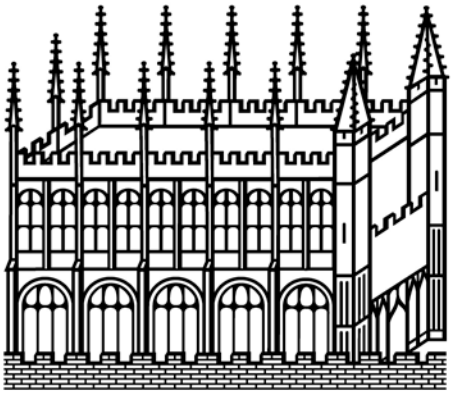

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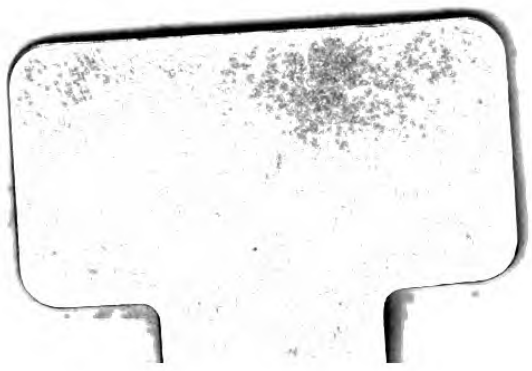

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THE

EARLY DOCTRINAL SYSTEM OF THE CHURCH

OR

PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION OF THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES

By DAVID MILNE, M.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE DISPENSATIONS'

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Γνῶσις ἀληθὴς, ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχή· καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύστημα κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, κ.τ.λ.

IREN. iv. 33, 8.

Τὴν γνωστικὴν οἰκοδομὴν (1 Cor. iii. 10–13) κἀν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ αἰνισσόμενός φησιν (Rom. i. 11; xv. 29) . . . τὸ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα καὶ τὴν γνωστικὴν παράδοσιν, ἣν μεταδοῦναι αὐτοῖς παρὼν παροῦσι ποθεῖ.

CLEMENT'S *Strom.* v. 4 and 10.

*** *A Synopsis of Contents will be found at* page cxxxvii.

PREFACE.

IT has been observed that instruction systematically imparted is more permanent than that which is merely desultory. Thus a correct and comprehensive understanding of a subject as a system fits not only to expound the system but also to direct those preliminary studies which lead to this comprehensive survey and to ground disciples. Perhaps, when that which is full-grown is come, such a comprehensive system may commend itself to the general consciousness of mankind (1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25) as the true exposition of Christianity; if this truth were placed alongside of the rival theories which at present leaven the teaching of different denominations of Christians and prevent the subject from being properly taught in schools, perhaps a basis of Christian union might be found. But we must take heed how we build or teach a system (1 Cor. iii. 10); all experience shows how difficult it is to dislodge a system of error which has fully established itself in a mind, a Church, or a country. The vials of God's judgment seem to be poured out in the atmosphere of religious thought. There is a general aversion to clear up the sources from which the system has sprung, or to examine more carefully the

roots of thought so as to distinguish what are sober-minded first principles from transcendental fancies. Ordinary men, as in Isaiah's time, excuse themselves because they are not learned; and learned men say that the book is sealed, that is, that it is a hopeless waste of time to try to understand its mysteries although they are *revealed.* Reactions ensue; and men, trained to prove the old but ill-prepared for its passing away, have a tendency to range themselves, as in Plutarch's time, into the two extremes of an irrational bigotry and a hopeless infidelity.

Christians might find a basis of union in the teaching of the Primitive Fathers while yet the Church was undivided. No sect is surely so blindly opposed to all tradition as not to acknowledge that all Christian teaching was first a tradition, or so ignorant of Church History as not to know that a general consent as to the most important principles bound the Early Church together. This treatise professes to reconstruct, from the records of the first two centuries, the primitive system or wisdom which was discoursed among the full-grown before the circulation of the Scriptures. The subjects have occupied the Author's mind since he was a student of Theology nearly thirty years ago. For nearly seven years his leisure time has been devoted to the study of these subjects and the writing of his book on the 'Philosophy of the Dispensations and the Theology of the First Two Centuries.' The long Introductory Outline of the book has been expanded into a Compendium of Theology, and

may now be had as a separate treatise under the title of 'The Early Doctrinal System of the Church, or Philosophical Tradition of the First Two Centuries.' He has had many assurances from eminent patristic scholars, and leading clergymen (e.g. Canon Farrar), as to the great importance of showing what the Primitive Fathers 'really meant and really said,' and as to the good which such 'studies, if conducted in a truth-loving spirit, are calculated to do.' He was recommended to publish his researches by Professor Robert Flint of Edinburgh, who very naturally reserved his judgment as to the positions maintained, and by one of our most eminent professors of philosophy, who considered 'the mode in which the philosophical questions at issue are discussed to be just and pertinent.' The aged and learned Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Harold Browne) expresses his sympathy with the purpose of the book, namely, to 'bring out clearly and simply the belief of the primitive ages on these great questions,' and although he could not 'endorse opinions without thoroughly going over the ground,' yet he thinks that the author has 'fairly stated the views of these Fathers on the questions of free will, predestination, &c.,' and that other matters have been 'all gone into carefully and honestly.' To another dignitary of the Church of England the outline 'appears carefully, faithfully, and impartially done.' According to the Early Fathers, the Biblical records are 'the Lord's Scripture and Voice' (Clement); and the reader will be able to compare the accuracy of these records with the accuracy

of some modern critics of the Old Testament. 'I think what you have said of Professor Robertson Smith very good,' writes Professor Stanley Leathes; 'I have been lately reading his book, and am astonished at the unwarrantable conclusions he draws from the most slender premises.' 'The Philosophy' has been characterised by 'The Academy' as a well-planned and well-intended book, and recommended by 'The Scotsman' to clergymen and others interested in the subjects treated of. The Author desires to have his work criticised and its imperfections pointed out; he would willingly co-operate with others who think that some of our modern traditional theories need improvement; and he trusts that he will receive the support as well as the sympathy of those who desire that the doctrinal system of the Primitive Church should be clearly and simply brought out, and who approve of the circulation of this Compendium. He cherishes the hope that other students may find in what he has done some assistance to bring out these early beliefs more clearly and simply, and thus assist ordinary Christians to obtain a fuller grasp of the faith they profess.

which these might readily mistake (1 Cor. iii. 2), were neither ignorant of the higher branches precise theology nor jealously guarding an *esoter* doctrine; and if they spoke among the perfect a *explanatory* wisdom which they did not write, they wou unfold it to the presidents of the churches even mo

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EARLY DOCTRINAL SYSTEM OF THE CHURCH,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CRITICAL THEORY.

THE common basis of Christianity is the teaching of its founders; and if it could be demonstratively shown what was the meaning which the apostles themselves put upon their own writings, we should have in this the true exposition of the Christian faith. When the Gnostics imagined that they had advanced to a more perfect 'knowledge' than that of the apostles, on whom the Church was founded, the early fathers repudiated this as a foolish conceit. 'Could it be,' said Irenæus, 'that Peter (and the rest of the apostles) had not yet the perfect knowledge, but that it was afterwards discovered by these men? Then the apostles had need to live again and go to school to these people, that they too may be made perfect. But this is surely ridiculous' (Iren. iii. 12, 7); 'it can never be right to say that they preached before they had the perfect knowledge' (iii. 1, 1). If they withheld from the untrained a wisdom which these might readily mistake (1 Cor. iii. 2), they were neither ignorant of the higher branches of a precise theology nor jealously guarding an *esoteric* doctrine; and if they spoke among the perfect an *explanatory* wisdom which they did not write, they would unfold it to the presidents of the churches even more

than to the others, and the agreement of the tradition in different churches would be a convincing proof of its genuineness and authenticity (Iren. iii. 3, 1 ; 4, 1).

I. We do not find in the early Christian fathers a fully developed system of theology, but the elements of a system scattered (1) through epistles written to the brethren, (2) in exhortations or apologies addressed to the heathen, (3) in books explaining the Old Testament and connected with the Jewish controversy, and (4) in their refutations of the Gnostic perversions. Barnabas, an early writer, expounds the Old Testament in the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews ; and by initiating his readers into the meaning of the law as well as of 'the parable of the Lord,' he endeavours to guard them against all iniquity, against a new Judaism and the final stumbling-block (c. 1, 3, 6). Justin, martyr and philosopher, born about A.D. 100, gives us, in his two apologies and in his dialogue with the Jew Trypho, much important information. Being well acquainted with the different schools of philosophy and spending his life as an itinerant teacher, he had the best means of knowing what was the faith and practice of Christians both in his own and preceding times. His honesty, fairness, love of truth and care to avoid rash statements, are conspicuous in his works.

Hegesippus, whose Notes were known to Eusebius, and who flourished during the reigns of Hadrian and the two Antonines (A.D. 117–180), relates that the Church continued pure till the apostles and those privileged to hear them had passed away ; that afterwards false teachers were no longer obliged to skulk in dark retreats, but thenceforth attempted, without shame, to pervert the sound teaching of the saving gospel (Eus. iii. 32).

The early fathers repeatedly tell us that these perversions bore a plausible resemblance to the truth; that they were a *seeming* knowledge; that St. Paul (1 Cor. viii.) guarded his converts against this semblance of knowledge, but not against a real, well-founded, sober-minded knowledge, which has power or a tendency to edify and promote love; that the Gnostics were losing the food by grasping at the shadow of it (Iren. ii. 11, 1; iii. 15, 2; Clem. S. i. 11; vii. 15). We are astonished, on the one hand, at the strange enigmas which they brought in, at their heathen or magical rites, and their wonderful angelology; and, on the other hand, at their strange perversions of the doctrines of grace. Even in St. John's time there were many Antichrists (2 John 7); and Irenæus saw in the Gnostics precursors of the great Antichristian apostasy (Iren. iii. 15; ii. 31, 3). They misunderstood or perverted the Scriptures or the teaching of the Church. Thus, under the pretext of a knowledge too deep to be divulged, they brought in an infinite God, who causes all, and to whom all actions are, therefore, indifferent. Again, because our Lord 'acted the saving drama of humanity,' because He exhibited to us by parabolic actions the way of life, it does not follow that He was not a real but a phantom man. Again, because He pleased God by doing good to men, because, in ritual language, He propitiated God in our behalf, this is a *sign* or symbol that we too must please God by crucifying the flesh and doing good to others; that in this way the blots left by past sins on the soul will be undone when the Holy Spirit is communicated permanently, or when the Divine Nature comes to be formed in us so as to cover the soul (Iren. iv. 12, 5; 36, 6); but not, as the Marcosians supposed, that, our case

being one with the Ransom, we are free to do as we like, being out of the power of the Judge and screened from His sight in the judgment (Iren. i. 13, 6). We are saved by faith, when we look into the meaning of the law and 'the Lord's parable,' and practise this meaning; but we are not, as Basilides and Marcion supposed, saved by faith apart from conduct (i. 24, 5; 27, 3). God does not need our works, but men need them, and we ourselves need them for the formation of the new nature, which is not given apart from conduct or voluntary choice, as Valentinus supposed; for then there would be nothing to distinguish it from physical nature or mere instinct (Clem. S. ii. 3). Again, because a certain knowledge of good and evil belongs to the idea of man, because some experience of evil serves to generate ideas of right and wrong, as sweet is known by sour or light by darkness, and to develop stable character (Iren. iv. 39), the followers of Carpocrates seem to have concluded that it was incumbent on them to experience or practise all evil as well as all good; and, though Irenæus could not believe that they went to this extreme of impiety, yet he found in their books a tradition to this effect, which they professed to have derived from Jesus and His apostles (Iren. i. 25). Again, the Holy Spirit is given to men as a new inspiration; but we must not think of this as 'a part of God,' or suppose, as the Montanists did, that the gift is an irrational possession of the soul (S. v. 13). Again, because salvation is all of grace, inasmuch as God does not need our works, but gives the means as well as the result, it does not follow that man's freedom of choice is superseded, or that God's light and operation are forced upon men.

It was to disprove these perversions by placing along-

side of them the truth (*apposita veritata*, Iren. iii. 2) that many eminent Christian teachers, 'whose orthodoxy of sound faith had descended in writing' to Eusebius, took pains to collect the early Christian tradition and to expound it in a more scientific manner (λογικώτερον). Hegesippus, Irenæus, and Clement of Alexandria found the same tradition among the overseers of the churches, wherever they travelled; and although the Notes of Hegesippus and many other treatises are lost, yet in the great work of Irenæus against Heresies,[1] and in the works of Clement,[2] we appear to have the substance of them all. Irenæus had, in his early youth, listened to elders who had not only seen the aged John but others of the apostles, and to the disciples of those who had seen them (Iren. ii. 22, 5 &c.). He had treasured up the sayings of Polycarp, who had been appointed by the apostles to be bishop for (εἰς) Asia, and who was martyred A.D. 168 in extreme old age. The work of Irenæus was written, as Harvey shows, between A.D. 182 and 188. Thus early have we 'a clear-headed, considerate, and philosophical theologian' (Hase, Guerike), who took the greatest pains to investigate not only the tradition of the Church, but also the Gnostic semblances of knowledge. Clement of Alexandria, also, originally a heathen philosopher and a man of immense learning, travelled extensively in Greece, Southern Italy, Egypt, and the East, to collect the traditional 'knowledge' from eminent teachers, who

[1] Besides the translation of Irenæus in Clark's Series, there is an excellent translation by the poet Keble in the Oxford library of the Fathers.

[2] The two volumes of Wilson's translation of Clement in Clark's Series are here denoted C[1] and C[2], the Stromata or Miscellanies by S. The treatise of Clement, entitled: *What Rich Man is Saved?* is translated in Clark's Ante-Nicene Library at the end of the Second Volume of Lactantius.

professed to deliver it to him as they had received it by transmission from the apostles. His researches in these countries were made before he succeeded his master Pantænus in the Catechetical school of Alexandria, that is, before about A.D. 189; and his Stromata or Miscellanies are supposed to have been published about A.D. 194.

II. *The Early Church Tradition was proved to be well-founded by its oneness and its harmony with Scripture.* Irenæus and Clement lived in a transitional age, and were profoundly acquainted both with the more learned Christian tradition, which was fading away, and with the New Instrument, as Tertullian calls the writings of the New Testament. Irenæus tells us of the wisdom which St. Paul spake among the full-grown, i.e. 'those having received the Spirit of God, and speaking in all languages (comp. Just. Ap. ii. 6; Dial. 35), as he (Paul) himself also used to speak; as we also hear (*Lat.* have heard) many brethren in the Church, who have prophetic gifts and speak by the Spirit in all kinds of tongues, and bring into clearness the hidden things of men as expediency requires, and expound the mysteries of God' (v. 6, 1). Long before the apostolic Scriptures were circulated, the faith was traditionally handed down all over the civilised world; 'wisdom' did not surely cease to be spoken among the full-grown after St. Paul's death; charity was to be an unfailing gift; but St. Paul's prediction that extraordinarily communicated and one-sided prophesyings and knowledge would be done away, and that 'tongues' would cease (1 Cor. xiii. 8) was beginning to be fulfilled. Irenæus protested against the attempts to monopolise the Spirit of prophecy (iii. 11, 9), and asserts that he who reads the Scriptures intently,

using what helps the presbyters of the Church could give, will learn how far the man loving God will improve, and will be a perfect or full-grown disciple (iv. 26). Such a spiritual man does not change the primary teaching (iv. 9, 2), but by pointing out to what *character* (aspect) of the Lord's arrangement each prophetic utterance belongs, and by exhibiting the *entire body* of the work of the Son of God, he will harmonise and expound the Scriptures (iv. 33, 15). The following passage from Irenæus exhibits both the traditional and the Scriptural sources of 'knowledge.' 'True knowledge (*gnosis*) is (1) the teaching of the apostles, and (2) the primitive system (*τὸ ἀρχαίον σύστημα*) of the Church in the whole world, and (3) the character of Christ's Body according to the successions of bishops to whom they everywhere committed the Church; and it (*quæ*, true knowledge) has come down even to us, guarded without any fabrication (*fictione*) of writings by a very full *handling* (*tractatione*), and admitting (*recipiens*) neither of addition nor diminution; and (it is) a (1) reading without falsification; and (2) an exposition according to the Scriptures, ruled by laws, painstaking, without peril and without blasphemy; and (3) the most eminent gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, and more exalted than all other gifts' (iv. 33, 8). The *very full handling* may either refer to the very comprehensive treatment of the subject or to the laying on of hands, which the apostles practised when they imparted 'The Perfect Bread of the Father,' or the strong meat (iv. 38, 2), or to their putting the deposit or the Episcopate into *the hands* (*ἐνεχείρισαν*) of successors (iii. 3, 3), who, however, had no authority to utter anything different or abate aught of the tradition (i. 10,

2). Clement of Alexandria repeatedly asserts that in his time the Church possessed a 'philosophical tradition' (ἡ γνωστικὴ παράδοσις), that is, a tradition of the wisdom which the apostles had spoken among the full-grown; that it is not essentially (esoterically) different from the common faith which the apostle calls the *foundation* and *milk*; that it is this milk solidified (coagulated) and compacted into a system (S. v. 4; 10; vi. 7; Pæd. i. 6); that Christ is both the foundation and the superstructure (S. vii. 10); that 'as the teaching of all (πάντων) the apostles was one, so also the tradition' (S. vii. 17). Clement found few who had received this theoretical tradition; and deeming these 'ancestral and apostolic seeds to be in danger of escaping,' incorporated his Notes of them in his Miscellanies (S. 1, 1). It remains that (ἐντεῦθεν) we should exercise our minds in knowledge or wisdom so as to acquire a habit of reflective survey (ἕξιν θεωρίας, S. vi. 7). The toiler for truth, he says, will not desist from the search till he gets the demonstration from the Scriptures themselves. Certainly we use 'the Lord's Scripture and Voice' as a criterion or test; it is the surest or rather only demonstration. Those, therefore, who have merely tasted of the Scriptures are believers; and those who have advanced further to an accurate and skilled acquaintance with them have knowledge (S. vii. 16) and become identified with it (C [2] 157).

Two eminent men, Tertullian and Origen, whose writings belong to the first part of the third century rather than to the second century, mark, each in his own way, the commencement of a new epoch in theology. Tertullian 'followed Irenæus and sometimes translated from him' (Bp. Wordsworth). 'His writings,' says Dr.

