonstrable and hence cannot be the object of knowledge, the Son is capable of demonstration and definition. All the powers of the divine Spirit are gathered into him, and as regards each one he is infinite. He is not indeed distributed into parts, he is the unity of the whole. He is the Circle of which God is the Centre, and all the powers are orbed and unified in him.[1] "He is the ideal Many, the Mind of which the Father is the principle of identity. He is, in fact, the consciousness of God."[2] And this has its dynamic as well as its intellectual side; the Son or Word is at the same time the Arm of the Lord, the Power of the world, the Father's Will.[3]

Viewed in relation to humanity the function of the Word may be summed up in his title "Saviour." Nearest to him who alone is Almighty, he orders all things according to the Father's will, needing not to pass from place to place, for he is always present everywhere but contained nowhere. He is

[1] *Strom.*, IV, xxv, 156[2].

[2] Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 64. Dr. Bigg thinks that Clement may have drawn the doctrine of the Absolute God through Basilides or Valentinus from Aristotle. "The conception of the Son as the Father's complement, the νοήσις which the Father νοεῖ, is not, so far as I am aware, to be found in any Gnostic writer." The distinction is analogous to that between Brahma (neut.) and Brahmā (masc.) in Hindu philosophy, which does not, however, employ the categories of Father and Son.

[3] *Protrept.*, xii, § 120[4]; cp. ἐνέργεια, *Strom.*, VII, ii, § 7[7].

thus the great agent of God's purpose of salvation, and links all ranks of intelligent beings in the vast design. Subject to him is the host of angels and gods, and to him belong all men also, some by knowledge but others not yet so, some as friends, others only as servants.[1] Timeless indeed he is in relation to God, for God cannot be Father without a Son.[2] But as the head of the angelic hierarchy he presides over the course of history, and through the gradations of rational minds he condescends to be the instructor of mankind. Like a chain of iron rings whose farthest particles are held together by a magnet, so from man up to the great High-Priest and from him down through angels and every stage of virtuous attainment back to man, runs the attraction of the Spirit, uniting in one process those who are saved and those who save.[3] Of all this the Word was the source. To Israel he gave the Law; to the Greeks philosophy by inferior angels[4]; and thus by different paths of advance led both to the perfection which is won by faith.[5] Thus was the education of the world (as Clement knew it) brought to the point when it must be completed by the appearance of the Word in human flesh.

The Incarnation is thus viewed as the supreme agency of revelation. Christ is pre-eminently the Teacher, and it is under his instruction that man

[1] *Strom.*, VII, ii, § 5[6].
[2] *Ibid.*, V, i, § 1[3].
[3] *Ibid.*, VII, ii, § 9[3].
[4] *Ibid.*, VII, ii, § 6[4].
[5] *Ibid.*, VII, ii, § 11[2].

will reach the goal of his being and become divine.[1] In this character it was not needful for him to undergo all the distresses of our mortal frame. The fluctuations of appetite and desire, the vicissitudes of feeling and emotion—from these he was exempt.[2] True, he ate and drank, to conform to ordinary usage; and thus anticipated the Docetic heresy; but he transcended all movements of pleasure and pain.[3] When he rose after his burial, he had not suffered.[4] The Passion, therefore, does not fill the centre of Clement's thought. It is true that he describes the faithful as redeemed ("ransomed") from corruption by the Lord's blood.[5] Christ gave himself as a ransom, but to whom the debt was paid is not clear.[6] He consecrated himself, and we ought also to consecrate ourselves[7] by rising ever higher above material wants and passions. God has no need of anything, he is without wants (the Stoic doctrine), and hence the Christian offers no sacrifices to him. The work of Christ is really independent of the cross. In the midst of a long refutation of the view of Basilides that martyrdom was the penalty of sin committed in an earlier existence, or else God was unjust, Clement interjects a parallel in the death of Christ.[8] God does not will the sufferings of the

[1] *Protrept.*, i, § 8[4].
[2] *Pædagog.*, I, ii, § 4[2].
[3] *Strom.*, VI, ix, § 71[1–2].
[4] *Pædagog.*, I, v, § 23[2].
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Quis Dives salvetur*, 37[4], cp. 42[13].
[7] *Strom.*, VII, iii, § 14[5], ἱερευθέντα . . . ἱερεύοντες.
[8] *Ibid.*, IV, xii, § 86[2].

persecuted, any more than he willed the crucifixion of his own Son. Christ was not sent into the world to die; that was no part of the economy of grace; it was the act of evil men with which God simply did not interfere. Judged in the light of human freedom, the event might not have happened. In other words it was not essential to salvation. The true Gnostic might have attained the goal without it. But who was the true Gnostic and what was the goal? It was really to answer these questions that the *Stromata* were written.

Surrounded by a variety of types of Gnostic teaching which professed to impart true knowledge of God and man, Clement sought to establish that claim for the Church.[1] With the temperament of a mystic, a profound conviction of the value of Greek philosophy, and a vivid remembrance of the rapture of initiation at Eleusis,[2] he endeavoured to provide Christianity with a path of higher wisdom founded on the believer's faith and leading to the highest stage of mystic vision (ἐποπτεία). This was the way of *Gnosis*. It was the ascent through knowledge and love in fellowship with Christ up to the very presence of God himself. It had a scientific character in the investigation of the First Cause, and the constitution of the universe. It had an ethical character, for it

[1] *Strom.*, VII, xvii, § 106–108.

[2] In the *Protrept.*, ii, § 12 ff., he can denounce the abominations of the various mysteries; but they left many traces on his language; cp. Mayor, in Hort and Mayor, *Clement of Alexandria, Miscellanies*, VII (1902), p. lv.

involved the study of man, his nature and powers, his vices and virtues. But its supreme aim was religious, for it bore the soul from stage to stage of growing light till it could gaze upon God "face to face" with understanding and absolute certainty.[1] Like the leaders of the sects, Clement professes to receive it as a tradition taught by Christ to the apostles[2]; but his repeated defences of philosophy imply that he is conscious that he is introducing a new element into Christian teaching, and reinterpreting its main conceptions. The process had been begun when the "spiritual gospel" had been written by John.[3] Clement is the first theologian really to secure its development within the Church.

The power to climb these heights is not, however, given to all. Though humanity is not to be distributed (with the Valentinians) into groups in virtue of original differences of constitution, Clement nevertheless recognizes that there is a kind of election to knowledge.[4] There are diversities of ability to apprehend the truth, and there are diversities in the will to seek it. The rise of the soul towards the realms of light may always be interpreted in two ways. Those who have lived in purity and reached the conception of the blessed

[1] *Strom.*, VII, iii, § 17; x, § 56–57, "and the name of gods is given to those who shall hereafter be enthroned with the other gods."

[2] *Ibid.*, VI, vii, §61[1], I, i, §11[3].

[3] See the extract from Clement's *Hypotyposes* in Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xiv, 7.

[4] *Strom.*, VII, i, § 2[3].

and incorruptible nature, may have been drawn thither by the Father; on the other hand, the energy of free-will on reaching the knowledge of the good may (in gymnastic language) have leaped the barriers. Clement will not definitely decide; but in his heart he knows that the soul which soars upward owes its wings to special grace.[1] That is the language of religion; it is Clement's form of St. Paul's warning that man must work out what God first works within him. It is, accordingly, to the self-discipline of the true Gnostic that Clement invites his readers. If he has brought the theology of Plato into the Church, he will now introduce the ethics of the Porch. On one side the picture is not attractive: the Stoic virtues do not harmonize well with the portrait in the Gospels; the philosopher's "apathy," his elevation above all vicissitudes of feeling or desire,[2] his "ataraxy" or unshaken calm in the midst of troubles and dangers,[3] imply a rigidity of attitude towards external conditions and events which can only be attained by the prolonged concentration of the Gnostic on himself. But there is another aspect of this strenuous discipline. From faith the seeker of the truth may rise to knowledge; from knowledge he must go on to love. And this will prompt alike the service of God and the service of man. The contemplation which he has attained himself he must impart to others; he cannot be indifferent

[1] *Strom.*, V, xiii, § 83[1].
[2] *Ibid.*, VI, ix, § 71 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV, vii, § 55[4].

to their welfare. Like the presbyters and deacons in the Church on earth, like the ministering angels and the "gods" in the spiritual Church above, nay like the Word himself, the constant companion of the aspiring soul, he must be ever active in the work of salvation.[1] So is the whole world bound together by one mighty chain of influences for teaching man how to become divine.[2]

"God-borne" and "God-bearing" the Gnostic untiringly aspires; he is the shrine of his Saviour, the temple of the Spirit, already holy and divine.[3] Diverse are the mansions in the home above, in threefold order to match the sower's grain.[4] The Gnostic aims at no special place, he seeks no recompense for his endeavours. But as he grows in likeness to his heavenly Lord he wins the name of friend of God, and is ranked and reckoned as a Son. Reaching the crowning height of direct vision (ἐποπτεία) he becomes wholly spiritual, and departs to his kindred sphere, there, in the spiritual Church, to rest in God.[5] So glorious is this consummation that in a famous passage Clement ardently declares that "if anyone could set before the Gnostic the choice between the knowledge of God or everlasting salvation (as if they were separable, though of course they are really the same), without the smallest hesitation

[1] He will even pray to share in the sins (*i.e.*, the punishment) of the brethren, *Strom.*, VII, xii, § 80[1].

[2] Cp. *Strom.*, VII, i, § 3–5; iii, § 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII, xiii, § 82[2]; iii, § 16[5].

[4] *Ibid.*, VI, xiv, § 114[3].

[5] *Ibid.*, VII, xi, § 68[5].

he would choose the knowledge of God, judging that peculiar character of faith which ascends through love to knowledge preferable for its own sake."[1] In such vision present, past, and future are unfolded to him:

> "While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,"
> He sees "into the life of things."

[1] *Strom.*, IV, xxii, § 136[5].

LECTURE VI

CHRISTIANITY AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

AT the opening of the third century of our era the future destinies of Christianity in the basin of the Mediterranean were being shaped in three great cities, Rome, Alexandria, and Carthage. The Church in the imperial city was the heir of the apostolic traditions of Peter and Paul. In numbers and wealth it stood pre-eminent, and its religious practice was naturally an admired model. So great was its influence that every new movement must seek its support, and representatives of all opinions travelled thither to win a hearing. It created no great theological school, but it was again and again to utter the deciding word in controversy. It entered into an inheritance that stretched far beyond its own history. The Genius of Rome brooded over it, and the vast multitude of energies which Tertullian summed up under the one word *Romanitas* nourished its life and guided its development.

Christianity at Carthage springs suddenly into view in the writings of Tertullian. Of its origin nothing is known, but his pages reflect its struggles and triumphs in the hot eager atmosphere of trade

and pleasure which made religion like every other activity full of passion. Closely connected with Rome by ties of language and commerce, Carthage shared the Latin genius for order and law, rather than the Greek for philosophic thought and intellectual freedom. The two great personalities of its church, Tertullian and Cyprian, had both been trained as jurists, and carried the conceptions of legalism into the ecclesiastical sphere. Tertullian, indeed, was led by personal reaction against grave moral abuse into a position of solitary withdrawal. But his writings were a store of power. "*Da magistrum,*" Cyprian would say to his secretary, as he sought to reinforce the energy of rule which lifted the episcopate into the control of the Church.

Alexandria, on the other hand, under the guidance of Clement and his successor Origen, became the chief centre of Christian thought. It has been said of Origen that he was "the first great scholar, the first great preacher, the first great devotional writer, the first great commentator, the first great dogmatist, but he was nothing else."[1] There is a strange omission in this list of functions. Origen was perhaps greatest of all as a teacher. His career covered a long period, seventy years save one, says Eusebius,[2] and illustrates many phases of Church life and activity. Its incidents may be gathered partly from scattered references in his

[1] Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (1886), p. 115.
[2] *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, i. For the chief facts see VI, i–xxxix.

own works, partly from the narrative of Eusebius, who collected more than a hundred of his letters, with a few additional details in other sources. Some of the occurrences will always remain obscure. Nearly all his correspondence, like much of his literary work, has perished. He drew to himself enthusiastic devotion, he also aroused bitter enmity. He laid the foundation on which Athanasius might build, but he suffered under the imputation of heresy. The defences of his friends have disappeared, but modern theologians have not been slow to vindicate his memory. "I love the name of Origen," wrote John Henry Newman, "I will not listen to the notion that so great a soul was lost."[1] "His whole life," said Canon Westcott, "was, according to his own grand ideal, 'one unbroken prayer' (μία προσευχὴ συνεχομένη), one ceaseless effort after close fellowship with the Unseen and the Eternal."[2]

Born in the year 185–6, most probably in Alexandria, he was the eldest of seven sons. The Greek name of his father, Leonides, points to possible Greek descent; while the interpretation of his own name, "Child of Hor," the god of Light, suggests a no less possible Egyptian nationality. From his childhood he was instructed in the Scriptures, and his eager questions often

[1] Quoted by Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers* (ed. 1907), vol. i, p. 431, from *History of the Arians* (*i.e.*, presumably the *Arians of the Fourth Century*, 1832). I have been unable to find the passage.

[2] *Contemp. Review*, xxxv (1879), p. 329. Cp. Farrar, *op. cit.*

puzzled his father, who would stand by the sleeping boy and kiss his breast as a veritable sanctuary of the Spirit. He passed through the usual studies preparatory to a university career, grammar (*i.e.*, literature), mathematics, logic, and rhetoric, and naturally came under the teaching of Clement, in whose catechetical school he formed an early friendship with Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem.[1] When the persecution under Severus broke out, Leonides was imprisoned, and his eldest son longed to share his approaching martyrdom. The anxious mother hid his clothes, and thus compelled him to remain at home, so that the eager youth was obliged to confine himself to exhortation. "Hold on," he wrote to his father, "on no account change your mind for our sakes." Leonides was beheaded, the family property was confiscated, the mother and brothers were probably assisted from the Church funds and disappear from the story, and Origen was received into the house of a wealthy Christian lady. As soon as he could he made himself independent by teaching, and after Clement had withdrawn from risk of arrest Origen was appointed his successor in the catechetical school. He was only in his eighteenth year.