Holmes in his preface to the treatise against Marcion, 'show that he flourished at the time specified by Jerome, that is, during the reigns of Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, or between the years A.D. 193 and 216.' Some conjecture that he died A.D. 220, and others A.D. 245. He was a man of great learning but of fervid and impatient temperament; and, owing either to what Neander calls 'the internal congeniality of his mind,' or to his impetuous reaction against Gnostic errors and loose discipline, he looked for 'the coming of that which is full-grown,' not in a more truly philosophical understanding, not in the leavening of man's entire life through the Spirit, but in 'bare faith,' in the inspiration, celibacy and fasting of the Montanists. An unknown Early Father (Eus. v. 16, 17) describes these prophets as beginning in voluntary ignorance, as quite disregarding the Lord's distinction (unlike Irenæus), as courting and giving full sway to a possession and ecstasy beside themselves (ἐν κατοχῇ τινὶ καὶ παρεκστάσει), as carried away into frenzied, unseasonable, unbefitting, and illegitimate utterances. 'In ecstasy, a prophet should not speak' (Miltiades). Origen, again, was a man eminent for his self-denying virtues and for his encyclopædic learning. Following his own peculiar genius for speculation or allegorising, and 'despising,' says Vincentius Lirinensis, 'the traditions of the Church and the guidance of the ancients,' he was carried, in some of his fancies, 'far beyond the limits prescribed by Clement' (Bp. Wordsworth). In his book on First Principles, written in his immature youth, he presumes that created beings are limited in number and magnitude; that as the Creator cannot consistently create an infinite, His power must thus be finite. He speaks of the Word as 'generated in a timeless present, an eternal now;' he

throws out ideas about the consignment of fallen spirits to certain bodies as penitentiaries, about the possibly remedial nature of future punishments; and goes so far as to suggest that those oppressive powers, which the apostles call the devil and his angels, may come to have free will and be saved. The gradual introduction into the theology of the Church, on the one hand, of a narrow dogmatism limiting the gift of prophecy to certain prophets or priests, setting aside Christian freedom or misrepresenting the nature of the Spirit's work; and, on the other hand, of a speculative metaphysic, soaring beyond what God has made subject to human knowledge, may perhaps be dated from these two great men.

The early fathers clearly taught that 'the Scriptures are the true utterances of the Holy Spirit' (Clem. Rom. i. 45); that 'the Scriptures are indeed perfect as being uttered by God's Word and His Spirit;' but we, in such measure as we are less than, and (novitiates) far behind God's Word and Spirit, are in so far wanting also in the knowledge of His mysteries (Iren. ii. 28, 2). 'Matthew might have said, *the birth of Jesus was on this wise;* but the Holy Spirit foreseeing corrupters . . . . saith by Matthew, *the birth of Christ was on this wise* (iii. 16, 2). It was the same men who once preached the Gospel and afterwards by the will of God handed down to us the Scriptures to be the ground and pillar of our faith' (iii. 1, 1). 'Jeremiah, or rather,' says Clement, 'the Holy Spirit in Jeremiah (xxiii. 24), exhibits God' (Exh. 8). 'I could adduce ten thousand scriptures, of which not one tittle shall pass away without being fulfilled; for the mouth of the Lord, the Holy Spirit, hath spoken these things' (Exh. 9). 'The prophets alone knew and taught the truth . . . . declaring those things alone which they saw and heard when filled with the Holy Ghost' (Just. Dial. 7); if any Scripture appears contradictory to another, it is because we do not understand its meaning (D. 65). But what was supernaturally revealed is to unfold itself to the rational consciousness through reflection and study;

Christianity is not perfected by the perpetuated visions and frenzied utterances of Montanists (Neander).

The early fathers indicate THREE STAGES OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, in the fullest sense of the word. The first is the assent of faith ; the second is the fuller understanding or enlightened exposition of divine things, knowledge properly so called ; and the third, the training of a man's whole turn of mind, life, and speech—the *character* which is in harmony with his knowledge and confesses it in the life. The first stage of knowledge is the reception of those 'facts, dogmatic germs and hints, which constituted the first deposit of the Christian faith.' The second is the accurate exposition of the Scriptures or of the first deposit, an exposition to be carried on cautiously and legitimately so as not to overthrow the basis of all belief. Thirdly, as falsehood is not dissipated by the bare presentation of the truth, but by the practical improvement (*χρήσει*) of it, our Lord requires self-discipline (*συνάσκησις*), as well as understanding, when He returns to reckon with His servants concerning the deposit ; and He is ready to increase out of His abundance the good things which He has distributed, working in them new habits of body and mind, and that philanthropy and love of excellence for its own sake, which is the consummation of knowledge. Clement elsewhere speaks of the reception of the deposit as the first taste of the Scriptures ; secondly, of an accurate exposition or fuller understanding of the Scriptures, which was to be attained by careful research, but which he believed had also been by the apostles imparted unwritten to a few, who were capable of profiting by it, and transmitted till it had reached him ; and thirdly, he connects this full knowledge with godliness (*θεοσέβεια*), for God only can teach men so as to make them like Himself, or write this knowledge on their hearts as on a new book. The only royal road to knowledge is : Seek and ye shall find. When, therefore, Clement was induced by his friends to write, for the benefit of posterity, this Gnostic tradition, that it might not be lost, he wrote 'Miscellanies,' the scattered elements of a system, and in a style by

no means plain, that those who were worthy seekers might be exercised by the pursuit of it, and that those might not handle it who, through their want of intelligence, their perversity, or their contentiousness, were likely to get injury and not good.[1]

According to the early fathers, THE SPHERE OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, properly so called, is to explain and harmonise the Scriptures, and, in so doing, to build on what is plain and open to the understanding. The healthy, cautious, and truth-loving mind will exercise itself in the things which God has put within the power of man's knowledge and make progress in them. It will not go beyond the limits of human thought into transcendental questionings[2] about God's physical infinity, or about the cause of that choice, through which some acquire an evil or demoniac nature ; it will leave such subjects to God, since no Scripture declares them. In this way, we shall build on what *we* at least ought to recognise as the first principles of existing things and not on mere words or mere fancies about things beyond our comprehension and not revealed. Well-founded knowledge and sound speech serve to edify and to minister grace ; but a knowledge founded on fancies or mere words, not on the first principles of what man can know, is the semblance, not the reality, of knowledge. Secondly, when that which is perfect is come, we shall not have another foundation, but a fuller understanding of the mystery. Accordingly, we must not explain difficult passages so as to subvert the basis of all belief in God or the theistic position of Christianity. God made man like Himself, rational and in his own power, having free choice (Iren. iv. 4, 3 ; 38, 4), and, on the other hand, God is like man in these respects (S. vi. 9). We must also consider 'what is the perfectly befitting character of Him who is the Lord God' (C[2] 478). If God created men, intending to torment or deceive His workmanship, how could we believe in what He reveals? Miracles might then be wrought for the purpose of deceiving. Thirdly, we must distinguish things

[1] Iren. iv. 26 ; 3, 5 ; 33, 8. Clem. S. i. 1, 12 ; iv. 2 ; vi. 7 ; 15 C[2] 339, 371, 377, 381 ; vii. 10 Exh. 8, 9 C[1] 76, 82.

[2] Supra sentiunt quam est mensura sensationis. Iren. v. 20, 2 ; Rom. xii. 3.

that differ, so as not to take in a literal sense what is metaphorical, or conversely. Ambiguities may arise from God's different modes of teaching men; but we must not expound such difficult passages by blaspheming the Creator or by making a still greater difficulty. It is one God who made temporal things (the things of sense) for man's sake, that man might grow to maturity, and who also brings in eternal things, that He may show the riches of His grace. Fourthly, it belongs to Christian knowledge to explain the dispensations, their connection (ἀκολουθία), their differences and their unity or agreement—how both the law of Moses and the grace of the New Testament were suited to the times and for the good of men—to work out (προσεργάζεσθαι) the things spoken in parables, and fit them to the foundation; to explain why God made some things earthly and temporal, and others heavenly and eternal; why, though invisible, He manifested Himself to different prophets in different ways; why the Son of God took flesh and suffered; why He did so in the last times; what is said about the end and about things to come; and what is meant by such passages as Rom. ix. 25, xi. 32; Eph. iii. 6; 1 Cor. xv. 54.[1]

III. *THE CONNECTION OF THE DISPENSATIONS*, their orderly succession (ἀκολουθία) and harmony formed an *early church canon or rule* for reconciling dogmas and opening up the Scriptures (C² 377, 379, 481, 483). The first elders taught that the spiritual man judges error by its inconsistency, that God is constant, and His greater gifts consistent with His past dealings (Iren. iv.). Thus (1) THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION does not set aside probation. That dispensation which precedes is fitted to prepare men for some advanced stage or rank, which is to follow, and which those who have been taught of God and *have learned* (John vi. 45) attain. Clement (S. i. 5, 19; vi. 8) asserted that the philosophical

[1] Irenæus, i. 10, 3; ii. 10, 1; 27, 28; iii. 12, 12; iv. 9, 2. Clem. Strom. i. 11; ii. 11; vii. 16 C², 478, 481.

elements of the heathen world did not arise from mere chance or from demoniac operation, but that both these and the Jewish elements, the Mosaic Law, were intended to train men beforehand for Christ. There were, he says, not only among the Jews but among the Gentiles those who were fitted (ἐπιτήδειοι) for conversion; and to such, even in Hades, the gospel was preached (S. vi. 6). 'God came to call men, not according to respect of persons, but according as the Spirit had prepared them' (Bar. c. 19). These writers taught that men were first placed under a preparatory discipline, and that those on whom this discipline produced the intended result were predestined to be conformed to the image of God's Son; that they were the elect, known or recognised by God before Christ appeared; that such as feared God and were anxious about His law ran to Christ 'and were all saved' (Iren. iv. 2, 7); and that those who did not learn came to serve a baser purpose.

God's purpose according to election appears from the following passages. When our Lord said: 'All that the Father giveth Me shall come unto Me. No man can come unto Me except the Father draw him.' He added, according to the Revised Version, 'It is written in your law, "And they shall all be taught of God." Everyone that hath heard of the Father and hath learned cometh unto Me' (John vi. 37, 44, 45). It is not said that everyone that hears learns, or that the taught of God have been forced to consent to learn, or that the drawn may not pluck themselves out of God's hands. 'Our Lord, the Word of God,' said Irenæus (iv. 13, 4), 'first drew men as slaves to God, and afterwards set free those who are subject to Him' (John xv. 15). The Revised Version explains other passages. Thus, 'the Lord added to them (or together) day by day those that were being saved' (Acts ii. 47); or, 'such as were in the way of salvation' (Dean Alford). 'God chose you from the beginning,' or, as in the margin of Revised Version,

'as a first-fruits unto salvation' (2 Thess. ii. 13); and who those chosen were appears from Eph. i. 3–13, if we omit the long parenthesis, verses 7, 8, 9, 10, and connect the words that precede it, 'in the Beloved,' with those that follow it, 'in Him' (I say) 'in whom.' St. Paul repeats what he said before the parenthesis, and tells us that those predestined to be to the praise of God's glory are 'we who before hoped in Christ' (v. 12, Rev. Ver.). The law of Moses and the elements of the world were schooling men to 'hope before in Christ,' the Hope of Israel and the Desire of all nations. But if the vessels which were being prepared for this became through human freedom marred, they might be employed for another purpose for which they had become fitted (Rom. ix. 22). 'As many as were *ordained* (τεταγμένοι) unto eternal life believed' (Acts xiii. 48). But it is not said how these men came to be so *disposed*; and the word might equally well be translated *trained up in order for, equipped or prepared for.* The Scriptures never say that before each man is born or has made his (self-determining) choice, God foreknows what he will do. God *foreknew* 'men of well-pleasing' (Rom. viii. 28, 29, 30; 1 Pet. i. 1, 2; Luke ii. 14, Rev. Ver.), that is, according to Calvin, Alford, Fausset, &c., He *fore-owned, fore-acknowledged, fore-recognised-as-His, fore-cared for* such men; as He never *knew* workers of iniquity (Matt. vii. 23). The ninth and eleventh chapters of Romans (with Gal. i. 5; iv. 21–31; 1 Pet. ii. 8; Is. xlv. 7; xlvi. 10; Jer. i. 5; xviii. 1–10) are more fully explained in the 'Philosophy of the Dispensations' (pp. 71–86, and pp. 247–253); but some idea of the Early Patristic explanations of such difficulties may be here given.

By not recognising that the Scripture doctrine of ELECTION AND PREDESTINATION presuppose not only a fall but also different results under the preparatory discipline, Marcion, Augustine, Calvin, and others have explained it in such a way as to bring in a character of God which the early fathers considered blasphemous; especially, when their explanation is combined with the idea that those passed over are wakened up

after death to an eternity of endless, hopeless, and *conscious* misery. In reading the ninth chapter of Romans, we 'ought to understand what is meant by Esau and Jacob and the subjection of the elder to the younger,' determined before their birth (Bar. c. 13). 'The history,' says Irenæus (iv. 21, 2), 'is not without meaning, being a prophecy of two peoples, one under servitude and the other free.' Adam and Edom both mean *red flesh*, and both are typical of a first state or a first worship. As flesh and blood do not inherit the kingdom of God, but are inherited; as life is not inherent in our first Adam, in mere flesh and blood (Iren. v. 9), but is of God's giving; so the type of Esau and Jacob shows that God's blessing is of God's goodness, not *of* the flesh, nor *of* its will, nor *of* (ἐξ) works, as if God needed them to make Him good, or as if they had a magical efficacy to give life without His power, or as if by an exact literal performance of every detail of the Mosaic law, the Jew could lay God under an obligation to give him the reward of life. God's teaching is not brought down to men by their works done in ignorance, but He is teaching men of His goodness, drawing men by sensuous and other means to look into the meaning of the things of sense, to understand the old ritual and 'the parable of the Lord,' so that by this faith or insight into the meaning of the law and by practising it, they may attain the gift, not as a reward due to their merit, but by God's blessing the means, by God's 'calling' or 'comforting' those who truly repent (C^2 156), that is, those who no longer do the things of which they repent (C^2 35). For, though *God* does not need our works, yet *we* need them, that the Divine Spirit may rest upon us. In this matter, 'he who does good, gets good; and he who gives, receives; like the pilot of a ship, who, in saving others, saves himself' (Clem. S. ii. 19). The blessing is not *of* good works, whether ritual or rational, as if they could of themselves produce a new nature, apart from God's personal operation; but God uses them as a means of disciplining, He blesses them. The means of salvation are given, so that we have it in our power to attain life; and there are

degrees of excellence in men's choice, what is essential being made comparatively easy (S. iv. 23).

There are transpositions (*hyperbata*) and other difficulties in St. Paul's writings, which, as Irenæus says, arise 'from the rapidity of his discourses, and the vehemence of the spirit in him' (iii. 7, 2); and in quoting the oracle about Esau and Jacob and the saying of Malachi, 'Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated,' he does not explain who were signified, or how the elder was in bondage or hated. The first manner of man is not the stage of enlightenment, but that of Edom 'in whom there is no understanding' (Obad. 7). It was a childish idea to suppose that God could be pleased with the cruel rite of circumcision performed on a child or with the smell of burnt sacrifices and incense. And though the typical observances of the law were appointed for men in a childish state, and were hallowed by the conscience (*συνείδησις*) of the offerer, yet, as Irenæus says, many of the Jews became careless about true righteousness and the love of God, thinking that God was propitiated by the Mosaic sacrifices. Accordingly, God is represented (Ps. xl. 6; l.; Is. i.) as rejecting those things whereby they thought to appease God while sinning, *not through any emotion of anger, as many dare to say*, but, in pity to their blindness, giving them an intimation of the true sacrifice (Is. i. 11, 16, 18; Jer. vii. 3–7), they who offer which shall propitiate God to the receiving of life from Him, and mercifully recommending to them the means whereby they might be saved, the things which tend to salvation (Iren. iv. 17; 1, 2). The sort of works, which a carnally-minded Jew, an Esau without understanding, or a hater like Cain, offered, did not make him pleasing to God. The second manner of man, the penetrating Jacob of prophecy, who, by the insight of faith looked through the symbolic veil and practised the weightier matters and meaning of the law, was destined, before the birth of the brothers or before the giving of the law, to 'supplant' the elder brother and obtain both the birthright and the blessing. 'Do you not perceive,' said Justin to the Jew, 'that God willeth not that circumcision

which is given as a sign (type or symbol)? But if anyone has the knowledge of God and of His Christ, and observes the things eternally righteous, he is circumcised with the good and profitable circumcision, and is pleasing to God, who takes delight in his offerings and sacrifices' (Dial. 28).

When the Scriptures speak of God as hating Esau, hardening Pharaoh's heart, or blinding part of the Jews, we must understand what is meant so as not to bring in another character of God. Fury or hatred is not in God but in the furious people who oppose Him (Is. xxvii. 4); and when the word of God is represented as trampling down Edom in His fury (Is. lxiii. 1–6), Justin quotes the passage as applicable to those Jews whose fury or religious zeal in persecuting the church was an evident token of their perdition (Dial. 26; Phil. i. 28). It was when the nations were angered, that God's anger came (Rev. xi. 18); men, by giving vent to their angry passions, become possessed by a spirit of hatred, and are thus said to be hated of God. So when men shut their eyes against the truth or against conscience and reason, they may become blind to infatuation; or when they steel their hearts against good, they may become hardened. But God can only be said to blind or harden such in so far as He has appointed that law of our nature by which these results follow certain actions. Further, what Clement says of false teachers or prophets applies also to persecutors, who are likened to wild beasts. 'The counsels and activities of those who have rebelled are guided by universal Providence to a salutary issue, even though the cause be productive of disease. It is, accordingly, the greatest achievement of Providence not to allow the evils which have sprung from voluntary apostasy to be useless or in all respects injurious, but to accomplish some good and profitable end through these evils as also through the testimony that comes from temptation' (C^1 409). 'God does not actively produce these tribulations; but we must believe that He does not prevent those that cause them, while He overrules their crimes for good' (C^2 178). Evil men are 'so far useful and serviceable to

the righteous as stubble serves towards the growth of wheat and its straw for burning for the working of gold' (Iren. v. 29, i.). God put Abel in Cain's power, showing that the fault was not in God nor the evil wrought by Him (Iren. iv. 18, 3). Why then does God find fault, if His will is still accomplished? is the question asked in Rom. ix. St. Paul answers that God is not unrighteous in inflicting wrath, that He is a better judge than man. Not only so, but 'He goes the round of all curative modes of treatment to call men to salvation' (Clem. Pæd. i. 10); when men had become almost like wild beasts, rulers were appointed to check and correct them (Iren. v. 24, 2); and so Irenæus speaks of the New Testament or Dispensation as reconciling men to peace (iv. 34, 4), as granting precepts, expedient for the weak, but as 'always preserving that element in man which is free and self-determining and His mode of suasion' (iv. 15, 2; 37). God seals on men a nature in accordance with what they choose (S. iv. 23); so that men, fleeing from light and God's life-giving operation, and having what they choose, cannot complain of this judgment (Iren. iv. 20, 5, 6; 39; v. 27).

The early fathers believed that men have a real FREEDOM OF CHOICE, that they are born subject to passions which tempt them, but not with a fixed moral character either divine or demon-like; that God does not leave us without rational teaching, correction, and moving influences, drawing us to Himself and to virtue (S. vi. 12); and that, according as we follow the higher or lower influences, we become sealed with the character of God or of demons, being the cause to ourselves of the result, especially when the result is evil (S. iv. 23, C^2 209). Men are worsted through not employing sufficient athletic energy in the contest, and are deceived or seduced by not distinguishing between the true and the false pleasure or beauty; and each deceit, by constantly pressing on the soul, stamps on it the image of the passion, *the cause arising from the bait and our consent* (S. ii. 20 C^2 64). But how God created material things and why, though He has supreme power, some of His crea-

tures rebelled, are questions which must be left to God. 'The Scriptures declare that God has prepared eternal *fire* for transgressors; yet the cause itself of the *nature* of transgressors neither hath any Scripture declared nor apostle said nor hath our Lord taught. We must, therefore, leave this knowledge to God, as our Lord Himself doth that of the Hour and the Day, . . . lest we form an impious (or antitheistic) foundation' (Iren. ii. 28, 7). So Aristotle does not attempt to explain the nature of such misleading powers. 'There appears in men,' he says, 'something not only different from reason, but fighting with and contrary to reason . . . but in what way it is such we need not determine.'[1] It is this contest, however, which gives to virtue its value; and Aristotle defines virtues to be praiseworthy habits, states of moderation, which, though not voluntary in the same sense as the actions which form them, are yet really in our power, because the separate actions, which are the beginnings of them, are in our power from beginning to end (Ethics, iii. 5, 22). So Irenæus contended that our good, our virtue, were it by a nature, not the result of trial, struggling and self-discipline (*inexercitatum*), would be irrational (*insensatum*), and not such as we esteem (iv. 37; 6, 7). 'While God is good,' he says, 'He is yet a Trier of those on whom He sends His goodness. He saves those whom He ought to save, and judges those whom He ought to judge. He shows Himself mercifully just' (iii. 25; 2, 3). And in regard to the question asked by Edwards in his Freedom of the Will: What cause determines a man's choice to yield to one set of influences and not to another? or, Why does temptation produce evil action in one man and not in another? the early fathers replied that the man himself, the soul, personality, or Ego, is the cause of this, and not the inborn nature (Just. Ap. i. 43; Clem. S. ii. 3; Iren. iv. 4, 3; 39, 3). 'How could man, who is destined to rule over the whole creation, be a slave in respect to himself,

[1] Φαίνεται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸν λόγον πεφυκὸς ὃ μάχεταί τε καὶ ἀντιτείνει τῷ λόγῳ . . πῶς δ' ἕτερον οὐδὲν διαφέρει . . . τῶν ἕξεων δὲ τὰς ἐπαινετὰς ἀρετὰς λέγομεν.—*Eth.* i. 13.

without the faculty of reigning over himself?' (Tert. Adv. Marc. ii. 8, 6, 9). *All* the early fathers agreed that men have such a power of self-determination or freedom of choice, otherwise men would not be amenable to praise or blame; and they did not, like some Gnostics, 'despise the consistency of their opinions' (S. vii., 16) so as to hold contradictory beliefs. How could they *all* misunderstand the apostolic teaching, or, without tradition, err into one and the same belief? (Hagenbach, i. 150 *n.*; Tert. de P. H. 28). If it be objected that, in this case, we might have a result without a sufficient cause, or a cause without a result, the answer is that our idea of efficient cause is derived from the operation of our wills; that we cannot explain as an effect that which *gives* us the idea of a cause; that the subject is beyond the sphere of our knowledge. Prof. Huxley (Hume, p. 194) considers that the philosophy of Edwards virtually teaches that God is the author of sin. It was to prove that God is not the author of evil that Irenæus wrote his epistle to Florinus concerning sovereignty.

The whole subject of God's physical essence (*substantia*) and immensity (*magnitudo*) must, according to Irenæus, be left to God. God is comprehensible in regard to His *ethical* attributes of love, kindness, &c., and His *power* to do all; but what He is physically and how great (*qualis et quantus*) cannot be known or described by His creatures (Iren. iii., 24, 2; iv. 20, 1–6). He is revealed by His Word or Son; but how this Word or Son is generated must also be left to God (ii. 28, 7). Now as the subject of God's INFINITE FOREKNOWLEDGE of whatever comes to pass belongs to these physical categories of essential nature and greatness, we must understand Irenæus to mean that we, 'in so far as we are in the fashion of this world, must leave such a question to God, lest, when we seek to investigate the height and depth (*altitudo*) of the Father, we fall into so great a danger as to enquire whether there be another God (Infinity) above God' (Iren. ii. 28, 8). When God predicts that some will be unchangeably wicked, the reason is not that He made them such or fated them to be such, but because

He knew them beforehand (iv. 29, 2; Herm. Sim. viii. 6; Just. D. 141), having tried Pharaoh before He raised him up to be king. In speaking of God's *hidden* arrangements, James (Acts xv. 17, 18, emended text) and Irenæus (iii. 16, 7; iv. 21, 2; 32, 2) say that all *these* things were foreknown to God from the beginning. The Scriptural and the early Patristic doctrine of foreknowledge is that what God purposes that He foretells as certain to come to pass; but that, as God purposed with Himself that every man should be recompensed according to his worth, He foretells this also (Just. Ap. i. 44); and that predictions about such moral agents either express or suppose a condition (1 Sam. ii. 30; Jonah iii. 10; Just. Dial. 141).

(2) THE TYPOLOGY OF THE PENTATEUCH and of ISRAEL'S HISTORY connects the testaments and shows all to be right (C^2 377). The early fathers looked for types in questionable histories 'set down without definite censure' (Iren. iv. 31, 1). The first Adam is the type of the second; and these fathers found many typical analogies in the histories of Genesis. The Mosaic Law of 'works' was a type of that exhibition of truth and of that discipline which men have in the kingdom of God's Son. The principle of seeking for types in the histories of Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, Israel in the wilderness, &c., appears in different parts of the New Testament, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews; it runs through the whole theology of the early fathers, and must have been of apostolical origin. If the Gnostics abused it, or if some of the early fathers were fanciful in their application of it, as when Barnabas finds a type of Christ in the number 318 circumcised in Abraham's household, or as when Theophilus of Antioch sees in the coagulation of (Abel's) blood a sign of nature's horror of murder, this does not prove the method to be incorrect. Though Bacon himself made mistakes in applying his method of inter-

preting nature, it does not follow that his method is wrong. Was it by error or tradition that *all* the early fathers thus interpreted such things as the oracle about Esau and Jacob? (Rom. ix. 11–13, Harvey's Ir. ii. 226 *n.* 2). 'Now these things *happened* to them as types' (1 Cor. x. 11), they were historical *occurrences*, written for our admonition; they have a spiritual meaning, but are not *mere* parables. 'The whole of the Scriptures are spiritual . . . that God may be always teaching and man throughout learning of God' (Iren. ii. 28. 3).

THE PARABOLIC STYLE IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PROPHETIC SCRIPTURES. Justin finds fault with the Jews for taking everything in a carnal sense (Dial. 14). 'The style (*character*) of the Scriptures,' said Clement, 'is parabolic. Our Lord, who was not of this world, came to men as one who was of the world. . . . Wherefore, also, He used metaphorical description, for such is the parable . . . and this parabolic style abounds most, as was to be expected, in the prophets' (S. vi. 15, C² 378). Not only did our Lord teach men by the parables of the gospels, but His actions and sacraments are parabolical exhibitions and injunctions of the way of life. Those who learn the *meaning* of these things are enlightened by Christ in their minds; and this is the true washing in the laver of the forgiveness of sins (the truth), that men should sin no more (Ap. I. 44, 61). The question why truths are taught in parables is answered by Clement. Such sensuous instruction is attractive and stimulates men to think; passive indolence must not be encouraged, and pearls are not to be too readily cast before men who are too devoid of sense or too perverse and contentious to profit by the explanation of mysteries (S. i. 2; v. 9). 'Those who know plainly that the Saviour teaches His

disciples nothing with man's, but all things with divine and mystic wisdom, ought not to take (hear) His sayings carnally, but to investigate and thoroughly study the meaning hidden in them. For even our Lord's seeming explanations to the disciples of things enigmatically said, are found to require not less but more intelligent study on account of the surpassing depth of meaning in them' (De Div. Ser. 5). The supernatural inherits the natural. Samuel heard a voice unheard by Eli. The true prophet had some vision or other objective manifestation presented to his mind; he was elevated, not out of the sphere of the rational and moral, but in it.

(3) Excursus on recent critical theories of the Old Testament.—The Scriptures, as expounded by Barnabas (c. 14), Justin (Dial. 19, 22), and Irenæus (iv. 15, 1; 17, 3), teach that the natural precepts of the moral law were first given as the main thing (*principaliter*), when Israel came out of Egypt (Deut. v. 22; Jer. vii. 22); but that, after the people had shown themselves unfit for liberty, prone to idolatry and in need of a sensuous discipline, they got the sacrifices and burdensome ritual as the consequence of their conduct (*secundum consequentiam*), and that they might not fall into idolatry. In this ritual imagery, the people bore at once the correction and the memorial of their iniquity, till our Lord took this imagery on Himself and bore it. The book of Deuteronomy seems to foreshadow the recapitulation of all things, when the old ritual was superseded and the plainer precepts of the primitive patriarchal faith were re-enacted and amplified. Some modern critics, however, neglecting these early Christian explanations, and deeming it inconsistent that three different bodies of law should be given at one epoch and by one person, have started other theories of the origin of the Pentateuch. The chief of these is 'the thesis, which, propounded by Vatke as early as 1835, was, after twenty years of total neglect, taken up by Graf, and has since been elaborated by Kuenen (in Hol-

land) and Wellhausen (in Germany). For some years it has been before English readers in a somewhat confused and cumbrous form in the not very popular writings of Kalisch and Colenso. In Professor Robertson Smith's Lectures on the Old Testament it is treated for the first time in this country with full mastery of detail and with adequate literary power' (*Scotsman*). Other lectures on the *Prophets of Israel* are just published by A. and C. Black. The lectures are a sequel to a pamphlet on the Pentateuch which Prof. R. Smith published previously (D. Douglas, Edinburgh), and which we may first examine.

THE PENTATEUCHAL LAW is divisible into three different books : the Sinaitic Covenant (S), the Levitical ritual or middle part of the Pentateuch (Q), and the book of Deuteronomy (D). The Sinaitic Covenant is called the book of the Covenant, and is said to contain 'all the words of Jehovah' (Ex. xxiv.). By this we may understand either the Ten Commandments, on hearing which the people asked for a mediator, or the system of laws in Ex. xx. to xxiii., which appears as a connected scheme. It is based on patriarchal customs, declaring God's right to locate altars (Ex. xx. 24), and speaking of the *mohar* (ἔδνα) or patriarchal dowry paid by the husband to the father. As it was set aside by the making of the golden calf, there would be no inconsistency even if it could be shown that the lawgiver modified it. (1) The first difficulty refers to the local altars which Exodus seems to recognise and Deuteronomy to abolish (Deut. xii.). The historical cases, to which Prof. Smith refers, were either justified by preceding theophanies at Bochim (Jud. ii. 5), to Gideon (vi. 24), and to Manoah (xiii. 19) ; or they occurred during the period of irregularity, after the ark of God was taken by the Philistines and when there was really no central temple; or they were connected with the high places which certain kings are said not to have removed, although *in other respects* they did right (1 Kings xv. 14 ; xxii. 43 ; 2 Kings xii. 3; xiv. 4 ; xv. 4, 35). In regard to the case mentioned in Judges xx. 26, 27, if we must read Bethel for the English version 'house of God,' we might question whether

the presence of the ark did not imply the presence of the central sanctuary. It might be thus maintained that the Old Testament did not authorise sacrifice at these high places, except where God 'recorded His name' by a theophany (Ex. xx. 24), or in the period between Samuel and Solomon, when 'there was no house built unto the name of the Lord' (1 Kings iii. 2). But according to the Jewish Rabbis, 'it was not absolutely forbidden to sacrifice on high places until the Temple was established in Jerusalem; and, further, that on a Bamah erected for the use of an individual only, even non-priests were permitted to sacrifice' (Rabbi). There is no contradiction (2) in the substitution of a definite fine of 50 shekels (Deut. xxii. 29) for the indefinite patriarchal dowry of virgins paid for a wife (Ex. xxii. 16, 17). Moses probably saw the practice decaying or foresaw that it would cease. (3) In Ex. xiii. 13, and xxxiv. 20, the Israelites were directed to redeem the first-born of an ass with a lamb, or, if not, to break its neck. In Lev. xxvii., Moses is speaking of animals &c. vowed or devoted to the Lord. Verse 26 is parenthetical, explaining that the firstlings of clean animals could not be so sanctified because they were already the Lord's. Verse 27 is taken by Prof. Smith to be a continuation of the parenthesis, in which case it would seem contradictory to the two passages in Exodus. But why not understand Moses to be returning in v. 27 to the subject of vows as he does in v. 28, and to mean that if *any* unclean animal were *vowed*, it was to be redeemed or sold but not sacrificed? There is, therefore, no contradiction; nor is there any (4) between the law of the release of Hebrew maidservants in Ex. xxi. 7–11, and in Deut. xv. 12. If we read the *whole* passage in Exodus, it appears that Moses enacts that the Hebrew woman, who was a slave, was not to go out (exactly) as the slaves, that is, either as the men-slaves or as the Canaanitish slaves. Moses is evidently adapting his legislation to the existing customs of concubinage, for he speaks of the owner as having betrothed her to himself. But if she did not please him, he was either to find another Hebrew who would redeem

her, so as to provide her with a new home ; or he might give her as a wife to his son ; if he or his son had another wife, her rights as such were not to be interfered with. But if the owner did not one of these three things, she was to *go out free without money*. Deuteronomy does not speak of the case where she had been betrothed or a concubine.

The middle part of the Pentateuch (Q) gives details of the Jewish ritual specially suited for the priests ; whereas Deuteronomy is addressed to the whole of Israel and appointed to be read in their hearing every seventh year, the year of release, at the feast of tabernacles. (5) It is to be expected that, being a popular and hortatory book, it will differ in style and structure from a book written more especially for those who had to perform the ritual. We do not surely need to suppose that Deuteronomy was written in a different age from Q, when we can explain its difference of style on a ground so familiar to us : because Deuteronomy is a popular book, giving all about the plain duties of the Israelite's life and omitting the complicated details of the ritual. Thus when it has occasion to speak of the law of leprosy—that significant disease of the skin, that spotted covering of the flesh which Jeremiah (xiii. 23) compares to habits—it refers the people to the priests (Deut. xxiv. 8). Similarly (6), it omits the details of the different functions of the priests and Levites, speaking of them as one body, the priests, the Levites, just as we speak of the Levitical priesthood, or of the clergy, or of the ministers of religion, &c., without distinguishing the different orders of bishops, priests, &c. Deuteronomy omits the name of Korah, the Levite, who aspired to the priesthood, perhaps because he was not a warning to the people so generally as Dathan and Abiram. (7) To the priests, however, and not to all the Levites, was assigned a certain due of the animals slaughtered for food in Palestine, namely, the two cheeks (the mouth-piece), the right leg (the organ of action or progress), and the stomach (Deut. xviii. 3). Our translation says that this was due to the priest 'from them who offer (sacrifice) a sacrifice ;' and, as the priest's share of the sacrifices

was different, Prof. Smith makes a great difficulty of this. But the word *zebach* here used, although it usually means a *sacrifice*, has also the meaning of *slaughtering* or *killing* an animal for food ; it is used in this sense in Deut. xii. 15, 21, as an eminent Jewish Rabbi points out, and in the sense of *feast* (Lectures, pp. 235–237) in 1 Sam. ix. 12 ; xx. 29, besides the poetical passages mentioned by Prof. Smith.

Not only is the Levitical priesthood spoken of as one in Deuteronomy, but all Israel is addressed as one holy people, doing the holy things. To use Prof. Smith's own words (Lectures, p. 346), 'the religious subject, the worshipping individual, Jehovah's son, was not the individual Israelite, but the nation *qua* nation. In the old law, the worship of feasts and sacrifices is the natural consecration, in act, of a simple happy society,' &c. It is to this worshipping subject that Moses says : 'Thou mayst not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, . . or the firstlings, . . or thy freewill offerings; but thou must eat them before the Lord thy God, in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, . . and thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of the Lord thy God' (Deut. xii. 17, 27 ; xv. 19). Now (8), as Prof. Smith would surely not infer from this that the private Israelites were authorised to offer up the public burnt offerings, he need not conclude that the firstlings were to be eaten by them. These passages, says the Rabbi, were not addressed to the people only. The firstlings are said to be given or sanctified to the Lord; and although Deuteronomy does not give these details, we know, from Num. xviii. 18 and Neh. x. 37, that they belonged to the priests. There is, no doubt, a meaning in Israel's eating the flesh of the first-born in the central sanctuary. It is with the heart that men believe unto righteousness, inwardly digesting the history of the First-born.

The Gêr was a person who was sojourning out of his own country, a stranger. Moses gave permission to any Levite, who was sojourning as a gêr in any of the townships of Israel, to come to reside at the central sanctuary, and ordained that he

should share with his brethren, besides having what came of the sale of his patrimony—for the Levites had certain cities with a right of pasturage in the neighbourhood (Num. xxxv. 2 ; Josh. xxi.). Now (9), it seems unnecessary to discuss whether this law applies only to homeless Levites or to them all ; for a Levite, if he intended to remove, would naturally sell his patrimony, and thus first become homeless. In Jeroboam's time, many of them did so. (10) In Lev. xvii. 12, 15, the Israelite is interdicted from eating the carcase of any animal which had died of itself ; and so also is 'the stranger who sojourned in their midst,' by which expression Prof. Smith himself would understand a proselyte; so that there is really no contradiction when Exodus (xxii. 31) bids the Israelites throw to the dogs those animals which had been torn of wild beasts, or when Deuteronomy (xiv. 21) authorises them to dispose of that which had died of itself to the stranger or the foreigner, to heathens who were not proselytes (for without are dogs, Rev. xxii. 15). The connection of the word gêr shows the two kinds of strangers ; we need not suppose that the word has changed its sense. (11) Deuteronomy (xii. xiv.) speaks of a tithe which the poor Levite was to share with the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. According to the later practice of the Jewish people, this was a second tithe, besides the tithe appointed for the support of the Levitical priesthood. Field produce only was to be tithed for festival purposes and stored up every three years (Deut. xiv. 22, 28). Israel was to tithe truly all the increase of his seed (Deut. xiv. 22) ; and, having computed the tenth, was (according to Keil, Lange, &c., and the Jewish authorities) to devote *one* tenth to the support of the Levites, and a *second* tenth to festival and charitable purposes (Deut. xii. xiv.). Ewald, Davidson, Colenso and others, however, insist that one and the same tithe is meant. If this were admitted, the statement in Num. xvii. 31, that the Levites were to eat the tithe in every place, is not contradictory to Deuteronomy, which requires that its tithes should be eaten every third year in the different townships (Deut. xiv. 28 29).