The post was not free from danger. His first convert Plutarch, and at least five others of his

[1] Who wrote to him as "the best in everything, my master and brother," Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xiv, 9.

pupils, perished. To the martyrs, whether among his friends or strangers, he devoted himself with great courage. He visited them in prison, he stood beside them in court, he kissed them on the way to execution, and narrowly escaped stoning in the streets. It is difficult to understand how in this publicity he was himself free from arrest; he is said to have baffled the police by frequent changes of lodging. The terror passed, but the enthusiasm generated by the storm remained. By way of protest against the extravagant luxury of the city Origen adopted a life of strenuous self-denial. He ate no meat and drank no wine; he fasted by day and watched by night; he walked barefoot and slept on the floor.[1] He sold the library which he had laboriously accumulated for a small pittance of four obols (about sixpence) a day, which relieved him of the necessity of taking fees. Along with his teaching he continued his studies. He acquired some knowledge of Hebrew from a Rabbi; he attended the lectures of the Neo-Platonist Ammonius Sakkas[2] who was said to have once carried a porter's knot on the quays in the harbour; he read widely in philosophy; he was continually studying Plato, says Porphyry, who describes his acquaintance with the works of the

[1] On the much discussed story of his making himself a eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake (*Matt.* xix, 12), see Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i, pp. 398–401.

[2] This is the statement of Porphyry, a younger contemporary of Origen, 233–305 A.D., but it has been argued that he confused the young Christian with some other Origen.

Platonists, Pythagoreans, and Stoics.[1] He was really, according to his critic, Greek in thought; pity that he was wrecked on the barbarian venture! In after years Origen defended himself by the example of Pantænus and that of his own pupil Heraclas,[2] who became presbyter at Alexandria and assistant in the catechetical school, and still wore the philosopher's cloak.[3] Yet later in his treatise on the "True Word" of Celsus, composed after he was sixty years of age, he referred to his persistent pursuit of truth; he had visited many lands, and had everywhere sought out those who professed to have any knowledge.[4]

Origen did, indeed, travel widely, "Longing to see the most ancient church of Rome," as he somewhere wrote, he visited it during the episcopate of Zephyrinus.[5] After his return he was sent into Arabia in response to a request from the governor addressed to bishop Demetrius and the prefect of Egypt. The fury of Caracalla in 216, in revenge for some insulting verses on the murder of his brother Geta, endangered especially the men of learning and letters, and Origen, who had been safely escorted back to his own city, withdrew to

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xix, 7–8.

[2] Brother of his first convert Plutarch.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI, xix, 13–14.

[4] *Contr. Cels.*, VI, xxiv. The statement primarily concerns a certain Gnostic diagram, but may certainly be interpreted in a wider scope.

[5] The date is uncertain; probably about 213. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xiv, 10.

Cæsarea. There he was welcomed by the bishop Theoctistus, and his old classmate Alexander, now installed in Jerusalem. Though he was still a layman they invited him to preach, and he expounded the Scriptures in the service of the Church. The incident was reported at Alexandria, and Demetrius chose to regard it as a violation of all ecclesiastical propriety. He wrote angrily to the bishops, and was not to be appeased by the precedents which they quoted in reply. Origen quietly obeyed the summons to return, and resumed his place at the head of the catechetical school.

With indefatigable labour he taught to the less advanced the secular disciplines which he had himself learned from his father. To those who sought the higher knowledge he lectured on the different systems of philosophy. His wide range of attainment, his sympathetic exposition, his impartiality and love of truth, drew round him students who made no profession of Christianity, and others who belonged to different heretical schools. Among these latter was a wealthy Valentinian named Ambrosius,[1] who became deeply interested in Origen's expositions of the Scriptures. He urged the teacher to give to the world the results of the labours in which he had been so long engaged. The cost of composition threatened to prove a serious difficulty; Origen

[1] So Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xvii. Jerome makes him a Marcionite.

was too poor to buy writing materials or employ a secretary. Ambrose therefore provided a staff of seven shorthand writers who succeeded each other at regular intervals, and as many more copyists, together with young women skilled in calligraphy. The labour thus imposed upon him was severe. Origen playfully called his friend his "taskmaster,"[1] and lamented that his toil left him no time for supper, or after supper for exercise or rest. Far into the evening they conversed and he dictated, and in the morning he was at work betimes. The first-fruits of this method was the commentary on the Gospel according to John, of which only portions have survived. The qualification demanded of the interpreter was stringent. "No one," he said, "can understand its meaning unless he has reclined on Jesus' breast and received from him Mary to be his mother also."[2]

Origen was thus launched on the long series of works which he devoted to the exposition of the Scriptures. The same aid was available for his critical labours on the Greek text of both Testaments,[3] and for the treatise on "First Principles"

[1] Ἐργοδιώκτης, as in the LXX, *Exod.* iii, 7 (R. V. 8).

[2] *In Joann.*, i, §23; *Werke*, iv (ed. Preuschen, 1903), p. 9 [16].

[3] His famous work on the Greek text of the Old Testament, known as the Hexapla, occupied him altogether more than twenty years. Beside the Hebrew text he placed the various Greek versions, Christian and Jewish, in parallel columns. The work was enormously bulky; it was long preserved in the library at Cæsarea, and used by scholars, who copied the recension of the Septuagint in the fifth column, as well as other passages.

(περὶ Ἀρχῶν), written while he was still at Alexandria, the first great systematic view of Christian theology. Whether or not his daring speculations aroused episcopal alarm, it is difficult to determine. The incidents which led him to leave his post in Egypt are obscure. In response to a summons to Greece[1] on some church business he undertook a journey to Achaia, and on his way he stopped at Cæsarea. There his friends Theoctistus and Alexander—perhaps (as has been suggested) to secure him the unchallenged right to preach—ordained him presbyter. Unconscious of any violation of ecclesiastical order, he travelled on, and fulfilled his mission.[2] But the aged Demetrius was stirred to vehement anger. Clerical suspicion had been already roused, and Origen's bold high-soaring thoughts had drawn upon him the reputation for heterodoxy. Letters were circulated with accusations not only against Origen himself but also against the bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem. A synod of suffragan bishops and presbyters forbade him to teach again in Alexandria; and Demetrius, not content with deposing him from his headship of the catechetical school, summoned a small committee of three suffragans and excommunicated him. He was of course

[1] Usually placed in 228 A.D., but see McGiffert's note to his translation of Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, pp. 395–7.

[2] It was perhaps on this journey that he found part of an unknown translation of the Old Testament at Nicopolis in Epirus; just as on another journey he discovered a different fragment in a jar at Jericho. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xvi, 2–3.

never heard in his own defence. Demetrius obtained the support of Rome, but Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Greece, were loyal to the great teacher on whom was bestowed the unusual title of "Master of the Churches."[1]

Driven from Alexandria Origen made his home in Cæsarea, where his friend Ambrose joined him, and resumed his former labours. His fame as a theologian and his skill as a peacemaker still brought him earnest calls for help; he twice visited Bostra in Arabia, and he made a second journey to Athens. But Cæsarea was the centre of his teaching, and his fame drew men of distinguished ability around him. There a young student from Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, Gregory by name, on his way to the great school of Roman law at Beyrout, fell in with Origen accidentally. It was the first day of a new life to him, he said afterwards. He could not tear himself away, and stayed five years. In moving words as he departed he bore witness to the master's power.[2] Like a skilled husbandman taking in hand an unfertile field, or a gardener training an unproductive tree to bear fruit, Origen treated his pupils with various disciplines adapted to their several characters. Then with the aid of geometry and astronomy he filled them with a rational wonder at the sacred economy of the universe. The study of the mind came next, and

[1] Doucin, *Hist. de l'Origenisme*, 1, quoted by Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i, 415, 3.

[2] Greg. Thaumat. *Panegyr.*

moral science led to the observation and distinction of good and evil, and the ripening of the virtues of Prudence, Self-Control, Justice, and Courage. It was with no lip-service that Origen commended them; he strove himself to realize his own ideal, and led his hearers on to piety, rightly called the mother of all the virtues. All poetry and philosophy were thrown open to them (save, indeed, the writings of the atheists). He prescribed adhesion to no exclusive school; with a glorious confidence in truth he bade his pupils freely traverse the whole round of knowledge, crowning their investigations with the disclosure of the mysteries of Scripture, where philosophy was illumined by religion. For the end of all moral training was to become like to God with a pure mind, to draw near to him and abide in him; and the supreme endowment of religion was to be able to interpret the oracles of God to men, so that they might hear them with intelligence, and live in the constant inspiration of things divine.

The literary activity of Origen continued meanwhile unabated, save for his frequent travels, and a sojourn of two years under the shelter of a learned Christian lady, Juliana, at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, during the persecution instituted by the brutal Maximin, when Ambrose was imprisoned. On his return he renewed his customary activities. On the weekly fast-days, Wednesday and Friday, he preached in the great church at Cæsarea, sometimes even giving daily expositions

of Scripture. The congregations might be small; the women might retire for gossip to the back of the church; but the unwearied teacher held on his way, and more series of homilies were gathered from the reporters' notes. He had entered his seventh decade when he composed his famous reply to the *True Word* of the philosopher Celsus. His active correspondence often involved the discussion of intricate biblical or philosophical questions. But danger gathered around his closing years. After the murder of Philip in 250 A.D., the Emperor Decius inaugurated a wide-spread attack on Christianity. It was aimed especially at the leaders. The bishop of Jerusalem, Alexander, Origen's early friend, was tried at Cæsarea and died in prison. Babylas suffered the same fate at Antioch, and Fabian was martyred at Rome.[1] Origen was arrested and confined with great severity. One of his former pupils, Dionysius, now bishop of Alexandria, with affection unimpaired by past events or lapse of time, wrote him a letter on Martyrdom, full of encouragement.[2] Released on the death of Decius in 251, the aged scholar lived to write similar letters carrying like comfort to other sufferers.[3] But his health was shattered and he died in Tyre in 253, having completed, says Eusebius, seventy years save one.

Origen stands out as the greatest mind among

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xxxix. [2] *Ibid.*, VI, xlvi.
[3] *Ibid.*, VI, xxxix.

the theologians of the East, the most fertile, the most daring, the most profound. Augustine might have a deeper knowledge of the secrets of human passion; none could surpass Origen in his confidence in the redeeming purpose and power of God. The theodicy that is sketched in the treatise on *First Principles* ranges through vaster spaces than are contemplated in its counterpart in the *City of God.* The scene which Augustine surveys is on a petty scale and its duration is brief and limited, compared with the countless ages and innumerable worlds that Origen demands for his bold scheme of universal salvation. Starting from the Rule of Faith transmitted by the Church, with the help of Scripture in one hand and Philosophy in the other, Origen constructs a mighty drama of eternity, in which the Trinity, and all created spirits through every phase of fall and recovery, combine to establish throughout all existence the Sovereignty of the Father, that God may be all in all. A world in which evil is not eliminated by destruction but overcome by transmutation into good, is the goal of all Origen's vision. His exposition, therefore, involves, first, a doctrine of God, the metaphysic of his being, and his relation to the scene of our activity; secondly, a doctrine of souls, their various ranks, powers, and functions, angelic, human, and demonic, including in the history of this world the fall of Adam and its consequences; and thirdly, a doctrine of

redemption and restoration, making large drafts on future ages, and culminating in a reign of righteousness where all opposition is merged in universal harmony.

For this philosophy was obviously inadequate. Porphyry might declare that in his thought of Deity Origen was essentially Greek, and his reply to Celsus might at times betray the difficulty which he felt in meeting attack from a standpoint metaphysically not unlike his own. To the philosophers he knew himself deeply indebted; he was a constant student of their writings, and a no less constant teacher of their truths. But he could not ignore the fact that though it might denounce the popular religion, philosophy had not replaced it. Celsus might not be willing to admit it, but it was true that the Jews had a higher wisdom even than professed philosophers; the latter might proclaim worthy doctrines, but they fell away into the worship of idols and demons, while the very lowest Jew looked to God alone.[1] The philosophers' connivance at polytheism was intolerable to a spirit so sincere and pure. They had no real sympathy with the common folk; they did not care to make truth accessible to all; they were like doctors—even Plato—who only attended people supposed to be the more refined, and despised the great bulk of the lower classes.[2] Philosophy consequently, had no expansive force; its range was limited; Plato was found only in the hands of

[1] *Contra Cels.*, V, xliii. [2] *Ibid.*, VII, lx.

literary men. In a remarkable passage which implied that the death of Christ was in no sense an essential element in redemption, he argued that if only the Jews had not first slain the prophets and afterwards plotted against Jesus, men would have had a pattern of a heavenly city which even Plato might have sought to describe[1]; though it might be doubted whether he could have done as much as Moses and his successors, who trained a holy nation with teaching undefiled by superstition. But the Church was putting an end to polytheism. The disciples of Jesus, ignorant of philosophy, were traversing the world, impressing each one of their hearers according to his deserts, and improving them in proportion to the inclination of their will to accept the good. This was the practical demonstration of the Christian claim. Origen saw Christianity advancing through the world, in spite of efforts to suppress it; its followers might lose their property and even their lives; its teachers might be few; but nevertheless it was being preached everywhere and winning acceptance among wise and foolish, barbarians and Greeks. Who could refuse to see in this the manifestation of a power more than human, the fulfilment of the authoritative words of Jesus himself?[2]

Origen, therefore, plants himself firmly on the historic development of the Church. His theology starts from the teaching which has been handed down from the apostles and is embodied in ecclesi-

[1] *Ibid.*, V, xliii. [2] *De Princip.*, IV, i, 2.

astical tradition.[1] *There* is the test among competing sects, *there* is the unity which transcends the diversities alike of philosophy and heresy. In the background Origen always discerns the various types of Gnosticism, the claims of the Montanist "new prophecy," the Monarchian interpretations of the Godhead. Against the first he lays stress on the identity of the Deity of law and gospel, of justice and goodness, of the Old Testament and the New. Against the crude eschatology of the second he develops a vast and magnificent scheme of spiritual renewal from world to world and age to age. Against the third he vindicates the doctrine of the Triad or Trinity. Above all divisions rises the Universal Church. It has its three-fold ministry, and its sacraments of baptism and thanksgiving, though the true Christian is also a priest, offering to God the spiritual sacrifice of his own heart. But with his lofty purity of character Origen was well aware that the condition of the Church was by no means ideal. Tares grew beside the wheat, and his thoughts turned constantly to the Spiritual Church in the world above where the blessed made a heavenly temple, a mystic body of the Lord, "older in the counsels of God than creation itself."[2]

But the real source of Christian truth lay in the Scriptures of which the Church was the witness

[1] Cp. *De Princip.*, preface, 2.