Besides, Deuteronomy seems to speak only of the tithe of the vegetable produce (the corn, wine, and oil); there were also tithes of the herd and the flock (Lev. xxvii. 32); and Moses may have made a distinction—just as in the Jewish practice the *Biccurim* (or first-fruits of wheat, barley, figs, grapes, pomegranates, olives, and dates) were only presented in the temple, while the *Terumoth* (or first-fruits of prepared produce—flour, wine, oil—and of garden produce) might be given to the priest in every place (Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 332). If God spake to Moses plainly and directly, and not in enigmas or parabolic riddles (Num. xii. 8), we infer that he knew the significance of this sacred feasting, and that thus he speaks in Deuteronomy of all Israel's feasting together on the tithes and other sacred things, without specifying what belonged to the priests, to the Levites, and to the laymen respectively. In certain sacrifices, at least, the flesh was to be eaten before the third day (Lev. vii. 16, 17); and, surely, if the sacrifices were numerous, the clergy would share the flesh with the needy rather than burn it. (12) In Num. iv. the Levites were mustered for the special task of bearing the tabernacle from the age of thirty to fifty; in Num. viii. they were mustered for the lighter work of doing duty in the tabernacle from the age of twenty-five to fifty. Numerous attendants must have been required in a large temple capable, at the time of Christ, of containing 210,000 persons; and because of their numerous services and their freedom from the necessity of carrying the tabernacle any more, David still further reduced the minimum age to twenty (1 Chron. xxiii. 25–32; Edersheim's 'Temple,' pp. 45, 70, 111).

The first three verses of Deuteronomy mean that what precedes is a record of the legislation *at the Jordan*, in the desert, in the *arabah*, over against Suph and in other places of the wandering; that it was now the eleventh month of the fortieth year of it, though the direct route was only eleven days' march. The expression *at the side* or *crossing of Jordan* (*b' eber hay-yarden*) came to be the conventional term for Peræa. It often means *beyond* or *a-cross Jordan*, but (13) the writer was not necessarily

over on the West side. In one chapter (Deut. iii. 8, 20, 25) it means both *on this side* and *beyond Jordan.* In Num. xxxii. 19, 32, the Reubenites, &c., mean by it the side they were on, *from the passage of Jordan, eastward,* and contrast it with *me' eber lay yarden, from the passage to Jordan and forward.* Who wrote the last eight verses of Deuteronomy no man can tell.

These difficulties do not warrant Prof. Smith in supposing that either the middle part of the Pentateuch or the Deuteronomic law was written much later than Moses, or that the clear assertion (Deut. xxxi. 9, 10) that Moses spake all the words of the Deuteronomic law and wrote them in a book, which he delivered to the priests, is not historically but parabolically true (First Answer, p. 55). Prof. Smith compares the practice of some classical historians in putting speeches into the mouths of historical characters; but when Thucydides tells us *expressly* about these speeches in his history, he does not conceal tha he made up the speeches himself according to what he thought ought to have been said, while he adhered as closely as possible to what he had ascertained to be the general sense of the actual speeches (Thuc. i. 22).

In his recent lectures on the Old Testament, Prof. Smith accounts in a different way for the statement that 'Moses wrote the words of this law in a book,' by supposing that the law or Torah here meant is some summary such as the Ten Commandments (p. 332); he quotes Calvin's opinion that when the lawgiver directed 'all the words of this law' to be inscribed on the plastered stones of Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 8), he could only mean such a summary. But Moses must have known of wonderfully long histories written in this way in Egypt; and, though an injunction might be indefinite, did not the person who made the historical statement mean to convey the impression that the Deuteronomic code was the actual writing of Moses?

Having decided that the different parts of the Pentateuchal law were not written at one time and by one person, Prof. Smith has to decide in what order he supposes them to have been developed and to have come into operation. He

thinks it probable that the Sinaitic Covenant was mainly in vogue till Josiah ; that Josiah, who abolished the high places, introduced for the first time the Deuteronomic code; and that this having proved an insufficient barrier against what was heathen and unholy, the prophet Ezekiel addressed himself to the task of drawing up a more stringent ritual, which was developed till the time of Ezra, and became the Levitical code (Q). This Levitical scheme, however, was not entirely new ; it was the working up of many older Torahs or law books (p. 384), just as the English Prayer Book comes from many sources, the distinction being that the older Torahs were not written but traditional. His assumption is, as has been said, that, as ordinary legislation, three codes could not have been given in one lifetime ; he does not recognise the extraordinary and typical character of the legislation of Moses, or presume that God, who declares the end of these things from the beginning (Is. xlvi. 10 ; Acts xv. 18, emended text), would no doubt foreshadow the future ; he seems to overlook the teaching of the prophets and of the early fathers, that the main thing, the natural precepts of the law, was first given, and that the burdensome Levitical ritual was *superadded* to correct and discipline Israel after they had shown, by their actions, their proneness to idolatry and their unfitness for freedom. Deuteronomy, again, being an independent reproduction of the substance of the Sinaitic Covenant, extending and modifying its details (except those relative to compensations to be paid for various injuries, Ex. xxi. 18–xxii. 15, and also the law of treason, Ex. xxii. 28, pp. 317, 431), is, no doubt, a prophetic indication that God was to 'return to the many thousands of Israel' (Num. x. 36); that there should be a coming restoration of the natural precepts of simple faith through that Angel or Prophet whose coming is predicted both in the Sinaitic Covenant and in Deuteronomy. In Deut. xxx. 11–14, Moses describes the righteousness of faith ; in Lev. xviii. 3, he describes the righteousness of the law (Rom. x. 5, 10). Moses executed the offices of prophet, priest, and

king, as our Lord does; his meekness foreshadowed our Lord's, and his Ethiopian bride the Gentile Church (Iren. iv. 20; 10, 12); (14) why then (p. 321), in asserting his intimacy with Jehovah, should he not speak of his meekness (Num. xii.), as our Lord also spoke of His moral fitness for His office? The natural meaning of Deut. xxxiii. 5, and that assigned by Eben Ezra, Luther, &c., is that Moses was 'king in Jeshurun'; and thus 'before the reigning of a king to the sons of Israel' (Gen. xxxvi. 31) may mean that there were so many kings in Edom before Moses delivered Israel from their bondage in Egypt and reigned, or, whilst *as yet* the sons of Israel *have* no king. The passage may be thus explained without supposing (15) with Prof. Smith (p. 322), that the chapter was not written till the time of Saul or David. (16) On whatever substance and with whatever ink the very ancient Hebrew MSS. were written, the benevolent wish of Moses to be blotted out of God's book (Ex. xxxii. 32), and the figurative act of blotting out the words of a curse with bitter waters (Num. v. 23), do not prove, as Prof. Smith supposes (pp. 82, 330, 400), that the old Hebrew writing was easily obliterated. (17) Prof. Smith thinks that the Levitical law was written later than Moses, because in Hebrew *sea-ward* means *westward*, and because Negeb, one of the words for *south*, is the name of the dry steppe district in the south of Judah. In Palestine sea-ward means westward, but in Egypt northward. The Israelites, however, were in the peninsula of Sinai, where Prof. Smith admits that sea-ward means towards the Red Sea, that is, westward. If, then, the Israelites did not take their Hebrew expression from Palestine to Egypt, why should they take the Egyptian idea of sea-ward to the wilderness? The word Negeb is connected with a root meaning *dry* or *parched*, just as *south* is connected with *seethe*; but in all probability the Negeb or South of Palestine derived its name from its lying to the south, and was not the *origin* of the word for south or southward, as Prof. Smith supposes (p. 223). From Num. x. 11–28 we might infer that the *tabernacle* was in the midst of the Israelites on their march from Sinai,

but not, (18) as Prof. Smith supposes, that the *ark* was in their midst. On the contrary, it was three days' march in front (vv. 33–36). We need not suppose that the same person did not write the whole chapter (p. 319)! 'It has often been affirmed,' says Prof. Smith (p. 441), 'that Joshua xxii. proves that the Deuteronomic law was known to Joshua. But if the narrative assumed this law, this would only prove that the chapter, or part of it, is an interpolation!' Again (19), Prof. Smith (p. 258) concludes that the service of the great day of atonement could not be performed in the tabernacle at Shiloh, because he thinks that it had no secluded place or inaccessible Holy of Holies, and his reason for thinking so is because Samuel 'lay down to sleep in the temple where the ark of God was' (1 Sam iii. 3). But surely this does not mean that he slept in the Most Holy Place, but that he slept in the temple, and that the ark was there. Samuel, David, and Zadok were the first of their lines in an epoch, and indicated a higher priesthood.

Prof. Smith (pp. 218, 266) holds that the books of Samuel and Kings were vastly older than the Chronicles; that the Chronicler is giving expression to the ideas of his own, not of David's time, when he speaks as if the great high place at Gibeon had been the only legitimate sanctuary in David's time (1 Chron. xvi. 39, xxi. 29; 2 Chron. i. 3); and that the worship at the high places recorded in the previous books, has 'a provisional legitimacy of its own from the point of view of the author of the Kings.' As the Chronicler (p. 420) refers to a *midrash* (2 Chron. xxiv. 27), that is, according to Gesenius, a *commentary* on or *supplement* of the books of Kings, Prof. Smith thinks that the Chronicler was a sermonising commentator on these books. (20) In 2 Sam. viii. 18, we read that David's sons were priests (*cohenim*, p. 264), which the Chronicler replaces by 'chief by the hand of the king' (1 Chron. xviii. 17); they were the king's *familiars* who executed *his* will. But, according to Prof. Smith, it was a later idea that the functions of the priests belonged exclusively to the Levites. He believes that the Carim and Rashim (2 Kings xi. 4), who assisted

Jehoiada against Athaliah, were Carians and footguards (a strange conjunction), and not, as Gesenius and Young translate the words, 'executioners and runners.' As in 2 Chron. xxiii., these are replaced by Levites, he finds in this another proof of the later origin of Chronicles (p. 421). Again, he finds in the words of Abijah, on the field of battle (2 Chron. xiii. 4), not what Abijah did say, but words put freely into his mouth by some one writing under a later ritual. (21) Abijah is describing the service of the *second* temple, he says, when he speaks of the golden candlestick as one element, for in Solomon's temple there were ten. But surely the essential element was *the* candlestick: and how would Prof. Smith explain the fact that in 2 Chron. iv. 7, these ten are mentioned? Again, Abijah speaks of the evening burnt-offering, whereas Prof. Smith thinks that in the first temple the evening offering was purely cereal, in proof of which he quotes 1 Kings xviii. 36 *Heb.*; 2 Kings xvi. 15; and Ezra ix. 4 *Heb.* The word applied in these passages to the evening sacrifice is *minchah*, *gift* or *offering*, a general word, applied to the meal offerings (Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 6), coupled with *zebach* in the well-known passage 'sacrifice and offering' (Ps. xl. 6), but applied to animal offerings, as Abel's, as well as to Cain's (Gen. iv. 3, 4, 5). Besides, the expression 'At the *going up* of the offering, Elijah came nigh, &c.,' includes Abijah's word (*olah*) for *burnt-offering*, which is this 'going up.' Again (22), the Chronicler (2 Chron. xiv. 5, xvii. 6) says that both Asa and Jehoshaphat *turned aside* the local high places or *caused them to depart* (as when Saul *turned aside* the wizards, without, however, wholly succeeding). This, however, says Prof. Smith, does not prevent the Chronicler from copying (in 2 Chron. xv. 17, xx. 33) the opposite statements of 1 Kings xv. 14, xxii. 43, in connection with some other particulars which he has occasion to transfer from that book. But the two statements are not expressed in the same voice. What the history does say is, that these kings' hearts were right in that *they turned aside* the high places or *caused them to depart*; but, as the people had not

yet prepared their hearts for the God of their fathers, these high places *did not depart* or *turn aside.* A man may spend a life-time in displacing certain strange traditional misconceptions about God and His worship, and yet, because the people are not ripe, these misconceptions may not give place to a better order of things in his time. (23) We read in Neh. viii. 14–17, that the people, finding it ordained in the law of Moses that the feast of tabernacles should be duly kept, 'made booths and dwelt in the booths, *because* from the days of Joshua the children of Israel had not done so till that day.' Prof. Smith thinks that this means that they had never before kept the feast of booths, but does it not mean that they dwelt or sat in booths, *because* in the days of Joshua they had ceased to dwell in booths, *because* they were to commemorate the wilderness life in booths from which they had been delivered? (L. xxiii. 43).

While Prof. Smith finds in the Sacred History speeches freely reported or put by later historians into the mouths of historical personages, and plain statements about matters of fact which seem to him only parabolically true, he makes use of the parabolical language of the prophets to establish a new set of historical facts. (24) To show that the Mosaic Torah was not written till long after Moses, that it was an affair of practice and tradition, he quotes Hosea iv. 6. (pp. 297, 330): 'My people are cut off for lack of knowledge; because thou hast rejected knowledge, I also will reject thee from being my priest; because *thou hast forgotten the law of thy God*, I will forget thy children, even I.' But the passage is differently explained at pp. 300, 344. 'The standard of the prophets is the moral law; and because the priests had forgotten this, they declare them to have forgotten the law, however copious their Torah and however great their interest in the details of ritual.' 'The moral conditions of acceptance with the king of Zion were forgotten' (p. 370). Israel is spoken of as a priestly nation *qua* nation (p. 346), before God's Face; but their zeal for their ritual pleased themselves, not God (p. 434, Amos iv. 5). Yet no one might reprove them (v. 4). Their prophets perverted

God's words into false *burdens*; as such, God would cast them and their city out from before His Face (Jer. xxiii. 39). Jeremiah (vii. 22) says that the law of Levitical sacrifices was not the first covenant given to Israel, when they came out of Egypt. God spake the Ten Commandments and *added no more* (Deut. v. 22, p. 310). But Prof. Smith (25) understands the passage in Jeremiah to be a flat contradiction of the theory that the Levitical law of stated sacrifice was given in the wilderness (pp. 263, 288). Again (pp. 249, 425), Prof. Smith (26) makes much of the vision of Ezekiel (xl.–xlviii.), especially c. xliv., for historical purposes. Ezekiel's *visionary* temple was to be as large as Jerusalem and the city as large as Palestine west of Jordan; with half of the tribes located *south* of the city (c. xlviii.). The glory of the God of Israel is seen coming from the way of the east to occupy it, causing the earth or the land to shine. The front of the house is eastward; and from under its threshold a marvellous stream flows eastward. Into this sanctuary no stranger, uncircumcised in heart (a figurative characteristic) and uncircumcised in flesh, is to enter (xliv. 7); or, as St. John expresses it, nothing common or defiling shall enter (Rev. xxi. 27). The people made idols of their altars, almost after the manner of the heathen, supposing that by zealously observing the ritual they might secure God's favour, while they were unjust, unmerciful, or licentious (pp. 288, 302, 344, Hos. viii. Bar. c. 16). The ordinary Levites, who ministered to this idolatry, were to *bear* their iniquity (Ez. xliv. 6–16), they were to bear, in their persons and actions, a burdensome imagery, which our Lord took upon Himself, bearing the curse of the law. The true priests—those of the seed of Zadok, *the righteous*—were to come near to God and minister to Him—presenting their bodies as living sacrifices. 'They were,' says Fairbairn, 'a race of faithful and devoted servants, a priesthood serving God in the newness of the spirit and not in the bondage of the letter. The other prophets also (as Jer. xxxi. 38–40) represent the future with reference to symbolic places and names of the past, adjusting and modifying them to suit their immediate

design' (see Fausset's, Lange's, and Cook's Comm.). Prof. Smith (*Prophets of Israel*, p. 341) says that such 'concrete pictures of the future are not literal forecasts of history, but poetic and ideal constructions;' yet he takes Ez. xliv. 6–16 to mean that Carians and other uncircumcised Gentiles had previously done Levitical work in the temple; that these men should officiate no more, but that in their room should come the Levites; that those Levites, again, who were not of the house of Zadok, were to be degraded from the priesthood, because they officiated in all Israel before the idolatrous shrines (pp. 249, 374, 436). But does not the language of Ezekiel, in contrasting the Levites with 'the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok,' show that Prof. Smith is mistaken in supposing that no distinction is made in Deuteronomy (xviii. 1–4, xxvi. 4) between the clergy and the priests proper?

Prof. Smith usually sides with the Septuagint Version when the text varies from the Hebrew; but when it translates Is. vii. 10–15: 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son,' he sides with the early Hebrew antagonists of Christianity and translates 'a young woman.' But if 'the Lord Himself gave this sign,' we may well ask, with Irenæus, what great thing or sign an ordinary birth would be. According to Irenæus, the Babe's eating is expressive of His humanity, and His refusing the evil that He may choose the good is significant of Emmanuel's Godhead (iii. 21; 5, 6). The Babe Christ was worshipped by the Magi, whose gifts were spoils taken from the powers of evil in the sight of the King of Assyria (Is. viii. 4), as the Scripture, for his ungodly and lawless disposition, terms Herod. It was 'through the voice (of the Magi) heard from Ramah, *i.e.*, from Arabia (Gen. x. 7), that weeping was to fill the place where Rachel was buried (Jer. xxxi. 15), the women weeping inconsolably for their slain children' (Just. Dial. 68, 71, 77, 78).

IV. THE EARLY DOCTRINAL SYSTEM OF THE CHURCH may be treated of under the following headings:—

1. *Theology proper* : primary beliefs about God.
2. *Christology* : the Mediator and His reconciliation.
3. *Soteriology* : grace and the laws of salvation.
4. *Pneumatology* : the Holy Spirit and the evil one.
5. *Anthropology* : man, his nature, fall, &c.
6. *The Church* : its organisation, sacraments, &c.
7. *Eschatology* : the doctrine of the last things.

THEOLOGY PROPER. THE ABSOLUTELY FIRST CAUSE, who is Himself uncaused, transcends our ordinary modes of thought and description (Clem. S. v. 12) ; but the early fathers reasoned from man's rational nature, personality, and power of self-determination, that the Source from which man sprang could not be inferior to himself, but must also be rational, personal, and powerful to cause ; in regard to God's moral character, they thought it impious to attribute man's worst moods to the Divine Being.

THE TRINITY. The invisible Father is *over* all, bearing (*portans*) the universe and the Word, who ministers to the Father and manifests Him *through* all (Iren. iv. 6 ; v. 18, 2), but whose generation none can tell (ii. 28, 6). God's Word and Spirit (or Wisdom) are His two hands (iv. 20, 1, &c. ; Gen. i. 26). The Spirit is the working (*operante*) exhibiter of God's dispensations *in* men (iv. 20, 6 ; 33, 7 ; v. 18, 2), who, vivified by this blessed Seal or Figure of Christ, receive continuance for ever (iv. 28, 3), and are, with the Father and the Son, called Gods (iv. 7, 4 ; Ps. lxxxii. 1). 'No other is set forth by the Spirit as (called by the Apostles) God and Lord, but He who rules over all as God with His Word, and they who receive the anointing of the Spirit' (iv. 1, 1). Our Saviour (God's own kindred Son) and those anointed to prophecy (proclaimed His Sons) are the true witnesses '(Clem. S. v. 13 ; ii. 3). The Father is the Head of Christ, and Christ of the Church, having the leavening Spirit (Iren. v. 1, 3).

GOD'S CHARACTER AND IMAGE IN MAN.—The only true God is He who exists in the invariableness of righteous goodness, and that which most resembles Him is the soul of an

enlightened, righteous and good man (C^2 416, 417). He gives as a Sovereign to whom He wills, being possessed of freedom and independence in His decisions; but He is a wise as well as a good Sovereign, and therefore a discriminator of men, saving whom He ought to save and judging those worthy of judgment (Iren. iii. 25; v. 4; v. 27). He formed man in the beginning that He might have some one on whom to bestow His favours; He is never slack in benefiting and enriching men, guiding even those ancient Gentiles who minded His providence and their own conduct, desiring that men should follow the light and thus have it reflected upon them, that they should persevere in His service, which is man's glory and the preservative of man's life, and that thus becoming His disciples men should partake of that glory for which they were made and prepared and elected or chosen (John xv. 14), for God chose to beautify all things (iii. 25, 1; iv. 2, 2; 14, 1; 20, 1, 5). But although God, in His benignity, is thus manifesting His light to men and working savingly on them, adapting His teaching and discipline to every sort of men without grudging, yet He does not force His saving light and operation on any. He always respects man's self-determining (*αὐτεξούσιος*) freedom, whereby there is room for human virtue and praise, but from which it may also result that men may be to themselves the cause of the eternal loss of good things (iv. 37, 39). While He that maketh is absolutely perfect and always the same, it belongs to man who is made to be ever receiving improvement and growth, and, not overstepping the conditions of each stage or time of his growth, to pass through such an experience as shall teach him moral knowledge and his own dependence on God for life and all good things; to be disciplined in a state of childishness by a suitable law; to advance to bountiful service and so be justified (iv. 30, 3), 'receiving precepts fit for those who are free and justified by faith;' to be exercised in appropriating (*applicari*) that glory which is to be revealed in the sons of God; and thus, abiding in His love and in submission to Him and in thanksgiving, to be continually receiving in-

crease or making progress 'from faith to faith,' till he becomes like unto Him who died for men; for the steps which lead to God are not a few (iii. 20, 2; iv. 9, 27, 28; C^1 465; C^2 221, 456). But in a state of liberty man is more thoroughly tried (iv. 16, 5); to whom much is given of him much is required (iv. 28); and, therefore, those who are eminent for their spiritual gifts and official position ought not to be elated as if they had already attained the goal or were secure against falling away. The Christian idea of perfection is to be constantly striving after higher perfection and ever making progress (Phil. iii. 13, 14, C^1 148). A man does not cease to be virtuous because he sees and confesses his deficiencies. The Pharisee of the parable boasted as if he were already perfect in a very negative and shadowy righteousness; he thanked God that he was not an unjust plunderer or adulterer, or even as the tax-gatherer for the hated Roman government, whom he saw worshipping: he fasted twice a week and paid all his tithes (Luke xviii. 9–14). He did not, however, claim the merit of this perfection; he thanked God for it. But such a state of mind, much more than that of the publican or tax-gatherer, would bar his progress to that more enlightened excellence which is the end of justification (Iren. iv. 13, 1; 17, 1; 30, 3; C^2 471), which comes when men gaze steadily on the Light supplied by Christ's coming and which shines more and more unto the perfect day of glorification (Iren. iv. 27, 2; Rom. viii. 30). It was 'the boast of life' when our first parents acted on the conceit that they were *inherently* immortal and not dependent for life on the gift of God as He wills (ii. 34, 3; v. 2, 3, &c.); and those are to be reckoned proud boasters and despisers, who presume they are heaven's favourites and at liberty to do things inconsistent with the divine laws of health and growth, who give themselves airs as if they were gifted with a nature coming physically, i.e. apart from men's choice, and despise others who do not receive their conceits as natural or *psychical* men (iii. 15, 2; v. 9–12; C^2 7, 479). It belongs to human nature to be made, but not so as to supersede

man's will ; he, therefore, who keeps in the way of and gets (*consequor*) God's skill, he who abides in God's service, is receiving glory from God (iv. 14, 1 ; 39, 2, 3). God manifests Himself in all His works, and especially in the living man, who is the sum or head of them ; but if men, who are appointed to be the imitators of God, to bear His Name or His image, to be His living epistles, are, in spite of God's light and operation, found dishonouring God's Name and defiling His Temple, shall they be held guiltless? To such as render to God what it belongs to man to render, to such as do not flee from the light but abide in it and reflect it, to such as do not withdraw from God's operation but bear fruit, He multiplies grace, having ever a larger measure for those of His own household, but not things contrary to those previously given or mutually discordant. On the other hand, He judges those who, having received their share of His kindness, have not behaved suitably to the gifts bestowed by Him, but have lived luxuriously, 'opposing His gracious Will, yea, and blaspheming Him who hath wrought so great benefits for them' (iii. 25, 1–4 ; iv. 9, 2). His judgment, however, is the natural consequence of their own great carelessness and choice of darkness, which occasion their want of mindfulness and of sound judgment ; and, when they flee into darkness, they as is fitting partake of the evil that is in the darkness (iv. 37, 2 ; v. 27, 2). Thus the receptacle of God's goodness, and of all His wisdom and power, and the instrument of His bright manifestation (*organum clarificationis ejus*) is man grateful to his Maker ; and, again, the receptacle of God's just judgment is man unthankful and scorning his Maker and not submitting to His Word, who hath promised to give most abundantly to those that bear fruit, who first calls together (to the marriage) the unworthy because of His abundant goodness, but afterwards, coming to inspect all, is represented as not well-pleased with many ; who gives liberally to whom it is meet and worthily rewards the unthankful (iv. 36 ; 4, 6). And not in works only but also in faith hath the Lord kept man's choice free and inde-

pendent (iv. 37, 5); to those who please Him He grants a fuller knowledge of the plan of salvation (iv. 14, 2), not, however, altering the primary conception of God as a good Creator and discriminating Rewarder of men, nor making the instruction of a contrary nature, for the Word has always been the same (iv, 11, 3; 36, 4). Although they admitted that there would be a fuller understanding of the mystery, a consistent science and systematic exposition of the faith, when that which is full-grown is come, yet the early fathers were totally opposed to conceits which were subversive of the faith, and maintained that to bring in a new idea of God, or radically to change the first instruction, is not really to make progress, but to float about perpetually in the abyss of mysteriousness (iv. 9, 3). By abandoning thus the fundamental position of Christian Theism, that the Creator has ever been good to all His creatures, and is still a trier of those on whom He sends His goodness, theologians would, as the primitive elders foresaw, fall into much absurdity and many contradictions; and the natural consequence would be that they would seek to hide their opinions, to wrap them up in mystery, lest they should be proved to be unsound and futile (iv. 32, 1; C^2 479). Thus, when some Gnostics fancied themselves full-grown or spiritual, in that they had reached the idea that God is a mere distributor of different natures to men, apart from voluntary choice (C^2 7); or, as in the case of Marcion, in that they regarded the Deity as only good to some and only just to others, the early fathers saw no progress or full-growth in such conceits, but only perversions of the first principles of theistic belief in God; systems making the Word of God of none effect and misrepresenting the Creator (v. 26, 2; 27, 1). Why, if His goodness is not joined with judgment, does He not save all? (iii. 25, 2). So, at the present day there are men who think themselves far advanced beyond the early fathers and call them childish; theologians who have reached the idea that the state of men is not now probationary, that men inherit a nature *so* evil that they cannot help resisting all God's operations on them, unless He virtually supersedes

all probationary choice by the physical gift of another nature. Beasts of prey, which as a matter of course yield to the impulse to seize it, are yet not compelled against their will to do so; and so, while this theology admits that violence is not done to men's wills, in that 'the creature is not compelled to do the things which it would not;' that is, that men are free agents, or free to act; and again, while it is admitted that the motives or second causes, from which actions take their rise, are *contingent*, that is, not the *necessary evolution* of physical operations, not *necessarily caused* as Hume, Huxley, Tyndall, or Edwards might say: yet this theology teaches that God so varies these second causes or motives, as to determine men's choice in every instance, and somehow to get everything that comes to pass accomplished just as He fore-ordained; that men are no longer in a probationary state; that, since 'to *all* those, for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, He doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same,' 'their state is not now probationary but confirmed' (Macpherson on the Confession of Faith for Bible Classes; pp. 47, 76, 80, 81. Clark). There are others, however, who consider this representation as one-sided, and who, at the same time, represent the teaching of the early fathers as also one-sided. Such teachers represent God as predestining all that comes to pass, and also as giving man a true probationary choice; at one time they speak of man's state as now probationary, and at another as not now probationary. On the other hand, the early fathers described the spiritual man as 'consistent in his whole speech,' and as therefore not judged or refuted by any one; while they regarded inconsistency as a proof of error. They tell us of some Gnostics who 'either despised the consistency of their dogmas' or were prepared to go so far as to reject the Scriptures, rather than admit a sensible exposition of the things signified (Iren. iv. 32, 1; 33, 1; C^2 478, 479); but the early fathers would have been surprised to find theologians who regard hopeless irreconcilableness as an aid to faith, who would doubt a system of theology if they could reconcile its parts.

MEDIATORIAL AND ACCEPTABLE PRESENTATION OF MAN TO GOD AND GOD TO MAN.

Under this heading are included such subjects as THE ATONEMENT or RECONCILIATION and REDEMPTION. It has just been said that it belongs to man as the head or sum of God's work, (1) to please God, and (2) to exhibit God. Now the first man (1) offended God by sinning or transgressing His commandment, and (2) lost the divine image, a certain tyranny of death passing over him that he might know the nature of good and evil (v. 22, 23). When men had thus been overcome, and in various ways shattered (*elisi*), they could not now win the palm of victory against death or remould themselves in the divine image (v. 12, 6; 18, 2); but the Word of God did both, becoming that very thing which the other was, namely man, subjecting Himself to all the laws established by the Father, fulfilling the times of man's condemnation because of disobedience (iii. 23, 1), coming as Man even to death and rising again, that, through the Visible Word, men might be partakers of this complete likeness to the Invisible Father and receive a second formation from death (v. 16, 2; 23, 2). This saving of man consistently with law is pleasing to God, first, because it is pleasing to Him who is the Artificer and Creator of man, that His workmanship should not be lost; our Lord, therefore, pleased God when He presented (*offerentem*) and commended to God that Man whom He had found. Secondly, as God is the Lawgiver, it is pleasing to Him that, in saving His workmanship, that which is just or according to law should not be broken through (iv. 9, 3; v. 1, 1). Now as they who see the light, are in the light, and partake of light,

so the beholding (*visio*) of God gives both light and life; and as man of himself does not behold or see God (iv, 20, 5, 6, 7), therefore it belongs to the Divine Word to reveal God, that men, gazing steadfastly on His light, may be justified (iv. 27, 2). But unless the Divine Word become man, how could man, according to the law of the race, see or hear or hold intercourse with Him, so as to be influenced by Him? (v. 1, 1). 'How else would men have been saved by beholding Him, when they cannot gaze at the (unveiled) sun?' (Bar. 5). Before 'the faith' came, the weak elements of the law fore-shadowed it; but now His Church or His people must continue this work of His on earth; and, surely, it is only as holy, blameless and irreproachable, that men are either presented to God as perfect or are the word of wisdom to others, shining as lights prepared through Christ (Col. i. 22; Phil. ii. 15, 16; 1 Thess. v. 23; Iren. iv. 7, 3; v. 6, 1; C[1] 341). 'It behoved the Mediator of God and man,' says Irenæus, 'through His relationship with either side to bring into friendship and concord (*ὁμόνοιαν*) both, to present man to God and make known God to men' (*καὶ Θεῷ μὲν παραστῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ γνωρίσαι τὸν Θεόν*, Iren. iii. 18, 7; iv. 19, 7; Harvey ii. 101, 218 n. 10). The Latin of this passage, except in one instance (in the Ar. MS.), differs from the Greek preserved by Theodoret, and indicates that the Word was to assume human nature (1), that God might be revealed to man, and (2) that man might devote himself (*se dederet*) to God. The Greek is probably the correct reading; but the connection shows that the rest of the body, the Church, was to follow the type of its Head, and be presented to God, not full of spots and blemishes, but holy and blameless (Eph. v. 27). By due admonition

and instruction in all wisdom, St. Paul sought to present every man perfect or full-grown in Christ (Col i. 28). It was not according to men's merits that the saving manifestation of the Son of God was given, but of God's fatherly goodness; nor is it to a bondage of rites and ceremonies, according to the works of the first man's choice, that we are now called; but we are called to be imitators of that kindness and philanthropy and perfect well-doing, which God fore-determined to manifest in His Son (2 Tim. i. 8-12; Tit. iii. 1-8). In giving us in His Son the means of being washed or cleansed, and in working in us renewingly, our Heavenly Father is passing by previous sins; but in the last judgment our Lord will not know as His friends, or acknowledge as His, or confess before His Father those who have not given effect to His light and operation, 'who by their works dishonour Him who made them, and by their views blaspheme Him who nourishes them' (Iren. iv. 33, 15). Clement also speaks of this acceptable presentation: 'Knowledge is fit for the *acceptable* transformation for the better, and terminating in love thereafter *presents* (*παρίστησιν*) friend to friend, the knowing to the known' (S. vii. 10).

THE ATONEMENT; THOSE IN CHRIST. — The English word *atone* had once the meaning of the Greek word so translated in our version of A.D. 1611. We find it used by Shakespeare[1] about A.D. 1600, in the sense of to *set at one*, to *reconcile*. The Greek word (*καταλ-*

[1] Since we cannot atone you, we shall see
Justice design the victor's chivalry. *Rich. II.* I., i. 202.
I was glad I did atone my countrymen and you. *Cymb.* I. 4, 42.
When earthly things made even atone together.—*As You Like It*, v. 4, 116.

λάσσω) and that translated *propitiate* (ἱλάσκεσθαι) are versions of the Hebrew *caphar* or *kipper*, which means properly to *cover*, to *change the face of*, or *reface* (Gen. xxxii. 20); to *wipe over* an old writing with something so as to make the document or groundwork below appear (as was done in the case of the Codex Ephraemi); to *efface*, *obliterate*, or *supersede* an old bond so as to do away with it (Is. xxviii. 18). The lid of the ark, underneath which were the Ten Commandments, derives its name *capporeth* from the same root; and, according to Clement, this lid represents a certain veil by which the things of thought are covered and which it belongs to the teacher judiciously to open (C² 242, 259). Now such a veil, such a significant mystery or enigma, was 'the saving drama of humanity' which our Lord acted (C¹ 98)—the 'compendium' of 'His Presence as Man,' in which, according to Irenæus, He 'summed up' His previous manifestations. That which the Word of God had been addressing to mankind in the significant displays and utterances of nature (Ps. xix. 1–6), that which was indicated by Moses and the prophets in many shadowy types and divers ways, has been presented to men with a new face, in a more compendious and perfect form, in the Life or History of the Word made flesh. The veil that was spread over all nations has been done away in Christ—the 'Enigma' in whom we still see as through a mirror (1 Cor. xiii. 12; 2 Cor. iii.), the Propitiatory Covering (or *Hilastery*, Rom. iii. 25), whose glory, once hidden beneath the old veil or covering, now shines forth in an open Temple. The handwriting of the Old Covenant of Judaism has been effaced and superseded by a new and better Covenant in the face of Jesus Christ. This illumination of the Gospel of

Christ, who is the Image of God—this shining forth of God's glory in the face of Jesus Christ—is, no doubt, 'the Reconciliation we have now received' (2 Cor. iv. 4–6; Rom. v. 11). In this sense we may perhaps understand Art. 3 of the Church of England, as asserting that Christ the Son 'has reconciled the Father to us,' that is, has presented God to us suitably or in such a way as to attract, accustom, and train men to the knowledge and service of God, and, so to speak, to *conciliate* as well as correct men. For the object of the gift is that we men might be *reconciled* to God, that is, presented to God with our stains and blemishes reformed, with a new aspect or face as being transformed and renewed in the whole man, and thus made good and acceptable or well-pleasing to God (Rom. xii. 1–2). 'If any man, therefore, be in Christ, he is a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new' (2 Cor. v. 17). To be *in Christ*, therefore, is to have this covering of light spread over us, to put on this changed aspect of the whole man (καταλλάγητε, 2 Cor. v. 20), to have this face of Christ reflected on us (2 Cor. iii. 18. *Rev. Trans.*), to be partaking in 'that transformation for the better,' which is acceptable to God (C [2] 447). Clement quotes a passage from the Valentinian Heracleon, in which the expression *to confess in Christ* (Luke xii. 8) is explained as referring to men's whole conduct, including speech. Clement agrees with this explanation of the expression *in Christ*, but considers that Heracleon undervalued the confession which a man might make by martyrdom, for this might show his heart to be in the right place, though his conduct or life had previously been inconsistent (S. iv. 9). By our Lord's passing through the various stages of

human life, and presenting them in a new or consecrated aspect, by His fulfilling the Mosaic ritual, by His laborious life of ministry, by His crucified flesh, and by His resurrection, He sets before men, in a parabolic or dramatic manner suited to men's sensuous nature, the way of life. In thus saving men in accordance with law, He pleased God, or, in ritual language, He propitiated God in our behalf (Iren. vi. 17, 2), but His inaugurating work is a *sign* that the way of life is by pleasing God; they who offer the true sacrifice of a broken spirit or heart turned from evil will propitiate God to the receiving of life from Him; and He accepts as done to Himself what we do to redeem our fellow creatures, i.e. to benefit them in their troubles and set them right (Iren. iv. 17, 2; 18, 6; C [2] 420). As sinners or transgressors we are in the old Adam, in the way of death, covered with works of darkness displeasing to God; as voluntarily taught of God, as choosing well-doing, we are in the Second Adam, and in the Way of Life, of which He became the sensuous Image; we are in the Light which is reflected upon us. If then our Lord suffered in the flesh, it is a sign that we too must crucify the lusts of the flesh, arming ourselves with a like mind (1 Pet. iv. 1). As we have borne the image of the earthly, let us bear (as Irenæus reads 1 Cor. xv. 40) the image of the heavenly. To mortify the members which are upon earth, to put off the old man with his deeds, is to put away evil desires, words, and actions (Col. iii.; Eph. iv.). To put on the new man is to follow after what is good, to acquire the quickening Spirit, to walk according to the Word, that, as by sinning or falling away to the bad, men became depraved in those habits and dispositions which constitute a second nature, so by returning

to the better part, by following after good works, the blots left by previous sins may be effaced, or the former covetousness destroyed through the formation of new habits and dispositions.[1]

The early fathers taught in no uncertain way that the Saviour Christ is the Saviour of all men, and cares for all men, being their Creator and Lord, exhibited dispensationally (*τὴν ἁγίαν οἰκονομίαν ἀναδεδειγμένῳ*) to teach holiness, and compelling by various corrections even egregious sinners to repent. He trains the enlightened by mysteries, the faithful (believer) by good hopes, the hard-hearted by the corrective discipline, which is through sensible operation (*δι' αἰσθητικῆς ἐνεργείας*, S vii. 2; C [2] 409). The sameness of this varied economy consists in God's addressing men according to their nature, using sensuous means to correct sensuous men. Thus He speaks to men in sensuous or parabolic language, exhibits Himself to their senses as the Way of Life, corrects them by sensuous discipline, and elevates them by the trials and difficulties to be overcome. Irenæus (v. 12, 6; 13, 1; 15, 2) considered it very significant that our Lord's miraculous power was displayed so much in healing men, and that He used sensuous means for this purpose. Thus he formed eyes and sight to the blind man by smearing his eyes with clay (from which man was made) and sending him to wash in Siloam (John ix.). The supernatural is founded on the natural; and thus the early fathers reasoned that a new sight is formed for those morally blind—not by depositing in them some germ of a higher physical nature apart from voluntary choice, as the Gnostics supposed—but by leading men to the truth, as the good teacher ought to do, by means of