[2] Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 222; cp. ante, p. 147.

and guardian. Their preservation and transmission was due to her watchfulness: but what was the guarantee of their contents? The knowledge which led to salvation lay in the teaching of Christ, but this was not limited to the few brief years of his earthly ministry. The Word dwelt also in Moses and the prophets, and they wrought and spoke under the influence of the Spirit of Christ. The conformity of the Gospels to prophecy was an argument that could be addressed alike to philosophers and Jews. The warrant of prophetic inspiration lay in the pages of the New Testament and the experience of believers; the spread of the Gospel amid difficulty and danger proved that a divine power had introduced it and carried it through the world. Thus the doctrines of the Deity of Christ and the supernatural character of prophecy supported each other. Before the Advent the true nature of the ancient Scriptures was known only imperfectly. When the Son of God appeared, the veil that lay upon the letter of the past was taken away, and the hidden light shone forth to view.[1] The theology of Origen is in reality a philosophical commentary upon the sacred texts. For him as for Clement and for Philo the holy words cover sacred mysteries. Written by the Spirit of God they contain meanings not visible at first sight; they are the images of divine things.[2]

[1] *De Princip.*, IV, i, 6. Illustrations will be found in the preceding sections, and in the treatise *Contra Cels.*, VII.

[2] *Ibid.*, preface, 8.

For Origen, as for Clement and Philo before him, the whole world was full of symbols of invisible realities. Plato had stamped his idealism on the higher Hellenic thought, and the Stoics had applied it freely to the interpretation of the ancient myths. Origen had been a student of the work of Chæremon, once librarian of the Serapeum in Alexandria, and afterwards tutor of the Emperor Nero, and his contemporary Cornutus who taught at Rome; and Porphyry ascribed Origen's treatment of the Hebrew Scriptures to their figurative explanations of the Greek mysteries.[1] Jews and philosophers had thus led the way; the Christians followed with a difference. The story of Israel was more than a piece of national history. It was linked with the wider fortunes of humanity, and all the vicissitudes of the entire race were bound together by one "increasing purpose" which culminated in Christ. There was a unity, therefore, in the record which must be sought beneath the literal meaning. Three-fold were the aspects or relations of the sacred text,[2] corresponding to the triple division "body, soul, and spirit." The *somatic* or "bodily" was the plain historic sense which sometimes involved discrepancies of fact only to be resolved by some deeper principle, such as the divergent accounts of the opening of the ministry of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel compared

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xix, 8.

[2] This was justified out of the Greek translation of *Prov.* xxii, 20, *De Princip.*, IV, ii, 4.

with the First Three.[1] Other stories, such as the Fall, the adventures of Lot, or the conveyance of Jesus on to a high mountain, could not be accepted as records of actual events. They must have some other meaning, *psychic* or moral, embracing all that touches the soul in this life in its relation to the law of right and God. Behind the individual stood the Church, the heir of human history, the instrument of God's purpose for mankind, the agency of redemption, possessed of the secrets of time and of eternity. These are to be discovered in the *pneumatic* or spiritual meaning. Within the Gospel which all can understand is the Eternal Gospel (*Rev.* xiv, 6), the heavenly wisdom which reveals the mysteries of the unseen world.[2] The method of unfolding this sense was allegory. The literal meaning must be received by faith, the act of simple-minded unreasoning belief (ἰδιωτική, ἄλογος). The last was reached by the enlightened mind, illumined by the grace of the Holy Spirit, when ultimate truths became self-evident, and the Gnostic had no more need of the ladders by which he had laboriously climbed. It is by this aid that Origen reaches those grand solutions of the problems of the future which proved unhappily too daring for the Church. What, then, was his conception of the person and work of the

[1] *In Joann.*, x, § 1–2.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, § 40. For an extravagantly fantastic instance see the explanation of *John* i, 27, where one shoe is the assumption of human flesh by the Son of God, and the other the descent into Hades, "whatever Hades may be," *ibid.*, vi, § 174.

Saviour, and the nature and scope of Christian salvation?

No great teacher can be indifferent to the currents of contemporary thought. His conceptions are largely shaped by reaction against opposing views; he cannot withdraw into empty space and think out an interpretation of existence by himself; he must use the language and ideas of his intellectual environment; he must guard against misunderstanding, and ward off error. The fundamental purpose of all Origen's speculation was to determine the method of God's discipline of souls, their origin, their course, their destiny. The means available were the Scripture record, the tradition of the Church, and reason, enlightened by religion and philosophy, which could discern mysteries of the Spirit beneath the obscurities of the letter. One mighty principle controlled the whole, the sovereignty of God, the demand that his will should be fulfilled, the certainty that all oppositions of Evil must be overcome, the confidence that the jarring elements of the world should be brought into harmony and God himself be "all in all."[1] This far-off vision of the Apostle Paul becomes the postulate of Origen's whole theology. The nature of the Deity, the powers and capacities of created spirits, the processes of redemption and restoration, are all displayed in their relation to it. Difficulties are met with fresh suggestions; objections are quietly answered; and the majestic thought contemplates

[1] 1 *Cor.* xv, 28.

vast cycles of time and calls new worlds into being when the old are worn out, to secure unencumbered opportunities for struggling souls and lead them up into the "central Peace."

The treatise on *First Principles* opens, accordingly, with an exposition of the doctrine of God.[1] On the lines of Scripture and Church teaching the Gnostic separation between the Creator of the Old Testament and the Father of the New is repudiated, and the way is open for the delineation of his intrinsic being. True, his nature passes our comprehension and cannot be measured; but in the language of philosophy God is the ultimate Monad or Unit.[2] He is thus intrinsically Mind, the source and spring of all intelligence, *intellectualis natura simplex*, nothing can be added to him, nor is there within him any greater or less. As Mind takes up no room and has neither shape nor size, it is thus independent of space. Without magnitude, form, or parts, it is uncompounded, simple. Labouring to express its elevation into the utmost spirituality, Origen wrote in later life that as Mind, or rather as transcending Mind and Being, God is simple, invisible, and incorporeal.[3] He cannot, therefore, be seen, though he may be known. The Scripture which promises vision to the pure in heart concedes nothing to outward sight;

[1] See also the Homilies on *John*, and the treatise *Against Celsus*.

[2] *De Princip.*, I, i, 5–6, "*μονάς* et ut ita dicam *ἑνάς*," two Platonic terms. Cp. Clement, Lect. V, *ante*, p. 346.

[3] *Contra Cels.*, VII, xxxviii.

yet the works of divine Providence and the skill which pervades the world are like rays from the eternal light showing us the true nature of the Father of the universe.

To God thus abstractly conceived two fundamental notions are attached. The simplicity of his nature admits of no change. The immutability of the Monad is an irreducible metaphysical idea. When he is said to feel wrath or to repent, the Scripture uses human language, and the Spirit condescends to our intelligence. But, secondly, he is essentially good; and divine goodness implies a constant activity of love. Love ever seeks to give, and God's supreme gift is the knowledge of himself; as the sole cause of all that is he perpetually communicates himself to the world, and to created spirits he reveals himself as the ever-bountiful author of all existence. This is the meaning of the doctrine of the Son. The Gospel identifies him with the Logos or Word; it designates him the "Only-begotten"; it proclaims him incarnate in Jesus Christ, whom the Apostle Paul described as God's Power and Wisdom. Now Solomon had already pictured Wisdom as created by the Lord in the beginning of his ways,[1] and there was consequently a sense in which the Word was a creation (κτίσμα), even a product of his workmanship (ἐημιούργημα). But over against this Scriptural argument came the pleas of ontology and ethics. Who could believe that the Father was ever for a moment of time without his

[1] *Prov.* viii, 22; *De Princip.*, I, ii, 1.

Wisdom? Was it affirmed that he called into being what did not exist before? That implied that he acquired a new capacity which he formerly did not possess. Or was it alleged that he did possess it but concealed it, and postponed its manifestation? Either alternative was impious and absurd, for each involved the divine nature in an act of change. Tertullian's confident assertion that he knew the moment of the entry of the Son into existence, when the Word leapt forth "Let there be light," cut right athwart Origen's metaphysic. God must always have possessed his Wisdom; the Father can never have been without a Son.[1] True, he is Unbegotten, and the Son begotten, and the method of this august generation lies beyond our power to conceive. It is no act in time, it is eternal. Like the brightness for ever streaming from the sun, the Only-begotten for ever issues from the Unbegotten. Such generation is not an event, it is an everlasting process[2]; the Father did not beget the Son and then let him go, he is for ever begetting him; and thus an eternal relation is expressed in terms of time, and a changeless state is represented as a perpetual act.[3]

[1] *De Princip.*, I, ii, 3.

[2] "Eterna ac sempiterna generatio, sicut splendor generatur ex luce," *De Princip.*, I, ii, 4.

[3] Ἀεὶ γεννᾷ αὐτόν, *Homil. in Jerem.* ix, 4. A curious analogy is found in Plutarch's explanation of the relation of the sun to Apollo; "as the body is to the soul, and sight to vision, and light to truth, so is the power of the sun to the nature of Apollo, ἔκγονον ἐκείνου καὶ τόκον ὄντος ἀεὶ γινόμενον, ἀεὶ τοῦτον ἀποφαίνοντος, *De Defectu Orac.*, ed. Reiske, Vol. vii, p. 706.

As the image of the invisible God, the Son may be said to be born of him like a volition proceeding from his mind. He is no part of Deity, cut off or divided from the divine Being; he shares the substance of the Godhead, he is *homo-ousios* with the Father.[1] Yet he is different numerically and as such he can even be called a "second God"[2]; God is the first cause, and the Son is caused; he is even other in substance [not in the sense of nature or essence but of individuality and personal distinction] and subject to the Father.[3] In his remarkable exposition of the opening verse of the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel Origen shows himself well aware of the difference between the divinity of the Word and the being of the Godhead. The Son is not *auto-theos* "Absolute God." He can only reveal to others what he has himself heard from the Father, he can only do what the Father has shown him. His powers are all communicated from him who alone is Unbegotten; they are gifts from the infinite source, and one gift is withheld. In supreme measure the Son may share the Absolute Reason, Wisdom, Righteousness.[4] But absolutely good (αὐτάγαθος, ἁπλῶς ἀγαθός) he cannot be. "There is none good save

[1] See the Fragm. in *Ep. ad. Hebr.*, Lommatsch, v, p. 300; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, ii, p. 354; Loofs, *Leitfaden*, p. 194.

[2] *Contra Cels.*, V, xxxix.

[3] *De Orat.*, xv. On the perplexing changes in the use of οὐσία and ὑπόστασις cp. Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 163; Loofs, *Leitfaden*, p. 194[8].

[4] *Contra Cels.* V, xxxix.

one," says the Gospel,[1] and Origen, loyal to Scripture, affirms that the Father only is unchangeably good.[2]

The doctrine of the Spirit is much less developed. The Word stands between the ultimate Unit of immutable Deity and the manifoldness of creation. The Father and the Son work together in sinners as well as saints, in dumb animals as well as in rational human beings; nay their energy pervades even the inanimate creation and the whole field of derived existence. The function of the Spirit is by no means so extensive. It is confined to the assistance of sinners who have already turned to better things, and walk along the ways of Jesus Christ.[3] In a remarkable fragment preserved in Greek,[4] a series of gradations is established, the Son is less than the Father, and the Spirit is lower still. Against the philosophers and the Jews Origen has thus vindicated the existence of different "persons" in the Godhead. The peculiar form of Monarchian doctrine which Praxeas carried to Carthage[5] is driven in the same way off the field.

[1] *Mark* x, 18.

[2] *De Princip.*, I, ii, 13. Goodness is apparently here understood of beneficence, and belongs to the Father, in respect of his activity in creation.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 5.

[4] Inserted by Koetschau in the chapter just cited, *Werke*, v, p. 56. The passage proves that in the subsequent statement, §7, that in the Trinity nothing can be called greater or less, the language is that of Rufinus, rather than Origen; cp. Loofs, *Leitfaden*, p. 196.

[5] See Lect. II, p. 110.