[1] Iren. iv. 12; 5; 36, 9; 39, 1, 2; v. 9, 3; 12, 3, 5; C[2] 230, 416.

what they have (*διὰ τῶν ἰδίων*, C [2] 232). Irenæus insists much on the Word's becoming visible and audible ; and thus by the very (sensuous) things wherein man formerly disobeyed and disbelieved God, by these He brought in obedience and assent to His Word (Iren. v. 15, 3 ; 16, 3). Man is the workmanship of the Lord ; naturally, therefore, says Clement (Pæd. i. 3), He does all things beneficially for man ; ' as God, He forgives sins, and as man He trains us (as children) so that we should not sin.' Children need a course of milk nourishment ; and this sort of thing is His bodily presence (Iren. iv. 38, 1), perpetuated in His Church, His sacraments, &c. His flesh was the propitiatory covering, underneath which lay the perfect law of God, the beautiful curtain, behind which was veiled the rational service of the initiated priesthood. Now we see in this bright mirror enigmatically the glory of God ; this glass or screen lends its colours to that which shines through it ; but it was an idea of the Marcosians, repudiated by Irenæus, that a man's case is so identified with that of the Ransom, that he is out of the power of the Judge, who *cannot*, it is still said, punish both him and the Surety ; or that, in the judgment, a man will be *screened* from the sight of the Judge, so as to be unseen (Iren. i. 13, 6).[1]

[1] The Marcosians ' do all things freely, having no fear in anything ; for they affirm that because of the Ransom (Redemption) they come to be beyond the power and out of the sight of the Judge. But, if He did lay hold on them, they might stand before Him with the Ransom and speak as follows : O (Wisdom) Assessor of God . . . do thou, as knowing the case of us both (me and the Ransom), present the case of (plea in behalf of *λόγον ὑπὲρ*) both of us to the Judge as being one case.' On this they are screened from the Judge's sight and enter heaven. The followers of Simon Magus, not having investigated the cause of the difference of the two testaments, their adaptation, imagine that the laws enacted by Moses were unlike and contrary to the doctrine of the gospel (Iren. iii. 12, 12), disregard the

THE RANSOM PAID BY THE REDEEMER. THE SIN-BEARER.—I. The Divine Lawgiver respects His own laws, and is pleased when they are respected. When, therefore, our Lord became man, He became, as one of us, a *Victim* to the evils which sin had brought upon the race, that, in saving man, God's laws might not be broken through (Iren. v. 1, 1). It is appointed unto all men once to die; our Lord, therefore, having become man, did not set aside the law appointed to our race; He passed through childhood, boyhood, manhood, and eventually *paid the penalty of death*, that is, died, that men might follow His steps, and, like Him, be raised from the dead (Iren. ii. 22, 4; Heb. ix. 27, 28). Again, when our Lord became a member of the Jewish community, and when, as the blameless and just Light, He reproved the prevailing covetousness, hypocrisy and blind guidance (Just. Dial. 17), then the curse of a malignant, wrathful, and infatuated spirit, which was itself the judgment of God or the consequence of a persistent choice of evil and darkness (Rom. iii. 5–8), broke out against Him. Thus our Lord *paid the penalty of men's sins*, in that He bore their consequences or suffered from the working of evil among men, which also has its laws. Again, it is the law of our race that men are perfected

old prophetic utterances, and 'do whatever they wish under the idea that they are free, that they will obtain salvation not by good works, but by grace, that they are not chargeable (*αἴτιον δίκης*) for what they *do* badly, for this is not to be bad by nature but by enactment (*θέσει*) established (*ἃ ἔθεντο*) by the angels . . . who brought in such prescriptive rules to enslave men . . . Accordingly they are not laid hold of as culprits upon the ground of anything reckoned (by law or custom) to be evil, *for they have been redeemed*' (*οὐ γὰρ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τινὶ νομιζομένῳ κακῷ, λελύτρωνται γάρ.* Hip. *Phil.* vi. 19; Harvey's *Iren.* i. 123, n. 2; 124; 193, n. 2, 3; 194).

by patiently enduring temptation and doing well, though they suffer for it; 'the disciplinary art of providence is the same in such things, and, therefore, our Lord was not hindered from suffering (*παθεῖν*, omitted in Clark) this sanctification of ours' (C² 178). As 'tribulation is necessary for such as are saved' (Iren. v. 28, 4), it behoved the Leader and Forerunner of man's salvation to be made perfect through sufferings (Heb. ii. 10). Both Irenæus and Clement believed that, though God does not cause the voluntary apostasy of rebels, yet it is the greatest achievement of His Providence to overrule their persecutions, false prophesyings, or other causes of stumbling (scandals), so as to make them serve some good purpose in perfecting those who endure the test and are approved (C¹ 408, 409), as 'the stubble is of use for the growth of wheat and the chaff thereof for burning, for the working of gold' (Iren. v. 29). The incarnation was thus the beginning of our Lord's redeeming work; having become man, He was only consistent in not setting aside the established laws which God has assigned to the race; but in honouring these laws He presented Man well-pleasing to the Father.

II. Man also must be conciliated or attracted by the Presentation according to the laws of his nature. The Creator respects these, if, as we presume, He does not work magically. It was to win and, so to speak, to *purchase* man's well-pleased service or hearty co-operation, that our Lord became a Brother-Man. He stooped to conquer. Christians are not their own; a ransom has been paid to them for (*ἀντί*) themselves; and for man's sake a return is sought for. This is no ordinary agreement, for God alone has arranged it for our good,

and God alone is Judge whether a man is to be accounted grateful or ungrateful, approved or worthless. In the following passage, Clement is speaking of our Lord as the expression of the Father's unspeakable love, as the Great Sign of the Father, and as having, as a Fellow-Sufferer, caught at us with a mother's love. 'It was for this,' he goes on, 'that He Himself descended and put on humanity, for this that He willingly suffered the things of men, that by bringing Himself to the measure of the weakness of us whom He loved He might correspondingly bring us to the measure of His strength; and both when about to pour out a ratification (*σπένδεσθαι*) and when giving Himself a Ransom He bequeaths to us a New Covenant: "My love I give to you." What is this and how much? In behalf of each one of us, He put down (as a payment, *κατέθηκε*) His life worth the whole (*τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνταξίαν τῶν ὅλων*); in return He demands of us this (life) in behalf of each other. But if we owe our lives to the brethren and have thankfully owned (*ἀνθωμολογήσαμεθα*) such an agreement (*συνθήκην*) with the Saviour,' should we live avaricious, unloving, and worthless lives, the end of which is the fire? (De Div. Ser. 37) Instead of mere fleshly pleasures our Lord gives us His (manifestation in the) flesh, which is bread indeed, and for what intoxicates He gives His Spirit; to console us for the sacrifice of this life, He gives eternal life; for transcendental conceits (the wisdom of this world) He gives us a knowledge fitted to our capacity, and instead of that old covenant between men which exacted eye for eye and tooth for tooth, which taught or allowed men to avenge themselves, we have received a new covenant of love to bind 'men of well-pleasing' in one brotherhood. Thus our Lord *presents*

God and life eternal to man to win him from his evil pleasures; but man must still choose, and is to himself the cause why in one case he becomes wheat for God's garner, and in another chaff to be left and burned up (Iren. iv. 4, 3).

It appears also from their interpretations of the Scriptures that the early fathers gave this two-fold explanation of our Lord's sufferings. When Isaiah says (liii. 5, 8) that He was wounded and stricken *from* (Heb. *min*, Sept. διὰ and ἀπὸ) men's transgressions and bruised *from* (*min*) our iniquities, Barnabas (c. 5, 6, 14) and Justin understood, first, that He suffered *from* the consummated sins of the people, *from* the accumulation of evil which had grown up in human society. When Trypho the Jew quoted Deut. xxi. 23, to show that because Christ was crucified, therefore He was cursed of God, Justin (Dial. 89) replied that there would be room for wonder, if Isaiah and the prophets had not predicted that He would suffer dishonourably *from* the sins of the people; he then showed that all men are under a curse, since every Jew would admit that he had more or less broken the law, and since the Gentiles were still more guilty of idolatrous wickedness; that our Lord took upon Himself the curses of all (became subject to ill-treatment, death, &c.), that He might heal men from these bites of the serpent, the curses resulting from sin; that the Jews, who would not be healed but cursed Him as they cursed those who believed in Him (thrice a day, as Epiphanius and Jerome tell us), should rather mourn for themselves (Just. Dial. 16 note, Oxf. Tr. 94–96). The second reason for our Lord's sufferings, assigned by Barnabas (5, 6, 14), was to redeem our nature, *as here conditioned*, from the dominion of sin and death, to

exhibit, in our *suffering* humanity an Image of God, which we *could* behold and reflect. Made in the likeness of the flesh (holden) of sin, He combated the tempter as Man, and 'acted the saving drama of humanity' (C[1] 98). 'He is introduced in the Gospels as wearied, because toiling for us, and promising to give His life a ransom for many, for him alone who does so He owns to be a good shepherd; and as man He wished to be a Brother when He might have been Lord' (Matt. xx. 28; John x. 11). It was to break the power of fleshly lusts and heal the wounds of the serpent, to draw men to be imitators of God, and provoke them to (put on) His own likeness, that our Lord, bearing patiently the desertion of His friends, and praying for His murderers, was in the likeness of sinful flesh and of the brazen Serpent, lifted up from the earth on the wood of martyrdom (Iren. iii. 18, 5; 20, 2; iv. 2, 7). We were the strong man's goods, and his house as long as we were in apostasy; but now he is bound with the same chains wherewith he bound man (iii. 18, 2; v. 21, 3; Matt. xii. 29). Sin entered through enticement to pamper the flesh, through self-seeking or self-exaltation, through the conceit of a transcendental wisdom leading to a disregard of God's known laws. As, therefore, the flesh and God's other creatures had been made to minister to evil, it was reasonable that God should assume what belongs to Himself, that in what is corporeal and visible the Word of God should have the pre-eminence, that, being made flesh and the First-Born from the dead, He might attract all in convenient season (iii. 16). To expel the vainglorious boasting, or the selfish love of life in this world, our Lord appears divesting Himself of His transcendent glory, not grasping at equality with God, but giving us an

actual proof of a life incorruptible to be attained by self-sacrifice (John xii. 25). Again, sin had made use of the commandment to prompt men to what is forbidden (Rom. vii. 8); but our Lord showed that the divine commandments are not grievous or jealous restrictions, but laws of health and life; He undid 'diabolic ignorance,' by means of discourses and precepts, which He Himself practised. The adversary concealed his falsehoods by a false appearance of knowledge, and by perverting Scripture or God's words, as the heretics still do; our Lord offers us sober-minded knowledge adapted to our capacity instead of transcendental conceits; and He refuted perversions of Scripture by means of Scripture (iii. 18, 5, 6; v. 21–24). He teaches us to give heed how we hear, and not to disregard God's known laws. To those who follow Him, He promises that good habits and the divine life shall expel the power of sin and death.

The Hebrew words (*gaäl* and *padhah*), meaning to *redeem*, have the double sense of the English word: we *redeem* when we recover, rescue or deliver, either by literally paying *money* or by giving the necessary *pains*. Job's Redeemer (*Goël*) was He who was to deliver him from his troubles, and from death (Job xix. 25). The *Goël* or Avenger of Blood was the near kinsman, whose duty it was to pursue the manslayer to slay him in turn. Now sin is a manslayer; and Irenæus speaks of men who were such as *banished* to a city of refuge till the death of the Great High Priest (iv. 8, 2). The Lord laid upon Him (*Sept.* delivered Him to) our iniquities (Is. liii. 6), plainly, says Clement, as 'Corrector and Reformer of sins' (C[1] 158). The task laid upon Him was to redeem us from all lawlessness (Tit. ii. 4);

Clement represents the Saviour as pleading His claims to a man's allegiance on the ground that He has acted as his Champion against Death, giving freedom and healing. 'I, a teacher of heavenly lessons, contended with (*πρὸς*) death for thy sake, and discharged (paid off or rather chastised away, *ἐξέτισα*) thy death, which thou owedest for thy former sins, and thy unfaithfulness towards God' (De Div. Ser. 23). This task of chasing away sin and death, of 'reforming and correcting sins,' belonged to Him as the Avenger of our blood. 'The chastisement of our peace was upon Him' (Is. liii. 5); and here the word *mosar* (Sept. *παιδεία*) translated *chastisement* means *instruction* and *disciplinary correction*—the two tasks which, according to Clement, were assigned to Him (Pæd. i. 7). The Word of the Cross reconciles men to peace (Iren. iv. 34, 4); and the burden of government was upon his shoulders (Is. ix. 6). But in whatever sense He bore our burdens, He did not thereby free us from His *law* of bearing one another's burdens (Gal. vi. 2).

The objects of men's idolatrous worship are sometimes called in Scripture their sins (Deut. ix. 21; Amos viii. 14). Men may make idols of the flesh, of their own selves, or of that beautiful imagery of earthly things, through which God manifests Himself (1 John ii. 15, 16; v. 21). When St. Paul says that our Lord 'was made sin for us' (2 Cor. v. 21), he may mean that He took upon Himself what we had idolised, or that He came in the likeness of the flesh (holden) of sin, with a human soul, recapitulating the old (perverted) elements. Thus He may be said to have *borne*, i.e. *lifted* or *taken up* (*αἴρειν* = Heb. *nasa*), the sin of the world (John i. 29), for He gave us by means of the old ele-

ments a new manifestation of God, a true Image to set aside forbidden images; He came into this sin-possessed world to *take away* (*αἴρειν*) its sins (1 John iii. 5), to reconcile it to God (2 Cor. v. 17–21), by making it a true image of God. The same word (*ἀναφέρω*) is employed when our Lord is said to have *borne* (*offered up*) sins (Heb. ix. 28), to have *offered up* Himself (Heb. vii. 27), and to have *carried up* our sins in His body to the cross (*ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπὶ το ξύλον*, 1 Pet. ii. 24). St. Paul speaks of the cross as the rival of the world (Gal. vi. 14), and also of the old shadowy 'deeds' of the Mosaic law (Rom. vii. 6; Gal. v. 14). Our Lord is the Sun of Righteousness (Mal. iv. 2), superseding the Gentile elements of worship (Deut. iv. 19), and an enigma (1 Cor. xiii. 12), superseding the darker Mosaic ordinances (2 Cor. iii.), 'a law put down upon a law (*νόμος κατὰ νόμου τεθεὶς*, i.e. *covering* it) and abrogating it' (Justin, Dial. 11). Israel's blessings had been turned into curses (Ez. xx. 25; Mal. ii. 2) when Israel made idols of God's altars (Hos. viii. 11), worshipping God in the temple almost after the manner of the heathen (Bar. c. 16), and putting their Pharisaic zeal in the place of divine philanthropy or love (Iren. iv. 11, 4; 12). From the curse of such a zeal of fire, as well as from the curse of being holden by death, our Lord delivers His followers, having become a curse for them, first, in that He came under the burdensome rites of the law in order to supersede them, and secondly, in that He suffered death from the working of wrath in the minds of men; both death and this evil spirit having come upon men through voluntary disobedience and indulging the passions. Inasmuch then as He bore our nature and the consequences entailed upon it by sin, He bore our burdens and set before us, in a saving drama,

His law (Gal. vi. 2); and in so doing He both pleased God, whose laws He honoured, and presented God and God's law of well-doing to men in such a way as to conciliate men and induce them to follow the pattern (1 Pet. ii. 21).

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE ATONEMENT.—The artistic skill of the Creator displays itself in the adaptation of means to ends, and also in symmetrical arrangements and harmonious evolution. Accordingly, Irenæus reasons that, 'as God made all things in due proportion and well adjusted, the outward aspect (*species*) of the Gospel must needs be also well ordered and compacted;' he explains, on this principle, why there are four gospels and no more, twelve apostles and no fewer (iii. 11, 9; 12, 1); and goes on to show that as there is with God nothing inelegant (*incomptum*), nothing incongruous, nothing following unseasonably, as it was one and the same God who pre-arranged the various dispensations from beginning to end, and one Christ Jesus who was with God in the beginning, by whom all things were made and who came by means of all the dispensational arrangements, so in the end He recapitulated (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, Eph. i. 10) in or reconciled (*ἀποκαταλλάξαι*, Col. i. 20, 21) into Himself all things, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens (iii. 16, 6–7; iv. 5, 1). He summed up those natural manifestations of God and His ways, which were previously given through the host (*Saba*)[1] of heaven and earth, as well as those preparatory elements of the Jewish law and the Gentile philosophy (C[1] 366, 367, 415; C[2] 340, 341), by which the way was prepared for Christ. Thus, as the Word of God is chief in things supercelestial, spiritual, and invisible, so also He 'acted the saving

[1] *Saba, host*, is translated in the Septuagint *κόσμος, world* (Gen. ii. 1; Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3; Is. xxiv. 21–23), or *δύναμις, power* or *powers* (Ps. xxxiii. 6; Dan. iv. 32; viii. 10; Is. xxxiv. 4, &c.). It is well known that the heathen religions began with the worship of the heavenly bodies and the powers of nature, which is a manifestation of God. The Lord of Hosts (*Sabaoth*) is *παντοκράτωρ*, the Almighty (Sept.).

drama of humanity' (C[1] 98), and fulfilled God's dispensational manifestations (*omnem secundum hominem dispensationem implente*, Iren. iii. 17, 4), that also in things visible and corporeal He might have the pre-eminence (Col. i. 18). Now among these 'all things,' which the Divine Word recapitulated, is man himself (iii. 16, 6); and as man is made perfect through endurance and victory over temptation, so also was the Archetype of man's salvation exhibited (Heb. ii. 10). The living man is the glory of God, and the life of man is the seeing (*visio*) of God (iv. 20, 7); accordingly, for us men and for our salvation the Divine Word became visible, palpable,[1] and capable of suffering, and 'summed up in Himself the long exposition[2] of men, presenting salvation to us (*elisis*) in a compendium.' Thus Irenæus sees many parallels between the temptation in Eden and that in the wilderness, between the disobedience of Eve and the obedience of the Virgin Mary, between Adam's disobedience, his grasping at forbidden pleasure and at transcendental knowledge, his elated self-conceit, and his seeking to save the life in this world, and the obedience, the patient waiting for food given by God, the humble dependence on the Father's laws, and the unworldly disinterestedness of our Lord (v. 21; 22). 'And not only by the aforesaid things, but by His very passion did the Lord manifest both Himself and His Father,' recapitulating, rectifying, effacing, and compensating (*sanans*, *consolatus*, *dissolvens*, *exsolvens*) the disobedience wrought at a tree by the obedience at a tree (*in ligno*), and

[1] Iren. iii. 16, 6. Harvey (ii. 88) quotes an exactly parallel passage of Ign. ad Polyc. c. 3, where *incomprehensibilis* is replaced by ἀψηλάφητος.

[2] Iren. iii. 18, 1. The word *expositio* comes from *exponere*, which replaces σκηνοβατεῖν, *to bring on the stage* (Harvey, ii. 262), or, as it is translated (Clark, iv. 33, 7), *set forth*, or by Keble, *display*. Thus our Lord acted the saving drama of humanity (C[1] 98), recapitulating (ἀνακεφαλαιόμενος) by His crown of thorns on the head (*caput*, κεφαλή) His first appearing to Moses in a (thorny) bush, and, because of His suffering, exalted above every name (Phil. iii. 9 11), above every manifestation to sense and thought, like the name on the crown or plate of the High Priest's mitre (Pæd. ii. 8, S. v. 6).

bringing in obedience and assent unto God's word by the very same things wherein we refused to obey God and to believe 'His word' (v. 16, 3 ; 19, 1) ; recapitulating man's death on the sixth day, and by means of His own passion conferring on (*donans*) man a second formation (*plasmationem*), that which is out of (*a*) death (v. 23, 2), that death might not hold man, but become the gate of a new life. So, likewise, He anointed over and superseded (ἐξαλείψας) the bond written in ordinances, and nailed it (in His body) to the Cross, thus remitting men's debt or sins (comp. Iren. v. 17, 3, with Frag. 36 or 37), triumphantly stripping the principalities and powers (*Sabaoth*) and making an exhibition in *openness* (ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ), that is, as appears from John xvi. 29, in *frank plainness*, as compared to the mystery of the old religions, the middle wall of shadows, which parted men from God and one another (Eph. ii. 14, 15 ; Col. ii. 14, 15). For 'since the law began with Moses, it ended in due course with John, Christ having come to fulfil it. . . . Jerusalem also, beginning with David and completing her proper times, was to have an end of legislation in the revelation of the New Testament. . . . But why speak we of Jerusalem, since the fashion of the whole world must pass away' (Iren. iv. 4, 2).

Our Lord died *for* (ὑπέρ, i.e. *in behalf of*) us, being delivered up *for* (διά, i.e. *because of*) our sinful errors ; but in one and only one case ἀντί, *in the place of*, is used. He gave His life or soul a ransom for (ἀντί) many (Matt. xx. 28 ; Mark x. 45). Clement of Rome (i. 49) and Irenæus (v. 1, 1) speak of Him as giving His soul for (ὑπὲρ) our souls and His flesh for (ἀντὶ *in Iren.*) our flesh (σαρκῶν). Here (i) we may understand that there is a representative parallelism, that, as on the Day of Atonement, the blood was love given upon the altar of His soul, the mind of self-sacrifice was set forth on the Propitiatory, that it might be on our souls (Lev. xvii. 11, Rom. iii. 25). 'Let us give earnest heed,' says this Clement, 'to the blood of Christ, which having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of a changed mind (repentance) before (ὑπήνεγκε) the whole world' (i. 7). Adam

exhibited a different mind, when tempted to disobey God through the attractions of this world, the flesh, and the soul (self). To match (*ἀντί*) these, new attractions were presented in the life, flesh, and soul of our Lord which He gave in self-sacrifice for us, leaving us a pattern, binding upon us as a debt, that we should follow His steps. The gift of the Son of God, manifested in this way, was the passing by of sins that are past. The reason why God thus passed these sins by was His love or kindness to man. (ii) He gave this *to man for himself*.

Cremer, in his Lexicon, says that we never read in the Bible *ἱλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεόν*, *to propitiate God*,[1] as if anything happened to God; that something rather happens to man; that the syntactical peculiarity of the expression *to propitiate sins* (*dat.* or *acc.*, Dan. ix. 24, &c.; Heb. ii. 17) is due to the fact that the profane notion in *ἱλάσκεσθαι* differs from the Biblical notion in *caphar* to *cover*,[2] *wrap up* so as to withdraw from sight (*re-face*, Gen. xxxii. 20; *efface* or *do over*, Is. xxviii. 18). The same explanation may be given of the peculiar construction with *περί*, *about*, translated propitiation *for* (1 John ii. 2; iv. 10), but derived from the Septuagint, where it replaces the Hebrew *al*, *upon*. Thus Christ is a *covering upon* sins or *upon* the world. Another equivalent of *caphar* is *καταλλάσσειν*,

[1] Irenæus speaks of our Lord as propitiating the Father, and reconciling us to God after this model (v. 16; 17). He may have used the word popularly in the sense of *please*; in fact, Cremer says that *ἀρέσκειν*, *please*, is synonymous, meaning primarily *to give satisfaction, content, appease*. Irenæus speaks of heretics *appeasing* (*placantes*) God by renouncing their blasphemies (ii. 11, 2). He says that our Lord fulfilled the Sabbath by doing good on it; that He performed the works (*opera*) of the High Priest, propitiating God for (*pro*) men, cleansing the lepers, &c. (iv. 8, 2). But those who offer to Him the true sacrifice of a proper mind and right ways will propitiate God, for such sacrifices are the means of salvation (iv. 17, 2).

[2] The English language admits of a similar use of the word *cover*. Thus the *Times* of April 21, 1882, speaks of 'some greater law which will *cover* Darwinism and take a wider sweep.' 'A law laid down upon a law (*κατὰ νόμου τεθεὶς*) makes that before it to cease, and so a covenant subsequently made terminates a previous one' (Just. Dial. c. 11).

reconcile or *exchange*, for our Lord's flesh became a new veil in exchange for the old (Heb. x. 20), and thus He became the Mediator of intercourse between the invisible God and sensuous man, *superseding* the old weak and unprofitable elements by *bringing in thereupon* (*new trans.*) a better hope, through which we draw nigh to God (Heb. vii. 18, 19). But God so loved the world that He gave His Son. His sentiment did not need to be changed; but for righteousness' sake, because of man's sense-bound condition, the law of man's second life through crucifying the flesh and sacrificing one's self for the general good, was set forth as a suitable drama, in an enigma (ἐν αἰνίγματι, 1 Cor. xiii. 12).

Our Lord was not only a merciful and faithful High Priest to propitiate the sins of the people (Heb. ii. 17), but He was also the Lamb of God that taketh up and beareth, or taketh away (αἴρειν, Heb. *nasa*) the sin of the world (John i. 29), that bore our sins in His body to the tree (ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, 1 Peter ii. 24). Though He knew no sin, He was made sin for us (2 Cor. v. 21). The serpent, which first tempted man, is usually represented as hanging from the tree; and yet by beholding the image of the serpent on a pole, the Israelites were cured of the serpents' bites. In Lev. xvi. directions are given that, on the Great Day of Atonement, a goat should be sacrificed for the sins of the people; and yet, immediately afterwards, the idolatrous objects of the people's worship are called *goats*, translated *devils* (Lev. xvii. 7). In Deut. ix. 21, Moses says: 'And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made.' Men swore by the *guilt* (Sept. *propitiation*) of Samaria: 'As thy god (calf), O Dan, or thy way, O Beersheba, liveth' (Amos viii. 14). Hosea declares that, 'because Israel hath multiplied altars for (*l'*) sin, altars shall be to him for sin' (viii. 11). When they made the ceremonial of their law (*torah*) a substitute for judgment, mercy and intelligent faith, Isaiah (i. 13, 14) speaks of it as an abomination, a burden (*torach*) to God; statutes originally good were turned into idols or scourges (Ez. xx. 25), and their blessings cursed (Mal. ii. 2). Thus our Lord, in taking the

place of the law, recapitulated it, as, in the providence of God, it was then binding on the Jews ; as Justin (Dial. 95) expresses it, He took upon Himself the curses of all ; but the Jews, who rejected Him, should think themselves (not Him) to be accursed (for they were still under the idolised law). The law of Moses, the dark veil or covering, had become a curse, and our Lord took its place, unless men adhered to it. Much more are heathen idolatries to be reckoned curses ; and as all sins are idolatrous symbolisms, perversions of what is intended to manifest God truly, our Lord may be said to have re-formed these perverted symbolisms, supplanting the idol or curse or sin. Such actions, also, as eating and drinking are an imagery of truth, although they may be perverted into sins and curses. Our Lord became the bread of life ; we drink of the water which He gives and of a new wine. We may idolise dress ; His garment showed wisdom and true comeliness (C[1] 257, 263). Thus our Lord supersedes what men pervert into idols. He became *flesh*, and, therefore, may be said to have been made *sin* for us ; for the flesh is the god which men still worship, and may, therefore, be called their *sin* (Deut. ix. 21).

THE LAWS OF SALVATION.

THE SAVIOUR AND HIS DISCRIMINATING WAYS.

Irenæus speaks of our Lord's economy assigned to Him, according to which He fulfilled in suitable order and time and hour what His Father had foreknown and appointed (iii. 16, 7). According to Clement, there was an indefinite and timeless production (ἐκφορὰν) in the beginning ; but the day in and through which God made the heaven and the earth refers to the activity which is by the Son (S. vi. 16 ; C[2] 390). Irenæus finds fault with the gnostic description of the generation of the Son as an emanation of thought from the First Father, of mind from thought, and of word from mind, as if in this way we could understand the mystery of God's Being. God

is all Mind and all Reason; and who shall declare the Son's generation? No man knoweth this production or generation or utterance or manifestation, or can describe it. Also whence and how He produced matter is a knowledge which must be left to God. By indulging in such infinite conjectures about God and in such vain talk we run the risk of losing what we do know (ii. 28). But the early fathers certainly considered that our Lord Jesus Christ is God and Man (Iren. iv. 33, 4); and Irenæus saw nothing irrational in the Word's becoming man, likening Himself to man and man to God; for He truly revealed the Image, Himself having become that very Thing which the Image of Him was (v. 16, 2). Man's rational and moral nature is the reflection or manifestation of God's nature; therefore, God may manifest Himself through the Perfect Man. In all God's doings law reigns (Clem. S. i. 29). The Son of God did not become man to set aside or stultify His Father's laws; but that we through these laws might attain a new formation from death. The laws which He follows in saving men, and which men must follow in order to be saved, are sometimes treated under the heading of *Soteriology*.

i. God's righteousness has been manifested to men that 'God might be just and the justifier of him that is of the faith of Jesus.' In Rom. iii. 5, 21, 26, 'mention is made,' says Cremer, 'of the righteousness of God, so far as God is regarded as one who acts as He is bound (*sit venia verbo*) by Himself to act, so that He does not contradict Himself.' 'Used of God Himself, the word *just* (δίκαιος) refers mainly to His relation to man, but also to all His doings as answering to the rule which He has established for Himself, so that no default, no defect can be charged against Him. It signifies the perfect coincidence between His nature, which is the standard for all, and

His acts.' God's dealings are thus consistent with one another; and, as our Lord did not set aside in His own case His own law of the human race (Iren. ii. 22, 4), and as He was set forth as the fulfilment of past dispensations, He manifested the Divine righteousness or self-consistency. 'God did not fail in His own justice (regard for law), but acted justly (according to law) in turning Himself (becoming man) to match (*adversus*) that apostasy, ransoming from it the things which were His own not by compulsion (*cum vi*), but in accordance with reason and persuasion, so that neither that which is just (according to law) might be broken through nor God's old workmanship utterly perish' (Iren. v. 1, 1). Our Lord's sacrifice thus fulfilled God's past dealings and satisfied the divine laws or ways of working; He may thus be said to be a *ransom* paid that they might not be broken. But the language of Irenæus indicates that this divine justice or self-consistency respects the power of self-determining choice, which the Creator has given to man, and without which man would not be made in God's image. Our Lord's pleasing the Father does not free us from the obligation of pleasing Him, but is a *sign* that we must do so; that we, too, must become part of this reconciled world and exhibit God. We must, as Clement says (on 1 John ii. 1–6), seek to 'complete the fair face of the church'—an expression which shows that he appreciated the Hebrew equivalent of 'the propitiation about the whole world.' For, he adds, 'the blameless, pure, and faultless sons of God are to be the word of wisdom, to shine as lights in the world' (C[1] 340, 341; Phil. ii. 15). They are those who are *set forth as righteous*, for this is 'everywhere (in the Bible) the root-meaning of δικαιοῦν,' *justify* (Cremer). This setting forth is no forensic fiction, as if evil men, while they remain evil, were exhibitions of God's righteousness. They must arise and be light (Is. lx. 1), and walk as Christ walked, that they may lay hold of and put on His righteousness (1 John ii. 6, 29; iii. 7, 16).

ii. This NEW COVENANT, binding man as a *debtor* to love and do good, is not an ordinary agreement. It is God

who forms it; man's part is to accept it (Cremer), not to arrange its terms as an independent party. The Author of man's life, He who gives His bounties to man, determines the *laws* of His operation, the *ways* of His blessing (Clem. Rom. i. 21, 31), the *means* whereby the promised inheritance is secured. If we speak of these laws, ways, or means as *conditions*, we do not mean that they are a *ground* whereby a man *entitles* himself to salvation, as if he had made an independent agreement with God, or as if God needed anything; we mean that in this, as in all His works, God follows laws, still searching the hearts of men, trying those on whom He sends His goodness, not setting aside the praiseworthy element in virtue, but rejecting those who continue to disregard or transgress these laws. When, therefore, men deny that godliness is a *ground* of salvation, they should explain what they mean. None could have more distinctly repudiated the idea of man's *entitling* himself to salvation, or of God's needing anything, than the early fathers; and none could have more distinctly asserted that there is a sphere wherein man's will is left free play, so that he may submit to or reject the divine workmanship, instruction, or correction, and thus 'be to himself a cause why in the one case he becomes wheat and in the other chaff' (Iren. iv. 4, 3; 39, 3). Bearing these things in mind, we can understand St. Paul's argument (Rom. vi.–viii.) that Baptism is a sort of symbolical engagement (sacrament) to be, like Christ, dead to sin and living to God, and that it is most unreasonable to contradict this by the life; that as men had presented themselves and their members as slaves to sin—in other words, as they had sold themselves to sin for that pleasure and that gain of this world's life, which it had promised—so now they are 'debtors' to present themselves as *slaves* to Christ and His righteousness, because of the new pleasures, the new life, the higher attractions and influences presented in Him. So Clement represents our Lord as calling upon a man to confess by deeds what He has done for him, and decide between His service and those attractions which would seduce him from it

('De Div. Ser.' 23–25; *see* note, p. xliii.). Our Lord, he goes on to say, bequeaths to us a covenant, giving to us His love, putting down (as a payment to us, κατέθηκε) His life, worth as much as the whole of us, and demanding in return (ἀνταπαιτεῖ) this (life) from us in behalf of each other. If, then, we have in our turn owned this agreement (συνθήκην) with the Saviour, how can we be unfruitful, selfish, *unloving* worldlings? Such men have not the hope of better things, but await the fire (c. 37). For the Beneficent One first begins to benefit, and one requital of His benefits is the doing of what is well-pleasing to God, who esteems things done to assist and improve His creature man as a personal favour and honour. But we cannot make an adequate return (ἀμοιβή, S. vii. 3).

Irenæus records what he had 'heard from a certain Elder, one who had heard from those who had seen and learned from the Apostles, that David, Solomon, &c., sinned and were rebuked, that no flesh might glory before God; that all men need the glory of God, and those are justified not of themselves but by the coming of the Lord who give earnest heed to His light; but that it was a senseless thing to suppose that God is not now searching out those that now are, as He was in previous times. If men fall away again, Christ shall no more die for such, for death shall no more have dominion over Him (Rom. vi. 9); but the Son shall come in the glory of the Father, exacting from His agents and stewards the money which He lent them with usury; and to whom He gave most, of him He will require most. We ought, therefore, said the Elder, to fear lest haply after the knowledge of Christ, if we do something displeasing to God, we no longer have remission of our sins, but find ourselves shut out of His kingdom. And to this he (the Elder) referred Paul's saying, "For if He (God) spared not the natural branches, neither will He spare thee" (Rom. xi. 21). And, again, he (the Elder) said, the Apostle points out this most clearly in 1 Cor. x. 1–12, and 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10; and in proof that he said these things, not to those who are without, but to *us*, lest we be cast out of the kingdom of God for doing

some such thing, he (Paul) hath subjoined, "And such were some of you, but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified" (*v.* 11). And again the Apostle saith, "Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye, therefore, partakers with them"' (Eph. v. 6, 7; sum. of Iren. iv. 27). Our Lord is traditionally reported to have said, 'Become approved bankers,' and 'the deposit rendered to the Lord is the understanding and practice of the godly tradition, according to the teaching of the Lord by His Apostles' (C^1 467, C^2 377). Heresies and vices grow like tares or weeds when men sleep or leave the result to come as it may (C^2 419, 474). Barnabas (c. 4) bids Christians not neglect the common inquiry into saving truth, *as if justified*, and take heed not to rest at their ease, *as the called*, and fall asleep in their sins. This warning seems needed at present. If men believe that all good things flow to them as a matter of course out of the work of Christ and the divine call, they may leave everything to be done by grace, and not give effect to grace. We must lay hold on what we hope for. The *patience* (ὑπομονή) of the saints, which is the Septuagint word for the distinctive Old Testament *hope* (Cremer), does not mean idle waiting; the *comfort*, exhortation or prophetic instruction (παράκλησις) by which we are *strengthened* or *established*, is not given without study or the painstaking use of means; and the crown of victory is not won without struggling.

THE DOCTRINE OF GRACE, which is received by faith, and THE LAW OF THE NEW NATURE, given to man, were misunderstood and misrepresented by the Gnostics in a way that ought to be a warning to subsequent ages. Some of them represented the new nature as something permanently conferred apart from voluntary choice, so that there would be nothing in it to distinguish it from a higher physical nature, and men would not be amenable to praise or blame (Clem. S. ii. 3). Others represented this grace as the gift of life apart from conduct, by some

faith or running to Christ (Iren. i. 23, 3; 27, 3). In opposition to these Gnostics, the early fathers maintained that the natural precepts of the law, the things eternally righteous and virtuous, are still binding on Christians; that they were obligatory in the patriarchal dispensation, on which the Sinaitic Covenant seems founded; and that our Lord, in His recapitulation of all things (to which Deuteronomy, the second law, seems significantly to point), has increased not only the *love* of sons but also the *fear*; for in a state of freedom men have a wider sphere of action, but are more severely tested. We have liberty, not that we may abuse it, but for the trial (*ad probationem*) and manifestation of faith (Iren. iv. 16, 5). Those who *hope* to acquire the divine nature are required to act consistently, abstaining from every form of evil (Iren. iv. 16, 5). This hope to acquire the divine nature permanently can only be secured by following after what tends to this perfection of character. Men falsify their sacraments when they indulge in thoughts, words, or deeds which war against the soul. We should discern ourselves in the bread (1 Cor. x. 17; xi. 31).