And the interpretation of Sabellius who had established a congregation in Rome and might have been himself still teaching when Origen visited the city as a young man, is in like manner set aside. Sabellius had insisted that Father, Son, and Spirit were only three names for one and the same Being, three aspects under which he manifested himself. They represented three phases of his historic operation. In the Old Testament God was Creator, Legislator, *i. e.*, Father. In Christ he appeared as Son and Redeemer; in the Church he worked as Spirit, imparting and sustaining the believer's life. Here was a kind of Trinity of Revelation. It could not be harmonized either with Scripture or metaphysics. The Hellenic ontology which insisted on the immutability of the ultimate Unit, required a mediator between the changeless simplicity of God's nature and the diversity of the physical world. The function of creation was handed over to the Son, who finally deigned to divest himself of his heavenly glory and become *Theanthropos*, "God-man."

This term, first coined by Origen, describes the incarnation of the Son in Jesus Christ. The conception is presented in a novel form. The whole drama of human existence was projected by the philosophical theologian on the scale of eternity, and at any given moment the world was full of rational souls in every grade of spiritual excellence or impurity, created free in the beginning and now passing through stage after stage of disci-

pline in the process of fall and of recovery. Among these was the human soul of Jesus.[1] To all rational creatures did the Only-begotten, the invisible image of the invisible God, impart invisibly a share in himself. The gift was proportioned to the love which each one bore him. In the exercise of free-will this varied in different individuals; but the soul of Jesus chose to cleave indissolubly to the Word from the beginning, received him wholly, entered into his light, and became one spirit with him.[2] Such a soul could serve as the mediating substance for the union of God's nature with a human body. The assumption of this particular soul by the Word for the purpose of incarnation was no accident, nor was it due to divine partiality; it was the fit reward of its virtues as the prophet proclaimed—"Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of joy above thy fellows."[3] It must not, however, be supposed that in becoming man in Jesus the divine Word was enclosed completely in him. The divinity of the Son of God could not be shut up in any place or bounded by any human form. If he was afterwards in Paul who said "Christ liveth in me," he doubtless also was in Peter and John, and if in them why not also in Michael and Gabriel?[4] The body of Christ was made miracu-

[1] *De Princip.*, II, vi, 3. [2] 1 *Cor.* vi, 17.
[3] *Psalm* xlv, 7. The oil of joy means being filled with Holy Spirit.
[4] *De Princip.*, IV, xxix; cp. *Contra Cels.*, VII, xvii.

lously to contain both the Word and the human soul, possessing some qualities common to other men, but also a certain superiority so that the soul might remain untainted by sin.[1] But the Word underwent no change in becoming "as it were flesh,"[2] and suffered none of the vicissitudes which affect the body and the soul; how absurd to imagine that one who called himself the Truth, the Life, and the Resurrection, died![3] And yet the union of the human soul and the divine Logos was so close that their fusion might be compared to a mass of molten iron glowing for ever with white heat.[4] Word, soul, and flesh are together called the Son of God, and in respect of that nature which death could affect the Son of God did die.[5]

To what end, then, was this death? Its purpose is not explained in the treatise on "First Principles." The later homilies contain various hints which exhibit it from different points of view. It was a ransom paid to the devil, who thought by the Cross to get Christ in his power, prevent the spread of his teaching, and secure control over men for ever. The devil, however, was deceived,[6] for he could not detain the Son of God, and the whole transaction

[1] *Contra Cels.*, I, xxxiii. [2] *Ibid.*, IV, xv.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, xvi. [4] *De Princip.*, II, vi, 6.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, vi, 3. *Contra Cels.*, III, iv, 1, the mortal body and the human soul were so closely united and intermingled with the Logos that they shared his divinity and were changed into God.
[6] Origen does not shrink from describing him as ἀπατηθέντι, Lommatzsch (1834), Vol. iv, p. 27.

was a divine device to break his sway.[1] Using the language of the second Psalm, Origen describes the Father dwelling in the heavens as deriding the prince of this age and his invisible agents who, contrary to their expectation, found their own sovereignty destroyed.[2] Elsewhere, however, under Pauline influence, the act of self-surrender is said to have had for its purpose to make God propitious to men.[3] Prophecy had foretold that Christ's sufferings would be for the benefit of mankind[4]; and if he gave by his life a pattern for men to follow, why should he not by his death show them how to die for their religion?[5] So Socrates had died as a philospher, and Leonidas as a soldier, and the martyrs as Christians[6]; and those who were called to endure trial found strength in the august Sufferer on the cross.

But this is nowhere the central element in Origen's thought. Behind the closing scene of Christ's career lies the wider purpose of the Incarnation, as a teaching of obedience,[7] a revelation of heavenly truth, and a gift of heavenly life. What mysteries of salvation lay in the descent of the Divine into the human! It pointed the way to a wondrous

[1] *In Matt.*, tom. xvi, 8. Cp. Bethune-Baker, *Introd. to the Early Hist. of Christ. Doctr.*, p. 337. Contrast the view of Irenæus, Lect. II, p. 125.

[2] *In Matt.* xiii, 9; Lommatzsch, iii, p. 229.

[3] Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 339. On its extension to the world above cp. Bigg, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[4] *Contra Cels.*, I, liv.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, xvi.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, xvii.

[7] *De Princip.*, III, v, 6.

interweaving of the two natures, so that the human might rise to the divine and enter into friendship with God.[1] It was as though Christ were found in every saint, and thus through the one Christ arise many Christs, formed after him who is the image of God.[2] Such is the great hope set before the soul. How and for whom could it be realized?

Vast is the prospect which Origen unfolds. His scheme of existence includes innumerable ages where worlds succeed each other to provide the material scene for the discipline of souls in the long pathway to the victory of good. The principle of the divine immutability required that God's omnipotence must always have had subjects beneath his rule,[3] just as his goodness must always have needed objects of his beneficence.[4] Through the Word, therefore, in the timeless sphere he made a fixed number of rational spirits. A strange reason is given for this limitation. A Greek fragment preserved in a letter of Justinian lays it down that were the divine power infinite, it would inevitably be unable to understand itself, for the infinite is by nature incomprehensible.[5] Number and measure were the laws imposed by the Eternal on his own Wisdom.[6] These beings were all equal in rank,

[1] *Contra Cels.*, III, xxviii.
[2] *In Joann.*, vi, §42.
[3] *De Princip.*, I, ii, 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV, xxxv.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, ix, 1. (*Werke*, v., p. 164.)
[6] Cp. the remarks of Bigg on the limit as essential to the Greek idea of perfection, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

endowed with reason and free will. They were images of the Word, himself the archetypal image of the invisible God; they, too, were in a sense "made God," though in inferior rank; they formed the order of which the Psalmist wrote "the God of Gods, the Lord, hath spoken."[1] But these "gods," though possessed of rational powers through participation in the Logos, were not self-subsistent; they had begun to be; they were, therefore, liable to change; their nature bore the stamp of mutability. Only in the Trinity, which is the author of all things, does goodness inhere by intrinsic essence; in created beings it has a certain accidental character; it depends on the maintenance of high energies of mind and will.[2] The tension thus involved might at any moment be relaxed; and the problem was complicated by the necessity that all created spirits should possess some form of bodily investiture. To the Trinity alone could incorporeal existence be ascribed; all derived beings required some kind of organization more or less tenuous or dense according to their several characters.[3] But how did such diversities of character arise?

To this question Origen vouchsafes no answer beyond the general principle that all dependent natures were by the very process of their creation rendered mutable—only the eternal was lifted above liability to change—and freedom involved

[1] *Ps.* l. 1, *In Joann.*, ii, 2.
[2] *De Princip.*, I, vi, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, ii, 2.

possibilities of error and fall. The scene suddenly shifts to the world as we know it, full of varieties of disposition and lot; where the distribution of happiness and pain is so uneven as gravely to threaten the faith in divine justice. Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, could easily array a formidable list of inequalities in the heavens above and on the earth beneath. Why so many gradations in the stellar ranks,[1] why so many anomalies in human circumstance? No one is asked to choose where to be born. What else determines nationality or condition but accident or chance?[2] The riddle is solved on the ground of the moral administration of the universe. Over and over again it is affirmed that in the time-process the condition of every created being is determined by his own conduct. When they were first produced there was no reason for not making them all equal and alike. In the exercise of their freedom the path of progress was open to them by imitation of God, while neglect might drag them into decline.[3] Different choices involved different results. Scripture showed that there were ranks of angelic and demonic beings. It could not be supposed that the malignant powers were created wicked by nature; why then should it not be admitted that the hosts above were good by their own wills? Against the Gnostic doctrine of essential peculiarities of constitution Origen enforced the lesson—which includes human beings also

[1] The stars were regarded as conscious beings, *De Princip.*, I, vii., 3. [2] *Ibid.*, II, ix, 5. [3] *Ibid.*, II, ix, 6.

—that every creature's place in the whole universe is the result of his own action[1]; those who rule on high and those who serve below owe their allotted stations to no arbitrary will; they have received only that which they deserve. It is the function of divine Providence thus to regulate the outer circumstance to match the inner spirit. The world is the scene of continuous adjustment between the springs of conduct on the one hand in motive and purpose, and the vicissitudes of each personal career. The chances and accidents of life thus take their place in the order that pervades the whole. Each sufferer has brought his own evil on himself. Nothing can escape and nothing can alter the constant operation of the everlasting justice.

This doctrine finds a remarkable parallel in the fundamental principle of Indian thought known as Karma, or the law of the Deed. Like its eastern counterpart it involves the conception of a succession of existences, but transmigration into animals or plants does not enter into Origen's view. He does, however, contemplate vast series of ages each with its own world, through which created souls have pursued their course, have fallen and risen, have advanced and declined, have struggled, have been defeated, and have triumphed. Scripture itself speaks of unnumbered æons past and yet to come[2]; and each visible creation, as it has had a beginning, so it must have

[1] *De Princip.*, I, v, 3. [2] *Ibid.*, II, iii, 5; III, v, 3.

an end. The very term by which the Gospel designates the origin of this world, καταβολή [R. V. "foundation of the world"[1]], really means "casting down"; in other words there has been a descent from a higher to a lower state, to provide a fitting sphere for spirits that had fallen. This is the explanation of St. Paul's teaching about the subjection of creation to vanity, and its subsequent liberation from the slavery of corruption. In the immense scheme of the discipline of souls this world (and in like manner each that has preceded or will follow) must be deemed to be created of such a kind and on such a scale as to embrace not only all beings appointed to be trained within it, but also the powers prepared for their guidance and aid. Chance, on the one hand, and fate on the other, the rival doctrines of philosophy, are thus dismissed, and the justice and beneficence of God secured.

Was there, then, no limit to this process? Would the succession continue without end? What of the Gospel promises of judgment, and awards of bliss and pain? They are susceptible of various interpretations, and the crude forms of apocalyptic materialism are conveniently spiritualized.[2] As æon follows æon successive judgments redistribute the evil and the good; the penal flame is kindled by each sinner for himself[3]; its fuel

[1] *Matt.* xxiv, 21; *Ephes.* i, 4; *De Princip.*, III, v, 4.
[2] *De Princip.*, II, xii, 2 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, x, 4, quoting *Isaiah*, l, 11.

is his own sins, the "wood, hay, stubble" of the Apostle Paul.[1] Conscience becomes its own tormentor as it beholds the story of its guilty deeds set forth before its eyes. But this discipline, if it bears on one side the aspect of moral retribution, is, upon the other, emphatically corrective. The goodness of God may be for a time resisted, it cannot be ultimately baffled. As creation began in his love, so must it end. The commencement and the close must be alike.[2] Declension will be followed by recovery; Scripture declares that at the last "God shall be all in all."[3] The prospect of the great consummation fills Origen with hope and joy. Often as he sends his gaze through the illimitable future, it rests after all uncertainties on the assurance of a harmonized world, where all resistance is transmuted into submission, and submisssion is exalted into fellowship. To achieve this result consistently with human freedom is the wondrous prerogative of God. He alone knows what agencies of subjection and instruction will be needed.[4] Origen is even willing to contemplate the possibility of future falls,[5] to be balanced by still more distant restorations; and even at the summit of attainment concedes that satiety of blessedness may lead to lapse.[6] Such allowance must be made to the logic of liberty. But religion cannot be permanently satisfied with these perilous

[1] 1 *Cor.* iii, 12.
[2] *De Princip.*, I, vi, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, vi, 3.
[4] *Ibid.*, III, v, 7–8.
[5] *Ibid.*, III, vi, 4.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 8.

options. Truth, beauty, goodness, eternally in God, will finally draw out a glad response—after punishments that may last for many ages—even from the devil and his agents[1]; stage after stage they, too, will rise through possible posts of duty and of trust into the sphere of the "things that are not seen." The process may indeed be imperceptible in individual cases through æons beyond number; some souls will rise swiftly, others will lag behind.[2] But as they ascend new wonders will for ever break upon their view. Enlarged in understanding they will discern the disposition of God's works, the causes of events, the secrets of Providence, the mysteries of grace. The end, said Origen, is always like the beginning.[3] The note of the commencement was the equality of souls. Will that be realized again? Will those who have sunk so far and risen so slowly, regain their lost condition of θεοί? In the final unity will the bitter experiences of the past be wholly overcome and leave no trace? Origen was less confident of that, it would seem, in after years.[4] But he never lost the conviction that the true destiny of the soul was the vision and understanding of God, which could only be realized through perfect purity of heart,[5] and would ultimately be attained, though

[1] *De Princip.*, I, vi, 3. [2] *Ibid.*, III, vi, 6. [3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 2.

[4] See the evidence from later homilies in Bigg, *op. cit.*, p. 233. The interpreter is sometimes in doubt whether the language refers to the issue of this age or the ultimate "restoration of all things," *In Joann.*, i, 16, § 191.

[5] *De Princip.*, II, xi, 8.

it might be in varying measures, by each and all.

Such were the hopes which Origen boldly projected through the vistas of incalculable time. But in the meanwhile practical problems of great urgency were forcing themselves on the attention of the churches. The first believers had habitually lived in an exalted moral enthusiasm. Baptism had relieved them of the burden of past guilt. They had been "washed" and "consecrated"; they were consequently holy; they were at once God's "chosen," his "servants," and his "sons." In the impassioned language of the Apostle Paul they had stripped off the old man and put on the new; they had died and even been buried with Christ, they had been raised with him, he had been formed in them, and they were already seated with him "in the heavenlies." Such a transformation must needs produce vast changes in temper and conduct; yet there were some who walked not in Spirit but "disorderly"[1]; the trespasser still needed rebuke; temptation might yet claim its victims. A strange and painful case at Corinth led Paul to devote the sinner to Satan,[2] in hope that by the infliction of penal death his spirit might be saved at the great Judgment Day. As the years ran on and the Lord did not return, men still preserved

[1] 1 *Thess.* v, 14; 2 *Thess.* iii, 11.

[2] 1 *Cor.* v, 5; cp. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, p. 389.

the form of godliness but denied its power[1]; even the presbyters sometimes fell into sin and must be reproved before the whole congregation[2]; the sad example of Valens and his wife at Philippi, whose financial offence Polycarp so deeply deplored,[3] throws light on the repeated demand that elder or bishop shall be free from the love of money.

Pecuniary unfaithfulness might be forgiven; but when those who had shared in the Holy Spirit fell away, they crucified the Son of God in their own persons, and no repentance could renew their life.[4] The wilful offender who spurned the Lord had exhausted the benefits of redemption; for him there was no more sacrifice for sins, only "a certain fearful expectation of judgment."[5] This dark doom brooded over the Church at the beginning of the second century. The mysterious writer who bore his testimony to the Word of life, and told the "children of God" that those who were begotten of the Father could not sin, for their seed remained in them,[6] was well aware that none could really make this august claim. Confession, however, might secure forgiveness,[7] save in the irremediable case of "sin unto death."[8] The first period of spiritual elevation was passing away. When the

[1] 2 *Tim.* iii, 1–5. [2] 1 *Tim.* v, 20.
[3] *Ad Philipp.*, xi. [4] *Hebrews* vi, 4–6.
[5] *Ibid.*, x, 26–31. [6] 1 *John* iii, 1–2, 9; v, 18. [7] *Ibid.*, i, 8–9.
[8] *Ibid.*, v, 16. The variety of the interpretations by the commentators shows the difficulty of this phrase. It probably included loss of all the privileges of salvation.

seer of Patmos addresses seven representative churches, he summons five of them to immediate repentance.[1] False teaching, possibly libertinist morals, spiritual deadness, pride of wealth, religious indifference, are among the counts of the indictment. A little later Polycarp warns the Philippians against covetousness, love of money, evil speaking, false witness, anger, the spirit of retaliation, unjust judgment, readiness to believe evil.[2] How were such offences of sudden temper or habitual disposition to be met? The worship of the Church was of course designed to raise the believer above them, but before he could fitly approach the holiness of God in prayer he must at least have sought the divine forgiveness.[3] Confession, accordingly, became the united act of the people. "In the congregation," it was said in the "Way of Life," "thou shalt confess thy transgressions."[4] That was essential before the celebration of the Eucharist, that the offering might be pure.[5] Reconciliation of the quarrelsome, quiet reproof without anger, humble acknowledgment of guilt, these were the needful conditions for effective prayer[6]; and following Jewish usage the "Way of Life" regarded alms as a ransom for sin. The preacher might declare fasting better than prayer, but almsgiving was superior to both[7]; "let us then

[1] *Revel.* ii–iii.
[2] *Ad Philipp.*, ii, 2; vi, 1.
[3] Cp. 1 *Clem.* lx, 1–2.
[4] *Teaching of the XII Apostles*, iv, 14.
[5] *Ibid.*, xiv, 1.
[6] *Ibid.*, xv, 2; *Ep. Barnab.*, xix, 12.
[7] 2 *Clem.* xvi, 4.

repent with our whole heart that none of us perish by the way."

Such was the language of Christians to one another, in view of the austere demands of their high calling. On the outside world they often made a different impression. It can hardly be doubted that the most powerful of the various causes which gradually effected the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity was the behaviour of the Christians. A note of lofty morality and heroic exultation is heard in one after another of the Apologists. The philosopher Aristides appeals to their chastity, their truthfulness, their beneficence even to their enemies, their brotherly help to the stranger and the needy, their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Christ.[1] Justin was convinced of their sincerity by their bravery in death.[2] Octavius points to prisons full of criminals, where no Christian is ever found save on account of his religion or as a renegade.[3] "Their lot is cast in the flesh," says one of their champions, "but they do not live after the flesh; they pass their time upon earth, but they have their citizenship in heaven."[4] Seen from within, however, this glowing idealism is marred by ugly facts. Writing near the middle of the second century Roman Hermas tells how the angel of Repentance was sent in the guise of an old shepherd to dwell with him for the rest of his

[1] *Apol.*, xv.
[2] 2 *Apol.*, xii.
[3] Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, xxxv.
[4] *Ep. ad Diognet.*, v.

life.[1] In spite of his prayers and confessions he often harboured evil thoughts, he had failed in parental duty, he had conducted his business by lies; the Church was invaded by all kinds of gross and sordid sin, unchastity, drunkenness, hypocrisy, malice, theft, covetousness, blasphemy.[2] The rich paraded the extravagance of their wealth, the double-minded became idolaters through cowardice. The leaders must reform their ways, there could be no salvation after future sin. With its visions, its commandments, and its similitudes or parables, the book is one long summons to repentance. The elder theory that for grave post-baptismal sin no atonement was possible, had broken down. But the Shepherd-angel is authorized to announce one more opportunity of repentance.[3] For blasphemers and apostates, for betrayers of the servants of God, it was indeed impossible.[4] But the divine mercy is extended to a long list of other offenders provided they repent quickly; but it must be lasting; the double-minded who are always repenting after repeated sins have no stability, and are neither alive nor dead. One way, indeed, there is for wiping out the guilty past. The martyr's death is an effective baptism of blood.[5]

From different sides arose protests against laxity. The followers of Marcion on the one hand, the

[1] *Shepherd*, Vis. V, ii ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, Mand. VIII.
[3] *Ibid.*, Mand. IV, iii, 6.
[4] *Ibid.*, Simil. IX, xix, 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, Simil. IX, xxviii, 3.

Montanists on the other, demanded the utmost purity as an essential condition of salvation. Bishops corresponded, like Dionysius of Corinth[1] and Pinytus of Crete, with recommendations of mildness or rigour according to their interpretation of Christian standards in the midst of increasing wealth and worldliness. At Carthage by the end of the second century a severe discipline had been established. In his treatise on "Penitence," written soon after 200 A. D., Tertullian pleads for a second forgiveness; he quotes the summons addressed to the churches in the Apocalypse; he applies the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Drachma, and the Prodigal Son. But repentance involves public confession, known even in Carthage by its Greek name *exomologesis*. The sinner must lie in sackcloth and ashes, he must fast and groan and weep, he must kneel to the brethren and roll at the feet of the presbyters. It was a terrible ordeal, and it is not surprising that men should have shrunk from it or at least postponed it. Tertullian pours out his mockery on their reluctance—"Is it better to be damned in secret than absolved in public?"—and asks whether they would prefer to see the dandy with hair duly parted, teeth polished with powder, and nails cleaned with a little fork of brass or steel, presenting himself in scarlet and purple for the forgiveness of his sins.[2] There was a way, indeed, of help, which was to grow into a grave

[1] See Lect. III, p. 189.

[2] *De Pœnitent.*, ix–xi; cp. *De Pudicitia*, xiii.

abuse fifty years later. Those who could not find "peace" in the Church sometimes resorted to the imprisoned martyrs, and obtained it from them.[1] Adulterers might apparently, be re-admitted to communion, but homicides and idolaters were permanently excluded.[2]

Later in life, after adopting Montanist principles Tertullian wrote a second tract on "Modesty." It was evoked by a report that Callistus of Rome (218–223 A.D.),[3] whom he sarcastically describes as *Pontifex Maximus*, "Supreme Pontiff and Bishop of Bishops," had announced his intention—Tertullian calls it "issuing an edict"—of remitting sins of adultery and fornication after due penance.[4] There is some doubt how far this simply sanctioned former practice, or involved any novelty of treatment. Gross sinners might be excluded from church privileges altogether. Or they might be admitted to its worship, but denied participation in the Eucharist, and left to the judgment of God. A third course was recognized by Callistus who allowed them to receive the sacrament, and thus restored them to full communion; and this must surely have been the meaning of the Martyrs'

[1] *Ad Martyr.*, xi. "Peace" meant ecclesiastical forgiveness and restoration.

[2] Cp. Vanbeck, *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, iii, p. 365.

[3] This is the usual identification of the unnamed bishop. The alternative is his predecessor Zephyrinus.

[4] *De Pudicit.*, i. Cp. Prof. Swete, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, iv, p. 327: Vanbeck, *Revue*, p. 367.

pax which had evoked Tertullian's earlier protest. Tertullian now drew a clear distinction between sins to which the Church might extend forgiveness and those for which there was no remission. The Christian's daily prayer covered such offences as anger, evil-speaking, violation of a man's plighted word, lying from bashfulness or necessity: how many were the temptations of business, official duty, trade, food, the senses! Were there no pardon for such sins as these, salvation would be unattainable by any. But for idolatry, adultery, homicide, the Church could grant no peace[1]; for fraud, apostasy, blasphemy, Christ would not intercede; the perpetrator ceased to be a son of God.[2]

It may seem strange that such offenders could be found among the "saints." But the spread of Christianity had brought men and women of all ranks into the fold. In the second century Celsus had contemptuously described the converts as the ignorant and uneducated, the silly, mean, and stupid, women, children, slaves. Two or three generations later Origen could assert that the rich and noble, men of rank and office, delicate and high-born ladies, received the Christians' teaching.[3] As the range of believers widened, supervision over the lives of church-members, especially in the great urban congregations, became more necessary. Those who led dissolute lives must be

[1] *De Pudicit.*, xii. [2] *Ibid.*, xix.
[3] *Contra Cels.*, III, ix, xliv, xlix.

excluded. The Pythagoreans, observed Origen, put up a cenotaph to a disciple who fell away from their communion; he was spiritually dead. The Church received back its transgressors after a time, but refused to admit them to posts of influence or office.[1] On what conditions, then, was such reception possible? Replying to an objection that Christians were worse off than Jews for whom the Law provided effective sacrifices of atonement, Origen enumerates seven means of obtaining remission of sins, baptism, martyrdom, alms, forgiveness of others' trespasses, the conversion of a sinner, abundance of charity, and penitence.[2] This last method involved confession, and public confession required humble resolve to face contempt and jeers. Origen, therefore, recommended careful consideration about the mode. Some man of experience and insight should be consulted (whether cleric or layman is not specified); if he decided that the sinner's malady needed to be exposed and healed before the whole Church, that course must be adopted; public confession relieved a troubled conscience like sickness from an overloaded stomach.[3] Tears and good works might avail for common faults; but after grave crimes readmission to communion could only be granted after due penance. Apostates, indeed, could never re-enter; and for other sins sentence of

[1] *Contra Cels.*, III, li. [2] *Homil. in Levit.*, ii, 4.
[3] *Homil. ii, in Psalm. xxxvii*, ii, 1, 2, 6; Vanbeck, *Revue*, iii, p. 554.

excommunication should be rare; extreme severity might terrorize delinquents. There were, indeed, grave signs of danger in other directions. Bishops, especially in the great cities, were apt to be proud and arrogant like earthly princes; in the exercise of power they might not be above partiality; and the claims of confessors to the privilege of granting absolution tended to increase.[1] During the half-century of Origen's labours as teacher these perils became more definite. The outbreak of persecution under Decius rendered them still more acute. The decisive direction for the development of the future was given by the great bishop of Carthage, Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus (248–258 A.D.).

Nearly fifty years had passed since Tertullian began to issue his passionate pleas for his co-believers, and lifted North African Christianity into historic significance. Carthage remained gay, brilliant, dissolute. No voice was raised in warning or rebuke till there sat in the bishop's chair a man of whom it was told long afterwards in Italy that he used daily to say to his secretary "*Da Magistrum*," and the notary handed him a volume

[1] Cp. Vanbeck, *Revue*, iv, p. 119 ff. In the Homilies on Matthew xii, 14, Origen lays it down (on *Matt.* xvi, 19), in contrast with certain champions of episcopal power that only those can bind and loose like Peter who have Peter's way of life. Those who are bound by their own sins cannot loose those of others. The church officer who unwarrantably assumes such power is ignorant of the purport of the Scriptures, is puffed up with pride, and falls like the devil. Cp. Swete, *Journal*, iv, p. 332; Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 215.

of Tertullian.[1] Cyprian, likewise, was an author. He, too, pleaded for Christianity against the current idolatries and the perverse Jews. He, too, was the champion of martyrs and the critic of society. He, too, wrote on the dress of virgins, on patience and prayer, on grace and penitence. But he was neither by training nor by temperament a theologian or a teacher. His place among the formative influences in the development of Christianity is that of a great ecclesiastic who framed a definite conception of the Church and of the rights and duties of its bishops, and established the episcopate as the bond of its unity and the instrument of its power.[2] Nearly two hundred years would pass before the third great African writer, philosopher, controversialist, mystic, would arise in the genius of Augustine, and complete the scheme of faith, doctrine, and morals which Leo and Gregory would impose upon the West.

Born probably near the beginning of the century, Cyprian belonged to one of the high senatorial families of Carthage. Wealthy, distinguished, with every advantage of education and rank, he looked forward naturally to a public career. He had amused himself like other gilded youths, but he had friends among the Christians as well as among the supporters of the popular

[1] Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.*, liii.

[2] Of this his letters, 81 in number, and his treatises on "The Lapsed" and "The Unity of the Church," are the chief expression. See the edition of his works in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, by Hartel, 3 vols., 1868–71.

religion, and in spite of some vehemence of temper, which could not well brook opposition, he must have been attractive and lovable, for his friendships outside the Church continued to the end. He lived in the whirl of a great city. Dress and society, wine and dissipation, occupied his thoughts. A crowd of clients brought him dignity; it was a punishment to be alone. But, as he tells his friend Donatus shortly after his conversion, other voices kept reaching him with insistent call. Looking back, he saw himself lying in darkness, or tossed on the foam of a boastful age, uncertain of his wandering steps, met again and again by the demand "Thou must be born again."[1] "Impossible," he argued to himself; "how can I put off what I have been? How can the laver of saving water change my heart and soul?" The world still clung around him, and in his despair of better things he sinned the more. By what process his friend Cæcilian, a presbyter in the Church, induced him to prepare for baptism, is not recorded. It brought peace to his struggles, and filled him with gratitude for new gifts of innocence and power. "I came to see that the life which I had been living in the practice of sin, was of the earth, and that which was quickened by the Holy Spirit began to be of God."[2]

With the promptitude of a passionate nature eager to pledge itself as fully as possible to a new

[1] *Ad Donat.*, iii; Hartel, i, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv; Hartel, i, p. 6.

way of life, he sold his estates, and distributed the proceeds among the poor.[1] Friends, it would seem, afterwards restored some of his possessions, but in the first glow of renunciation he went to live with his friend Cæcilian, who, on his deathbed, made him guardian of his wife and children. Within a year of his baptism he appears to have been ordained as presbyter. A year later (248–249 A.D.) the bishop's chair became vacant. Writing in after years to Spain,[2] he laid down "the practice delivered from divine tradition and apostolic observance." For the proper celebration of ordination all the neighbouring bishops of the same province should assemble with the congregation needing a pastor, and the bishop should be chosen in the presence of those most fully acquainted with each man's life and conduct. Clergy and laity thus joined in the election. Cyprian was no doubt the most eminent among recent adherents of the Church in Carthage. His sacrifices of property and position were known to all. But he was junior in Christian standing, probably also in age; and when he saw that the feeling of the assembly was pointing to him, he withdrew from the meeting in favour of others older and more worthy than he.[3] The eager crowd would not be baulked of their desire. They swept through the streets, surrounded his house, and refused to depart till

[1] Pontius, *Vita Cypr.*, xii; Hartel, iii, p. xcii.
[2] *Ep.* lxvii, 5; Hartel, ii, p. 739.
[3] Pontius, *Vita Cypr.*, v; Hartel, iii, p. xcv.

he had given his consent. Five presbyters, indeed, voted against him, and sometimes made his way difficult afterwards. But as he looked back after four years he could speak of himself as chosen in time of peace by the suffrage of an entire people, and faithfully united with all his colleagues.[1] It was not long before the peace was rudely broken, and a new period of storm and stress began.

Meanwhile Cyprian bade his friend Donatus sit with him on some mountain top and survey the world below. What pity would fill his mind at the spectacle of human sorrow, suffering, and sin. The roads were blocked by robbers; the sea was beset by pirates; wars were scattered everywhere, and the whole world was wet with blood. The people were depraved by the gladiatorial shows, the combats with wild beasts, the shameful displays of the adulteries of the gods which turned crimes into religion. What hideous unchastities were veiled in the chambers of night, what shameful maladministration of justice was practised in the courts, what bribery of judges and perjury of witnesses, what extravagance of luxury and contempt of the poor—such were the daily scandals of the world. And the corruptions of society had infested the Church. Grave is the picture which he draws in his tract upon "The Lapsed."[2] Among the priests was no devout religion, in their ministry no sound faith, in their works no mercy, in

[1] *Ep.* lix, 6; Hartel, ii, p. 673.

[2] *De Lapsis*, vi; Hartel, i, p. 240.

their manners no discipline. Dyed complexions and hair stained with falsehood among the women were matched by fraud and false oaths among the men. Numbers of bishops forsook their congregations to make money. They became agents in secular business; they travelled into other provinces; while the brethren were starving in church, they were trying to lay up wealth. They snatched estates by trickery, and charged high interest on loans. "What do not such as we deserve to suffer for sins of this kind!" *Dissimulanda fratres veritas non est.*[1]

Cyprian himself set an example of self-denial, if not of austerity. He never, like Tertullian, assumed the philosopher's cloak as the symbol of plain living and high thinking, nor did he break off his relations with non-Christians. But while maintaining simplicity of habit, even after his beautiful gardens had been restored to him, he laid a firm hand on Church organization and became its inspiring force. He claimed, indeed, no superior authority over his fellow-bishops. He anxiously recognized that each was responsible to his own flock, and was as it were the embodiment by their own choice of their collective will. It is in this sense that he writes to an antagonist, or at least a critic, "You ought to know that the

[1] *De Lapsis*, xi; Hartel, i, p. 244. Cp. the case of the "*virgines subintroductæ*" (ante, p. 42) discussed in *Ep.* iv. The practice seems to have been not uncommon; "corrumpi plurimas virgines . . . conspicimus," § 2.

bishop is in the Church and the Church in the bishop"[1]; each is independent, none has authority over others. He might gather seventy or eighty together in synods at Carthage, for mutual counsel, and he naturally presided as chairman; but he disclaimed all jurisdiction over them. Yet after all he was bishop of the second city of the West, a man of rank as well as personal force, and he could not help expressing his opinion in language of which moderation was not always the chief characteristic, so that he was sometimes rebuked by correspondents for want of modesty. In his own church, however, he was always anxious to preserve due regard for popular rights. "From the beginning of my episcopate," he wrote to his presbyters and deacons,[2] "I resolved to do nothing by my own private opinion without your advice and the consent of the people." His early letters are filled with allusions to such concert. In the ordination of clergy, the appointment of readers, the administration of church funds, he always took the people into counsel; though in after years, when events separated him from his flock for long periods together, his tone (especially against opponents) became more peremptory. This tendency was heightened by his firm belief in the influence of spiritual powers. In the case of evil agencies this took the form of demoniacal possession.[3] To the Christian divine intimations were

[1] *Ep.* lxvi, 8; Hartel, ii, p. 733. [2] *Ep.* xiv, 4; Hartel, ii, p. 512.
[3] Cp. *Ad Demetrianum*, xv; Hartel, i, p. 361.

imparted by vision and dream. Such privileges were freely accorded to himself; they played a great part in his later life, and seemed to arm him with supernatural authority.

The grave estimate which Cyprian had formed of the condition of the Church, led him to reaffirm in his first work, "Testimonies against the Jews," the ancient principle that there was no forgiveness for sins against God.[1] It was soon to be severely tested. The Emperor Decius resolved to suppress Christianity, and in January, 250 A.D., the persecution began. To Cyprian the disorders of the world and the corruptions of the Church had seemed to call for some penal catastrophe,[2] and the outbreak bore the character of a divine judgment. The leaders were the first objects of attack,[3] and Bishop Fabian was executed at Rome on January 20th. The imperial edict did not reach Carthage till February when it at once kindled the popular anger. The crowds in the circus cried out for Cyprian. Under the advice of his friends, and believing himself divinely warned to retire, Cyprian withdrew.[4] His flight excited much un-

[1] *Testimon.*, iii, 28. The text-proofs are *Matt.* xii, 32; *Mark* iii, 28; 1 *Sam.* ii, 25. What sins were included in this class Cyprian did not specify.

[2] The situation was repeated half a century later, under Diocletian, cp. Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, VIII, i–ii.

[3] Cp. *ante*, p. 369.

[4] Cp. the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xl), who remained four days in his house waiting arrest, while search was made for him elsewhere, and was then commanded by God to depart.

favourable comment, the Roman clergy (who did not venture to elect another bishop for a year and a half) being especially critical. But his splendid conduct in the great plague, and the cheerfulness (as Gibbon notes) with which he met death eight years later, amply justified him. More than a year was spent in retreat. It was no time of idle leisure; he was engaged in incessant activity. On the church administration he kept a firm hold; he directed its affairs by constant correspondence; he forwarded regular sums of money raised from his property for the martyrs in prison, the poor who were thrown out of employment, the widows and orphans who were left desolate.

A whole generation of Christians had grown up in peace. They had duly commemorated the martyrs in church anniversaries, they had no idea of being called to suffer with them. Exceptional cruelties of imprisonment, severities of torture, the sword, the wild beasts, the stake and the fire, involved the loyalty of believers in dreadful strain. Many of the city clergy fled; country bishops followed Cyprian's example; there was a difficulty in maintaining the daily ministrations. Others, including many of the laity, gave way altogether and fell from the faith. These were the "lapsed," in different degrees of guilt. Some consented to sacrifice before the emperor's statue (*sacrificati*); others procured certificates (*libelli*) from magistrates by favour or even purchase, exempting them from this demand or stating that they had

conformed (*libellatici*). When the severity of persecution began to abate, many desired reinstatement in their old communion. Bishops sought to resume their office, clergy claimed to return to their duties. Difficulties at once arose, for apostasy had always been counted as a "sin against God." What possibility, then, was there of forgiveness?

There were doubtless modifying circumstances. The older type of apostasy had often arisen from weariness of the burdens and self-denials which the Christian life involved. Conversion had been incomplete; the old Adam had only been temporarily expelled and, like Nature, insisted on returning again. But many now were taken unawares. The two classes of the *sacrificati* and the *libellatici* might be distinguished. Even the graver guilt of those who had sacrificed admitted of degrees. One had done so readily, another only after long struggle and under compulsion; one had betrayed his connexions and friends, another had imperilled himself to protect wife and children and household.[1] The matter was complicated by the action of some of the imprisoned confessors. They took upon themselves to issue letters saying that they had granted "Peace" (ecclesiastical absolution and the right of communion) to the persons therein named).[2] Had there been only a few cases,

[1] Cp. *Ep.* lv, 13; Hartel, ii, p. 633.

[2] For this practice in Tertullian's day cp. *ante*, p. 400; at Alexandria Dionysius had to deal with the same difficulty, Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xlii. These letters were also called *libelli*.

Cyprian might have let them alone. Their multitude, however, gravely threatened the maintenance of discipline. In the active correspondence carried on with the Roman clergy Cyprian complained that thousands were being granted daily.[1] The door was opened to all sorts of abuse. A certain Lucian granted peace in the name of a dead martyr Paul; certificates were given admitting A. B. to communion "along with his friends"[2]; and this was extended in a curt notice to "Father Cyprian" (*Cypriano Papati*) that "all the Confessors" had granted peace to all the lapsed whose conduct after their sin might be reckoned satisfactory.[3] This information Cyprian was commanded to communicate to the other bishops.

The situation was full of difficulty, and already threatened to divide the Church. There was a party of laxity at Carthage, and a party of vigour, led by Novatian,[4] at Rome. When Cyprian returned from his retreat in the spring of 251, he made earnest efforts to secure unity of action, and in accordance with an intention long foreshadowed in his letters he summoned a council to consider the proper course.[5] Bishops, presbyters, and

[1] *Ep.* xx, 2; Hartel, ii, p. 528.

[2] *Ep.* xv, 4, "communicet ille cum suis"; Hartel, ii, p. 516.

[3] *Ep.* xxiii; Hartel, ii, p. 536.

[4] By birth a Phrygian; before his conversion a philosopher, probably a Stoic.

[5] It was said to be the first held for fifty years. Agrippinus, the last bishop but one before Cyprian, had gathered one early in the century; its precise date is unknown.

deacons were assembled. The meetings were protracted, and Cyprian (who had just issued his famous essay or oration on "The Unity of the Catholic Church") acquiesced in treatment somewhat less severe than his early letters had implied.[1] Those who had sacrificed and had given evidence of heartfelt sorrow might be received into communion when in danger of death, for there was no further confession in the grave, but this concession could not be granted to those who remained impenitent till their last hour. The cases of the *libellatici* must be examined individually; the adulterer in Cyprian's view was guilty of the greater sin, and *he* was re-admitted after due penitence; the *libellatici* did not deserve severer treatment.[2]

The various claims of different parties were not, however, fully reconciled. The Roman clergy had elected Cornelius as their bishop, and the resolutions adopted at Carthage won the approval of the older Church.[3] But a serious schism had already begun. The supporters of Novatian's

[1] The matter was complicated by misconduct on the part of some of the confessors themselves. He actually charges some of them with frauds and adulteries after their confession, *De Unitate*, xx; Hartel, i, p. 228.

[2] *Ep.* lv, 17, 23, 26. On the meaning of *libellaticos interim admitti*, 17, see Vanbeck, *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, iv, p. 428.

[3] A letter from Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch (preserved by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, xliii), reckons 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers, and janitors, and over 1500 widows and poor. On the numbers implied by these figures see different estimates in Benson's *Cyprian*, p. 68.

stricter views disapproved of the restoration of apostates to the Church on earth. They would not indeed shut them out from all hope of salvation; that decision lay with God alone; but they stood for the ancient discipline, and refused to allow them the privileges of communion. They charged Cornelius with laxity, and even with having protected himself with a certificate[1]; and after his elevation to the episcopal chair in March, 251, they proceeded to appoint a rival bishop in the person of Novatian.[2] It was the beginning of a schism that threatened for a time to rend the Church in twain. The austere views of Christian purity which had found champions at Rome in the days of Hermas, which the Phrygian Montanists had embraced with such enthusiasm, which the Donatists were to maintain against Augustine a century and a half later, were embodied by Novatian and his followers in a movement of far-reaching significance. They called themselves the Kathari, or "the Pure"; they were the first Puritans. Of unquestioned orthodoxy, they established their bishops in the chief cities of the empire; they attended Church councils;

[1] *Ep.* lv, 10; Hartel, ii, p. 631.

[2] The bitter feeling engendered by this opposition is painfully apparent in the story retailed by Cornelius to Fabius in the letter already quoted, about the three bishops who were fetched from insignificant country churches in Italy to perform the consecration. It was alleged that they were made drunk and sick, and in that condition were compelled to confer the episcopal character by the imposition of hands!

they suffered persecutions, they had their martyrs and saints. When the Arians were in the ascendant in the fourth century, Catholics often frequented the churches of the Novatians; but in spite of a common theology no permanent union could overcome the deep-seated difference of ecclesiastical theory. From southern Gaul and Spain they were to be found all the way to the East, where their principles won active support in Asia Minor. Alternately favoured and oppressed by different emperors they failed in the long run to maintain their ground, and disappeared after the seventh century. But the tendency which evoked Novatian's protest against lax interpretations of the terms of Christian communion, helped to shape more than one attempt to enforce higher standards of Church sanctity. The Albigenses and Waldenses of the Middle Ages espoused kindred conceptions, which were not without influence on later Puritanism.

The Novatianists established a congregation in Carthage with a bishop of its own, and Cyprian had to face opposition from yet another group of dissentients who were in favour of a laxer treatment than the Council had adopted. Aided by the five presbyters who had voted against Cyprian's election, they led a schism in a counter direction, and added a third bishop to the distracted Church. Meanwhile grave danger hung over the city. While a second council was being held in 252, the great plague was slowly travelling thither from the East. It had invaded Egypt, and in the course of

fifteen years it reduced the population of Alexandria by one-half.[1] It destroyed the armies of Valerian before Sapor; it kept the Goths off Thrace and ravaged Rome so fiercely that in 262 five thousand sufferers died in one single day.[2] The outbreak in Carthage was severe. Those who could quitted the city in haste, and left the streets (says Deacon Pontius)[3] strewn with bodies which there was no one to bury. Cyprian gathered his people, raised a large relief fund, organized a band of nurses for the sufferers, and another to collect and inter the dead, and urged the duty of ministering to friend and foe alike without religious distinction. In an impassioned tract, *De Mortalitate*, he described the crisis as putting every relation to the test, whether the healthy would tend the sick, kinsfolk fulfil family duty, masters look after their stricken slaves. In spite of their beneficent labours the Christians were still marked men; they held aloof from the processions and sacrifices organized for intercession with the tutelary gods of the city; and the cry rose again, "The Bishop to the lions!" The work lasted for five years, and when Cyprian again withdrew on a further outbreak of persecution it seemed to his deacon a release from a horror like hell.[4]

[1] Cp. Gibbon, chap. x, *ad fin.*

[2] Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 242. Gibbon supposes this was the daily number for some time.

[3] *Vita Cypr.*, ix.

[4] Cp. Cyprian's prompt measures for the redemption of the members of eight Numidian churches, carried off in a Berber raid, *Ep.* lxii.

The plague was already subsiding when a new controversy broke out. When heretics applied for admission into the Catholic Church, should their previous baptism be reckoned valid, or must they be rebaptized? Founding himself on the conception of Catholic unity, Cyprian declared all baptism outside it worthless. There could be only one Baptism because there was only one Faith. If anyone could be lawfully baptized among heretics, he could also obtain remission of sins. If his sins were forgiven, he was also sanctified. If he was sanctified, he was made the temple of God. "I ask of what God?" cried Cyprian triumphantly,[1] and paraded different types of disqualifying heresy affecting the Creator and Christ, Marcionite and Monarchian. Custom was invoked to support argument. The council under Agrippinus had affirmed the practice, and thousands of heretics since had embraced the saving rite.[2]

The question came up in the shape of an application from two Numidian bishops for advice. There was no doubt about the African usage; it was that of the churches of Asia Minor also. Two synods at Carthage decided to adhere to their own tradition, and a letter was addressed to Rome where Stephen had succeeded Cornelius in the bishop's chair. His action was unexpectedly domineering. He violently denounced all who baptized heretics a second time, declared that he would hold no communion with the African bishops

[1] *Ep.* lxxiii, 12; Hartel, ii, p. 787. [2] *Ibid.*, 3.

who accepted Cyprian's views, and threatened to inflict the same penalty on the bishops in the East. At a third council held at Carthage towards the close of 256 eighty-seven bishops were present besides a large number of presbyters, deacons, and laity. They naturally protested against the assumption of Stephen,[1] and sent a deputation of bishops to state their views at Rome. Stephen haughtily refused to receive them, and issued orders that they should not be admitted to church-fellowship, or even entertained with the customary hospitality.[2] Such conduct naturally caused an entire rupture. The martyrdom of Stephen in 257 and of Cyprian in 258, removed the principal combatants from the scene. Little by little the agitation subsided, and the Roman usage gradually prevailed. The merit of breadth has been claimed for it, but at the cost of throwing into still stronger relief the element of power in a sacred formula. It was an English bishop in the last century who remarked: "The mystical philosophy of secret agents in nature was Christianized. The general belief in magic in the early ages of the Church may sufficiently account for the ready reception of such a theory of sacramental influence. The maxim of Augustine, *accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*, appears to be in fact an adaptation

[1] Augustine cites the opening words of Cyprian in their *Acta*, in his treatise *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, III, 4–6.

[2] Firmilian, in *Ep.* lxxv, 25; Hartel, ii, p. 826. Stephen dubbed Cyprian a "false Christ."

of the popular belief in the power of incantations and charms to the subject of Religion."[1]

The conception of the episcopal office which emerges from these troubled years, is highly significant. Irenæus and Tertullian had presented it as the guardian of the truth through the preservation of the apostolic tradition. Cyprian is not affected by the problems which had generated the great Gnostic movement. He is primarily an administrator, and is concerned with questions of discipline, government, and authority. In an early letter he lays it down that the Lord chose apostles, "that is, bishops,"[2] and asserts that "God makes bishops." In each congregation the bishop is priest, and as the Aaronic priesthood was ordained by Christ,[3] Cyprian can apply the declarations of its privileges to the Christian episcopate. One of his favourite texts is the Deuteronomic warning, "the man that will act in pride so as not to listen to the priest . . . shall die"; the rebellion of Korah is the type of all resistance to the bishop.[4] To the bishops who have succeeded by vicarious ordination to the apostles Christ still says "he that heareth you, heareth me."[5] It naturally follows that the power of governing is divine, and there is one person for the time Priest in the Church and Judge in the place of Christ.[6]

[1] Hampden, *The Scholastic Theology considered in its Relation to Christian Theology*, the Bampton Lecture, 1832, p. 315.

[2] *Ep.* iii, 3; Hartel, ii, p. 471. [3] *Ep.* lxix, 8; Hartel, ii, p. 757.

[4] Both in *Ep.* iii, 1. [5] *Ep.* lxvi, 4; Hartel, ii, p. 729.

[6] "Vice Christi," *Ep.* lix, 5; Hartel, ii, p. 672.

But, further, each local Church belonged to a vaster body, not indeed knit into a corporate whole by external institution, but wrought into a spiritual unity by divine purpose and gifts. Of this purpose the bishops were the appointed agents; of these gifts they were the accredited bearers. What individual bishops were to their separate congregations, the totality of the order was to the Universal Church. Their first duty, therefore, on this wider field was the maintenance of unity. This had been laid by the Lord on the Apostles, it had been transmitted through them to the bishops their successors.[1] To enforce this lesson was the aim of his famous address "On the Unity of the Catholic Church," perhaps actually delivered to the fathers assembled at his first Council in 251. Novatian had already challenged the whole Order by foisting himself into the episcopate at Rome. "Let no one deceive the brotherhood with a lie," cries the orator; "the episcopate is one, and each one holds his part in it for the whole."[2] The first promise, indeed, was given to Peter, but after the resurrection an equal power was bestowed on all.[3] With lyric intensity Cyprian celebrates the consequent unity of the Church:

[1] *Ep.* xlv, 3; Hartel, ii, p. 602.

[2] *De Unitate*, v; Hartel, i, p. 214.

[3] On the interpolations in this famous chapter (iv) see Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 200 ff. The relations between Cyprian and the Roman see have been recently discussed by Koch, "Cyprian und der Römische Primat," in *Texte und Untersuch.*, 1910, Heft 1.

There is one Church which spreads itself out into a multitude (of churches), wider and wider in ever increasing fruitfulness; just as the sun has many rays but only one light, and a tree many branches yet only one heart, based in the clinging root; and while many rills flow off from a single fountain-head, although a multiplicity of waters is seen streaming away in diverse directions from the bounty of its abundant overflow, yet unity is preserved in the head-spring. Pluck a ray away from the sun's body! unity admits no division of light. Break a bough off a tree! once broken it will bud no more. Cut a rill off from the spring! the rill cut off dries up. So too the Church flooded with the light of the Lord flings rays over the whole world. Yet it is one light which diffuses itself everywhere; the unity of the body knows no partition. She reaches forth her boughs over the universal earth in the richness of her fertility, broadens ever more widely her bounteous flowing rivers, and still there is one head, one source, one mother, rich in ever succeeding births. Of her we are born; her milk our nurture, her breath our life.[1]

This high-strung plea was supported by Scriptural analogies, which illustrate the current methods of interpretation. The ark of Noah was a refuge outside which none could escape. The paschal lamb must be eaten in one house,[2] the flesh of Christ could only be eaten in the One Church. Even the harlot Rahab, whose home was to be spared at the fall of Jericho,[3] was pressed

[1] *De Unitate*, v; tr. Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 182.
[2] *Exod.* xii, 46. [3] *Josh.* ii, 19.

into the service as prefiguring the Church. The seamless robe of Jesus, the one flock, the dove-like form of the Spirit, were so many parables of unity and concord. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were one; who could believe that this unity, springing from divine strength and cohering in heavenly sacraments, could be divided by conflicting wills![1] Life and salvation lay in unity, and its visible bond was seen in the episcopate. Obedience to the bishops was the way to heaven.[2]

The emphasis with which this view was reiterated, backed by Cyprian's personal force and elevated position, secured for it enormous influence. It harmonized with the genius of Roman administration; it provided a remedy for a Church distracted by heresy and threatened with schism. It enabled Cyprian to conquer the opposition of his five hostile presbyters and their adherents, and to control the claims of the confessors. It expressed with the utmost force the result of a long development since the days of Ignatius, and it finally invested the bishop with the character and functions of priesthood. But it had its own dangers. The conception of Church unity had hardly been elaborated before it was in peril of being wrecked on the diversity of usage revealed in the controversy on the rebaptism of heretics. When bishops disagreed and ancient customs differed, how should they be reduced to harmony?

[1] *De Unitate*, vi–ix.

[2] *Ep.* iv, 4, supported again by *Deut.* xvii, 12–13.

What would have happened had not Stephen and Cyprian both suffered martyrdom in the height of a dispute?

The salvation of the believer was thus placed under the immediate control of the bishop. He could not indeed guarantee it. But he could frustrate it. The reconciliation of sinners lay in his hands. To readmit the offender was not to anticipate the divine judgment at the last Day; it did reinstate him in the possibility of future bliss. The certainty of damnation was lifted off him; the way was opened for the exercise of divine mercy. But exclusion from the Church meant unquestionable doom. The vast far-reaching prospects opened by Origen were closed in hopelessness. A terrible list of phrases describing the penal torments awaiting the unconverted and the impenitent can be readily compiled from Cyprian's writings.[1] No journey of the soul stretched through the ages to ultimate reunion with its Maker; the whole everlasting future was determined by the guilty present; the fate of the wicked was settled at the moment of departure from this world; there was no opportunity for subsequent repentance; death ended all alternatives; the lot of the sinner whom the bishop had refused to receive back to communion was irreversible.

[1] See Atzberger, *Geschichte der Christlichen Eschatologie* (1896), p. 539; "poena perpetua," "tormenta eterna," "gehennæ ignes," "flammæ," "ardores," "ardens semper gehenna," etc., make up the dismal prospect.

The position thus secured by the bishop is clearly illustrated in the "*Didascalia* (Teaching) of the Apostles," recently recovered in a Syriac version from the lost Greek original. It is assigned with confidence to the third century, but its place within that period is uncertain. It reflects the general movement to which Cyprian gave the most pointed expression, though its details do not show any direct influence from his phraseology.[1] With repeated emphasis the bishop is bidden to remember that he is appointed in the semblance of God Almighty. "Thus sit in the Church and teach as one that hath power to judge those that sin in the place of Almighty God."[2] He is to be honoured and feared as a Father and Lord and God next to Almighty God.[3] His flock is to regard him as the mouth of God: the king may wear a crown, but he reigns only over the body and can bind and loose only in this world. "The bishop reigns over both soul and body, that he may loose on the earth and bind in heaven by heavenly power."[4] To raise an evil report against him, therefore, either by word or deed, is to sin against God Almighty.[5] The frequent injunctions to pay the bishop due respect imply that his rule was not always acceptable, and might provoke resistance:

[1] Cp. the translation by Mrs. Gibson, *Horæ Semiticæ*, II (1903); and Achelis and Fleming, "Die ältesten Quellen des Orientalischen Kirchenrechts," *Texte und Untersuch.* (1904), Heft 2.

[2] *Didasc.* (Gibson), v, p. 28, cp. 48.

[3] Achelis and Fleming, *Texte und Untersuch.*, p. 31, 1, 12.

[4] *Didasc.* (Gibson), ix, p. 51.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Honour ye the Bishops who are able to loose you from sins, those who have begotten you anew by means of water, those who have filled you with the Holy Ghost, those who have nourished you with the Word as with milk, those who have established you with the doctrine of life, those who have confirmed you by admonition, and made you partakers in the holy Eucharist of God, and made you sharers and heirs of God's promise.

Grave were the responsibilities that thus lay upon them. Like the ancient Servant of the Lord, like Christ himself, they bore the sins of all men[1]; they must, therefore, avoid sin themselves. Their temptations were many; even warnings against drunkenness were needful.[2] Their control of the whole penitential system required that they should be absolutely impartial, not harsh or tyrannical on the one hand, nor open to gifts from the wicked on the other.[3] Those who sin must be judged with pity and mercy.[4] Permanent exclusion from the Church "kills evilly and bitterly for eternity," and an inconsiderate or unjust sentence would consign the judge as well as the guilty person to "cruel fire for ever."[5] But what if the bishop himself were the offender? "Avoid sin," runs the exhortation, "lest any man perish because of thee."[6] The ministry of an unfaithful representative of God imperilled others as well as him-

[1] *Didasc.* (Gibson), viii, p. 44.
[2] *Ibid.*, viii, p. 43.
[3] *Ibid.*, xii, p. 65; v, p. 27; xviii, p. 82.
[4] *Ibid.*, vi, p. 32.
[5] *Ibid.*, vi, p. 36.
[6] *Ibid.*, v, p. 34.

self. To Cyprian this was as obvious as that the baptism by heretics could not confer the new birth. Callixtus, indeed, had laid it down at Rome that a bishop's sin "even unto death" was no ground for his deposition.[1] But this was by no means accepted even in his own church. A significant case arose in Spain.[2] The bishops of Leon and Merida, Basilides and Martial, had obtained certificates in the Decian persecution exempting them from sacrifice: Basilides afterwards repented and resigned his charge. Martial was guilty also of association with an idolatrous burial club.[3] With the approval of neighbouring bishops their churches appointed others in their place. The guilty ministers, however, subsequently went to Rome, and induced Bishop Stephen to acknowledge them as still the lawful occupants of their old chairs. Upon this the Spanish churches appealed to Cyprian. The case was considered at his fourth Council, in the autumn of 254. Its decision under his guidance was unanimous. Not human counsel so much as divine commands determined the issue: no one with spot or blemish might approach to offer gifts to God.[4] The decision of Stephen was unhesitatingly reversed; his dignity was saved by the suggestion that he could not have been properly informed about the facts; his predecessor Cornelius, honoured by the Lord's condescension with martyrdom, together with absolutely all the

[1] Hippolyt., *Refutatio*, IX, xii.
[2] Cypr., *Ep.* lxvii.
[3] Cypr., *Ep.* lxvii, 6; Hartel, ii, p. 740.
[4] *Levit.* xxi, 17.

bishops throughout the whole world, had agreed that such men might be admitted to penitence but must be debarred from the honour of the priesthood.[1] The misconduct of an unworthy minister thus vitiated all his functions; it even involved the people who remained in communion with him in the contagion of guilt; the children of Israel were commanded to separate themselves from Korah and his associates; and in like manner the Lord's people must separate themselves from a sinful bishop.[2] Between sacramental efficiency and personal character Cyprian has no hesitation which to choose. The Church cannot see the salvation of its members endangered by the misconduct of a priest and judge set over them in the place of God.

The foundations of the Catholic Church were thus securely laid in sacrament and priesthood. Not yet, indeed, had it conquered the forces with which it had waged its long struggle. But the promise of victory is already in its grasp; its fulfilment will not be long delayed. In the two centuries which had elapsed since Christianity was carried beyond the limits of Palestine by its early missionaries, it had encountered many adversaries and assumed many different forms. Like other contemporary religions it proclaimed a doctrine of Salvation, and it possessed the immense advantage of being able also to proclaim a Saviour

[1] *Ep.* lxvii, 6; Hartel, ii, p. 741.
[2] *Ep.*, lxvii, 3; Hartel, ii, p. 737.

who had lived on earth, who had been born, had taught and laboured among men, had died and passed into the heavenly world. None of its rivals, though they might mourn the death and celebrate the resurrection of their god, could frame a creed which contained such words as "crucified under Pontius Pilate." The followers of Jesus were not ashamed to parade the fact that their Teacher had been executed as a rebel against Rome. In the forefront of their message they placed the greatest obstacle to belief; and unconscious of the difficulty faith rose supreme above it. But in doing so it planted itself securely on historic fact. With the Gospels in their hands the brethren within the Church could point to the actual source of their new life. There were the words in which he summoned them to mutual love and helpfulness; there was the record of his own march along the *via dolorosa* that led to the cross; there was the pathway opened into the new fellowship with the Father in heaven. The Church indeed existed before a line of the Gospels was written. But it owed to them the foundations of its teaching and the guarantee of its claims. Before the figure of the Crucified, Isis and Mithras, Attis and Adonis, slowly paled. The haze of myth enveloping them faded, and when it vanished nothing was left but empty air.

But this historic personality was capable of very various interpretations. Primitive Christianity, as displayed in the New Testament, exhibits no dogmatic uniformity. The reporter of

Peter in the Book of Acts differs widely from the Apostle Paul. The Christ of John discoursing at the last supper concerning the mystic fellowship of the Father, the Son, and the disciples, is presented on another plane than the Christ of Matthew seated on the mount and issuing the charter of the kingdom of heaven. The heirs of the Jerusalem community are driven into small and obscure groups entangled in the meshes of the ancient Law; the future lies with the great adventure which declares its function ended and its obligations annulled. But in shaking themselves free from Judaism the preachers of the Gospel carried with them two of its most important products. The Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms,[1] representing the three divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures, became the authority for their doctrine and the foundation of their worship. They redeemed Christianity from the charge of illicit novelty, and brought it into a scheme of time and purpose embracing the whole history of the world. Philosophy might reach the conception of the unity of man; the Church, in possession of the Scriptures, actually showed his origin fresh from his Maker's hand. And as it could tell the secret of his creation, so it could also unfold the mystery of his destiny. Christianity passed into the Empire charged with the message of impending doom. The coming judgment, the disappearance of the existing scene, the resurrection to the joys of

[1] *Luke* xxiv, 44.

heaven or the pains of hell, the reign of the saints and the victory over the devil, which formed the immediate outlook of the first generations of believers, were all derived from the religion into which Jesus was born.

On the other hand Christianity was naturally obliged to adapt itself to the Hellenic culture into which it was transplanted. There it was confronted with new conceptions of the Deity, new modes of interpreting his action in the spheres of nature and of man. When one of the leading ideas of current philosophy was applied to the person of Jesus in his character of "the Christ, the Son of God," the expectations hitherto connected with the notion of the Messiah were profoundly modified. The presuppositions of the higher Greek theology combined with the Jewish view of "One God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ" to produce a fresh construction of the Godhead, which culminated in the doctrine of the three Persons in one Substance. But this found no place in the early Rule of Faith. Different types of Monarchian teaching held their ground side by side, and the succession indicated by the three names, Ebion, Artemas, and Paul,[1] proved that for two

[1] Ebion, supposed to have been the founder of the "Ebionites," see p. 74. Artemas, the successor of Theodotus at Rome, p. 133, Paul (of Samosata) the most famous heretic of the third century, minister of Queen Zenobia of Palmyra, and bishop of Antioch; deposed after Zenobia's defeat by Aurelian, 272. These were designated the Fathers of the Arians; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Vol. iv (Engl. transl.), p. 212.

hundred years humanitarian views of the nature of Jesus had claimed the shelter of the Christian name. With an opposite tendency the Gnostic sects removed him altogether from the actual scene, and ascribed to him only a phantom body which suffering and death could never touch. The question of the Saviour's person, however, was less pressing than that of the nature and process of salvation; what it effected for the believer, and by what means. The two great sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, were soon set in the light of the mystery-cults of Greece, Egypt, and the East, and the sanctity of an exclusive priesthood gradually enveloped them. Dogmatic uniformity, however, there was none. The Canon of the New Testament was still unfixed. Origen was not afraid to point out grave discrepancies between the Fourth Gospel and its predecessors. As a great teacher he could still claim the aid of philosophy. With prophetic confidence in the victory of good he looked forward to the ultimate conversion of the powers of evil into servants of God. Ritual and custom vary from land to land. The position of sinners who have been unfaithful to their baptismal vow becomes perilous. Discipline is stringent in one church, and lax in another. The privileges claimed by martyrs and the rights acquired by church-officers are brought at last into open conflict; and the salvation of the sinner is hedged round with the practice of penitence. But the relation of the sacraments to the faith and

character of the priest is still undetermined; and important moral issues as well as significant metaphysical problems still await their settlement.

At the opening of the third century Christianity stands at the parting of the ways. Not yet is it converted into a closely knit dogmatic system or a rigid scheme of ecclesiastical rule. It has produced a wide variety of teaching and usage, will it insist on reducing them to uniformity, or will it be able to conciliate freedom and authority, and recognize beneath external diversity the presence of a common Spirit through which "God fulfils himself in many ways?" The answer was wrought out in succeeding centuries by the Catholic Church, and the genius of Augustine swayed its thought and inspired its devotion, while it converted to its own use the organization of the Empire which had been first its persecutor and then its benefactor. Marvellous indeed is the story of Latin Christianity. Its thinkers essay the stupendous task of organizing all human knowledge, as its rulers attempt to administer human life. It builds the cathedrals, it creates liturgies of penitence, it composes hymns of praise. It cultivates waste places, and plants centres of learning and piety from land to land. It promotes the ideals of chivalry, and possesses a unique power of making saints. It calls art to its aid, and Giotto awakes the imagination and guides the hand of Italy to become the teacher of the North. It bids Dante make the great ascent from hell to heaven, and

picture in immortal verse the meaning of sin and recovery and holiness. The new learning arises and Erasmus stands on one side and Luther and Calvin on the other; but Rome does not fall by her corruption or her losses; with dauntless vigour she sends out her missionaries to the East and to the West, and raises the cross in continent and island round the globe. She possesses the cohesion of a mighty fabric of thought and discipline, within whose bounds intellect and impulse may yet find wide ranges of expression and activity. Her great tradition of doctrine and worship enshrines the experience of innumerable minds which have found within its shelter strength and peace. If she has kindled the hatred of her opponents by her pretensions and her crimes, she has also generated the undying love of the believers who have accepted her guidance and found in her their salvation.

The Reformation was rather a moral challenge than an intellectual revolt. Its causes, as in all movements that shake existing order, were complex, religious, political, economic. It was led by great personalities, but it lacked great thinkers. Their outlook was inevitably bounded by their time; they did not realize the fundamental problems in the philosophy of religion, such as the nature and scope and method of revelation, the character and limits of authority, the necessity of co-ordinating belief with widening knowledge and clearer moral insight. In spite of occasional protest the

dogma of the inerrancy of the Scriptures brooded for three centuries over popular Protestantism, and while freedom of enquiry was repressed sects multiplied, and different types of polity arose to give shape to varying conceptions of the Church. The last century, as we all know, has witnessed a mighty change. Fresh influences have modified the traditional theology. The whole inner history of man, like the story of his physical frame, has been re-written. Upon the human nature once deemed hopelessly corrupt arose a philosophy which discovered the foundations of religion in the judgments of reason, the witness of the conscience, the sentiments of the soul. While science indefinitely enlarged the range of the universe in space and time beyond the biblical limits, the application of the principles of morality to the Divine government undid the cruder forms of the doctrine of the Atonement, and dispersed the dreadful shadow of eternal alienation from the love of God. The great religions of the East rose slowly into view, presenting worships of immemorial antiquity, resting on mighty aggregates of sacred books, and exhibiting a whole series of new answers to the perpetual questions that emerge out of the relations of God, the world, and man. Here were subtle philosophies, missionary enthusiasms, ethical teachings, types of character and devotion, that have ruled empires for whole millenniums, sometimes bearing surprising resemblances to the varied products of

Christianity. The doctrine of exclusive salvation could be maintained no more. In the immense process of human development religion takes its place all the world over as a guiding power. Its forms cannot of course be all of equal value, but in their totality they constitute the witness of man to his need of God, and the fellowship of God in the ascent of man.

Over this broad historic field rises, purified and enlarged, the noble conception of Augustine, the *eruditio* or education of the race. In this, among the Western nations, Christianity, by its unrivalled capacity for absorbing fresh impulses and thus renewing its inner life, has played the leading part. The historical method, which has been applied by a succession of laborious scholars ever since the revival of learning to the great cultures of classical antiquity, could not be withheld from the literature and institutions of Israel. It advanced in due course to the study of the life and work of Christ. It has sought to reconstruct the religious and social order in the midst of which he taught, and determine his relation to the beliefs and expectations of his people. It has attempted to trace the origins of the Gospels, and account for the different types of experience which the documents of the early Church exhibit. Such investigations need the associated endeavours of many minds. They are rightly pursued from various points of view, and their issues must be variously appraised. The one condition is that their

results shall not be forced into unreal conformity with the dogmas of the past. They are already profoundly transforming ancient modes of thought. But they are also visibly setting free for fresh triumphs those mighty energies of faith and hope and love which constitute God's great gift to the world, "the Spirit of life in Jesus Christ."

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