The dispensation of the Spirit is free in comparison with the ordinances of the Old Testament. But even in the New Testament our Lord appointed certain superintendents. teachers, and helpers for the sake of the weak and childish, *till* all should grow to the full stature of manhood (Eph. iv. 11–14). St. Paul also recommended his converts to make a prudent use of their liberty, restricting it when their own or other men's interests required (e.g. 1 Cor. vi. viii.). We must not, therefore, says Irenæus (iv. 15, 2), wonder at this sort of thing in the Old Testament. 'When the children of Israel came out of Egypt, God did indeed admonish them by means of natural precepts, when He spake the Ten Commandments from Mount Sinai and *added no more* (Deut. v. 22); but when they made a calf and turned back in their hearts to Egypt, desiring to be slaves instead of free, they were ruled with a yoke of slavery, not cutting them off from God, but as a discipline and a prophecy of good things to come' (Iren. iv. 15; 1, 3). It was because of

Israel's sins and proneness to idolatry that the Mosaic ordinances were superadded for their good, not because God had need of them (Bar. c. 14 ; Just. Dial. 18–22 ; Amos v. 21–27). 'Those things, then, which were given unto them unto bondage and for a sign, our Lord hath cut off by His coming in the flesh, calling men to liberty, but hath not abolished those precepts which are natural, savouring of liberty (*liberalia*) and common to all' (Iren. iv. 15 ; 4, 5). On the contrary, our Lord extended and perfected these precepts, requiring men to abstain from evil words and thoughts as well as evil actions (iv. 13, 1 ; 17, 1 ; 28, 2), to follow after those things which conduce to the growth of the new nature hoped for. We read in Jeremiah : 'Thus saith the Lord God of Hosts, the God of Israel. . . I commanded not your fathers in the day that I brought them up out of the land of Egypt concerning matters of burnt-offering and sacrifice. . . But this thing I commanded them, saying : Hearken unto My voice, and I will become your God and ye shall become My people ; and walk in all the way that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you. But they hearkened not, but went backward and not forward' (Jer. vii. 22, 24). 'They made void My covenant and I *ruled* over them (*baalti*, ruled as a lord or owner of slaves). But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel. I will put My law in their inward parts and write it in their hearts, and I will pardon their iniquity, and their sin I will bring no more to mind' (Jer. xxxi. 32–34). But it ought to be known, as Clement says, that men's sins done in times of ignorance are remitted when they first receive the enlightenment or washing of the Word ; but that sins done afterwards are purged or corrected (Pæd. i. 7 ; S. iv. 24), and that '*pardon is established not according to remission but according to cure*' (κατὰ ἴασιν, Clem. ii. 15). 'Our Lord, the Word of God, first drew men as slaves to God, and afterwards set free those who were subject to Him' (Iren. iv. 13, 4).

Our Lord took the place of the typical 'works' and disciplinary rules of the Law, and became Himself, in His words, His

actions, and His Church, the PERFECT LAW, 'exhibited to all men, disciplining us' (Tit. ii. 11) in a way suitable to our nature. We must grow from childhood to perfect manhood. 'For which cause, also, our Lord, having summed up all things in Himself, came to us not as He could but as we were able to receive Him; and He, who was the perfect Bread of the Father, presents Himself as milk to us, who are infants—for that kind of thing was His bodily presence—that we, being accustomed by this milk diet to eat and drink the Word of God, might retain in ourselves the Bread of immortality, which is the Spirit of the Father' (Iren. iv. 18, 1). Our Lord took the place of the Law of Moses both as a Teacher and as a Corrector; but, as has been said, the early fathers protested against the Gnostic notion that we are thus freed from the law of Christ, or not under an obligation to keep 'the natural precepts of the law, by which man is justified, which even before the giving of the law were kept by such as were justified by faith and pleased God' (Iren. iv. 13, 1; 17, 1; 28, 2). Our Lord sacrificed Himself in our behalf, and we glorify Him by sacrificing (*ἱερεύοντες*) our own selves, imitating the divine plan (*προαίρεσιν*) by doing good to others, or, if in authority, by ruling for the salvation of the governed (Clem. S. vii. 3). God does not need our works, but *we* need them, that the praiseworthy habits and dispositions of the new nature may be formed in us. The blood was exhibited on the altar that it might also *cover* men's souls, as when, by intelligent contemplation and well-doing, the glory of God was reflected on the face of Moses (Lev. xvii. ii. C [2] 364). 'In addition to our calling, we must be adorned with works of righteousness, that the Holy Spirit may rest on us, for this is the wedding garment' (Iren. iv. 36, 6).

PNEUMATOLOGY: OR THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE EVIL ONE.

HOW THE DISPENSATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT takes place and what this Spirit is, Clement professes to show in works on the soul and on prophecy (S. v. 13);

but these books are now lost. He speaks of the Blessed Seal and the Son and the Father (S. ii. 3). Of those who do not preserve the Seal, says Clement of Rome, their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched (ii. 7). A nature is sealed on men in accordance with the things which they choose. Justin speaks in a remarkable way of three Persons as speaking in the prophets: the Person of the Father, the Person of the Son, and the Person of the peoples or of the apostles, considered as united in one Person and as answering the Lord and His Father (Ap. i. 36, 47; Dial. 42). 'Where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace; but the Spirit is truth' (Iren. iii. 24, 1). This 'Hand of God' abides in men, who become 'partakers of the divine nature' (2 Pet. i. 4). Clement of Alexandria, in various passages, Irenæus (iv. 75; v. 2), and Hippolytus speak of men becoming gods. 'The Word was made flesh,' said Athanasius, 'that we might be deified' (*θεοποιηθῶμεν*) (see Wordsworth's Church History, p. 268). The early fathers saw a certain *image* of God in man's first state; but men are perfected in the *likeness* of God, when, by following God, they acquire the Blessed Seal or Divine Nature with immortality. But what this communicated power of the uncreated is, 'what the nature is of those who transgressed, and again of those who persevere, we must leave to God and His Word' (Iren. ii. 28, 7). We know not whence this Breath or Spirit of a new life cometh, nor what the divine nature essentially or physically is, nor what those who inherit God become.

The supernatural is founded on the natural. As our Lord's manifestation in the flesh was the fulfilment or completion of (covering upon) the past manifestations of God, which men

had perverted, so the gift of the Holy Spirit within us is not something ecstatic or abnormal or discordant with reason and conscience, but, on the contrary, this gift is the perfection of man's rational and moral nature, the purification and elevation of that conscious, judging, conscientious nature (*συνείδησις*, Heb. ix. 14; x. 22) to which St. Paul appealed (2 Cor. iv. 2). Our Lord reveals Himself inwardly to this rational and moral nature, as He did outwardly to man's sensuous nature. If, then, we are called upon to receive as the teaching of the Scriptures any doctrine, or system of doctrines, which is at variance with the plain principles of common sense and understanding, or with those elementary convictions of God's righteous goodness and truth, without which there could be no belief in God, or with the theistic basis of human responsibility and divine judgment, which characterises Christianity, we may reasonably presume that there is some mistake in such a system. 'Those phenomena which are clear to the perception and understanding—that which is self-evidenced without any demonstration—must be made the starting point in our investigations and the criterion of what seems to be made out' (*εὑρῆσθαι*); 'special attention must be paid to the first principles reasoned from' (S. viii. 3). 'The sound, safe, cautious, and truth-loving mind will be diligent (*ἐκμελετήσει*) in those things, which God has put within man's reach and has made subject to our knowledge and will make learning easy to itself by daily practice' (Iren. ii. 27, 1; 1 Tim. iv. 15, 16); it will not go into transcendental speculations about God's physical infinity or fatalistic foreknowledge, or about a cause determining the choice for which a man is judged, &c.; it will remember St. Paul's maxim 'not to think transcendentally beyond what a man ought to think' (*μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν*, Rom. xii. 3, as interpreted in Iren. v. 20, 2). Again, as God is self-consistent in His dealings with man, we may presume that He will reserve to Himself, or not reveal, what is beyond man's sphere of knowledge, and that His various revelations will not be self-contradictory. It was the Gnostics

who 'despised the consistency of their opinions' (C² 479). Irenæus and a disciple of the Apostles, whom he quotes, pronounce (iv. 32, 1 ; 33, 7) inconsistency to be a mark whereby the spiritual man will judge and refute various heresies, the natural consequence being that these heretics, finding their systems to be self-contradictory, and, therefore, unsound and futile, will seek concealment lest they should be saved (!), while the spiritual man is judged of no one, because he is consistent in his whole speech (*omnis sermo ei constabit*), leaving to God what is not revealed and not within the limits of man's knowledge, not explaining what is mysterious by bringing in another God, but setting forth the many-sided aspects and various operations of the Divine Word, so that through the many-toned utterances, one harmonious strain may be sung in honour of God, the Creator of all things (ii. 10, 1 ; 28, 3). Clement—after reminding Christians that they must take more, not less, pains in investigating truth, because heresies exist ; that men do not cease to travel because some roads lead to precipices, nor abandon gardening because weeds are growing ; that nature has given us abundant starts (*ἀφορμὰς*) on the way to truth, and tests for examining statements—adds : 'Therefore we are rightly condemned if we do not assent to what we ought to believe or obey (*πείθεσθαι*), and do not discriminate what is inconsistent (*τὸ μαχόμενον*), unbefitting, against nature, and false from what is true, consistent (*ἀκολούθου*), befitting, and natural' (C² 474). Some modern theologians, however, reasoning at one time from transcendental fancies or language borrowed from types, and at another time from plain theistic principles, naturally arrive at statements which seem to them contradictories, but are 'content to sit down under the utter impossibility of reconciling them.' Some even profess to 'distrust a theology which does not transcend their powers to reconcile its parts, seeing it deals with the relations between the Infinite and the finite.' But, according to the early fathers, we must harmonise the Scriptures by means of what is plain and uncontrovertible, and not make its mysteries more mys-

terious by bringing in transcendental fancies. Those perfect or spiritual men, among whom Paul spoke wisdom, were, according to Irenæus, men who had received the Spirit, and through the Spirit linguistic gifts such as Paul possessed, and of whom Irenæus professed to have heard (*audivimus*) not a few, 'men who possess prophetic gifts, and bring to plain light (εἰς φανερὸν), as is expedient, the hidden things of men, and unfold (ἐκδιηγουμένων) the mysteries of God' (v. 6, 1).

ANTHROPOLOGY.

This branch of the subject treats of human nature, its individuality, and original state, of the consequences of the fall and man's state of probation. Much of what was already said concerning the connection of the Dispensations belongs to ANTHROPOLOGY.

The early fathers believed that Adam by THE FALL lost the divine image or likeness, until one greater Man came to restore it, manifesting God and His ways, that we may with knowledge choose to be subject to Him, but they believed that the knowledge of good and evil is obtained in this two-fold way, as we know sweet by its contrast with sour and light by its contrast with darkness (Iren. iv. 37, 38). Adam had not learned to control his passions; he knew not of the lurking foe; but when the commandment came, sin manifested its living activity (ἀνέζησεν, Rom. vii. 9). If, then, God made use of this experience to lead men to a more perfect stage of being, how can we suppose that merely because of Adam's sin, multitudes of his offspring are left in hopeless slavery to an evil nature, which, like a Manichean principle, must needs resist all God's influences, till it is put out of its power to resist; and that, for this resistance, they are then wakened up after death to an eternity of endless, hopeless, and conscious misery?

THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS.

The institutions which were handed down in the Early Church by means of successions of overseers, bore the figure (*σχῆμα*) or character of Christ's Body.[1] Now our Lord's humanity or presence as man is the explanatory comment on all that relates thereto in the law of Moses and the prophets; and at the same time it is 'an enigma in which we see through a mirror' (1 Cor. xiii. 12) heavenly truths without figure (*ἀσχημάτιστος*) but 'nigh' us (Rom. x. 8), because *we* are made like Christ, if we give diligence to amend our lives and follow Him as a Man and as a Teacher (Iren. iv. 9, 2; 26, 1; 28, 2; Frag. 35). Thus the religious services of the Christians—their liturgies, the sacraments and other services connected with the presentation of the Word of God—are intermediate 'antitypes' (Frag. 36) between the typical worship in the outer court of Judaism and 'that which is perfect' in the Secret Place of the Most High, or Holy of Holies. From such principles Irenæus drew the conclusion that we should not, as the Gnostics, despise that which is intermediate and which leads to the more perfect, but diligently avail ourselves of all these helps. The *way* to become 'perfect disciples' is to 'read the Scriptures intently,' with the help which the presbyters of the Church could give; by these means 'the lover of God might make such progress as to see God and hear His speech, and from this hearing to be highly glorified' (iv. 26, 1), to *be*, rather than to have, science and knowledge (C² 157); for the full knowledge

[1] Character corporis Christi secundum successiones (*διαδοχὰς*) episcoporum (Iren. iv. 33, 8). Eandem figuram (= *σχῆμα*) ejus quæ est erga ecclesiam ordinationis (= *τάξις* administration) custodientibus (v. 20, 1).

is what is digested into a body (*σωματοποιουμενή*) in the soul itself (C[1] 140); and that image which is likest to God is reflected in the good man's own soul. All true Christian worship is that incense and pure offering predicted by Malachi (i. 11), whereby the Name of God was everywhere to be glorified (Dial. 41, 117; Iren. iv. 17, 5–6). We may then compare the services of the Christian Church to those in the Holy Place or Sanctuary of God's true priests. When divested of sins and fired by His word, we are His true high-priestly race (Just. Dial. 116); into the Holy of Holies the High Priest entered after washing himself from the things here below and putting on a Holy-of-Holies tunic instead of the consecrated stole—a type, according to Clement, of the Christian who is thoroughly purified or regulated in his entire life, and exercised so as to distinguish intellectual from sensuous things (S. v. 6). In the intermediate or Holy Place were, on the North, the Table of Shewbread; on the South, the Golden Candlestick; and, between these, the Altar of Incense.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. A Body is an organisation for specific purposes. Those who wished to emancipate the world from evil and falsehood could not make common cause with evil-doers or with those who denied the fundamental beliefs which it was proposed to establish. The second thing necessary was that there should be harmonious and mutual co-operation on the part of the different members of the body, so that they should receive mutual profit and edification, and thus their object of bringing in a better condition of things in the world might be attained. The members would present not the character of Christ's Body but of the wild beast, if they appeared tearing, devouring, and deceiving one another or others. According to Irenæus, in rending the Church of God for the sake of things external

(τὰ ἐκτὸς) as feasts and fasts, we cast away things that are better, namely, the faith and love (Frag. 37); and no reformation effected by rending the great and glorious Body of Christ for trifling or ordinary (chance) causes, or private interests, can be so great as the mischief of the schism (iv. 33, 7).

THE TYPE.—Every Fatherhood in Heaven and on earth is named from one God and Father, who is *over* all, *through* or *by means of* all, and *in* all (Eph. iii. 15; iv. 6), who is thus chief Bishop, chief Deacon, and chief Councillor. The Father cares for His offspring; and St. Paul regarded the distribution of various powers, gifts, and ministries in the Church as intended for benefit (πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον), for the good of those within and those without the Church (Rom. xii; 1 Cor. xii). In his time, at least, God had set in the Church, first, *apostles*—men whose special duty it was to lay the foundation of the faith, and to take a general oversight of the Churches. It is also clear that they left men like Timothy and Titus to act in their place as organising overseers of provinces and of congregational bishops. We know also that after the last of the apostles was removed by death, the extraordinary development and spread of the Gnostic heresies made the need of such general overseers very great, and that Irenæus speaks of Polycarp as constituted by the apostles bishop or a bishop for (εἰς) Asia in the Church of Smyrna (iii. 3, 4). Such men as Timothy were Evangelists having a ministry to fulfil (2 Tim. iv. 5). In the planting of the Church there were also extraordinary gifts of prophecy (Iren. v. 6, 1), spirits which were to be tried (1 John iv. 1). Apostolic fathers, prophetic spirits, evangelistic ministers, may be a gradation (Eph. iv. 11), analogous to the president, elders, and deacons who followed. We know from Justin that in every individual assembly, as in ordinary assemblies, some one presided (Ap. i. 65, 67). The New Testament tells us of a class of men called *elders*, or *bishops*, whose duty it was to act as the president's council in matters respecting the exposition of the Word, and to superintend the morals. There were at first teachers or expounders besides these, according as men were

qualified. Thirdly, the *deacons* were ministers or agents of the president in the pastorate; they watched over cases of distress or cases needing spiritual oversight, and distributed the church funds.

In other departments of God's works we find the prevalence of types, and we may expect to find such analogies in God's special arrangements for the manifestation of Himself and the good of His creatures. 'The earthly Church,' says Clement, 'is the image of the heavenly, as also we pray that the will of God may be done upon earth as in heaven' (S. iv. 8). Clement sees in the gradation of the three orders—bishops, presbyters, and deacons—imitations (*μιμήματα*) of that angelic glory and that economy which await the enlightened followers of the apostles in the future, and upon which, although they be not ordained, they are even now entering. These three chosen abodes were, he thinks, indicated by the numbers 30, 60, and 100 in Matt. xiii. 8. Such elevated operations and ministrations were also, according to Clement, indicated by the wings of the Cherubim in the Most Holy Place; their name indicates 'much full knowledge' (*ἐπίγνωσις*), their face the rational soul, and their voice a constant doxology while they contemplated (S. v. 6; vi. 13, 14). The Ark towards which their faces were turned was overlaid with pure gold within and without, indicating, according to Irenæus (Frag. 8), the Body of Christ adorned within by the Word, and guarded without by the Spirit, or, as Clement suggests, a region or world of thought, where God is contemplated (S. v. 6).

The Supreme Orderer, President or Bishop is God *over* all, the Father (Ign. ad. Mag. 3); the Word is said by Irenæus to *minister* (as a deacon) to His Father's will (*ministrans Patris sui voluntati*), being the Dispenser (*Dispensator*) of the Paternal grace for the good of men (iv. 20; 6, 7). As the Word manifests God *through* or *by means of* all things, so the Holy Spirit is the Divine Wisdom, dwelling *in* angels and *in* men in fellowship with God (v. 18, 2). The Spirit of prophecy sometimes speaks as from the person of the people or of the apostles

(Just. Ap. i. 47; Dial. 42). The Word and Spirit are thus the two Hands of God, to which Hands He was speaking when He said, 'Let us make man after our own Image and Likeness' (Iren. v. 1, 1, &c.). Now, in the president's council the elders sat and the deacons stood; so in the Marcosian description of the Court of Heaven, probably borrowed from the true Church, the Judge has as His Assessor Wisdom, to whom the Gnostic evil-doer, standing together with the Ransom, appeals that his case (λόγος ὑπὲρ) may be presented as one with that of the Ransom. Wisdom then covers or screens him from the Judge's sight and ushers him into heaven (Iren. i. 13, 6). In the description given of God's Court by Hermas, God the Father appears as the Owner or Judge, the Son or Word as the Heir, and the holy first-created angels as God's friends and fellow-councillors (Sim. v. 5). The same type appears in Ignatius, if we remember that it is *in* angels or *in* men that the Holy Spirit abides and unites them in one. According to the Ignatian teaching, the bishop and his agents, the deacons, represent God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ; while the presbyters are the sanhedrim of God and the assembly of the apostles; apart from these no church is called (Mag. 6; Trall. 2, 3). As our Lord of His own Self did nothing, so men should act in harmony with their bishop (the pastor) and the presbyters (Mag. 7; Eph. 3). As in the Temple arrangements, Christian ministers were not to go beyond their offices so as to set aside the functions of others (Clem. Rom. i. 41).

In the Mosaic grades of High Priest, Priests and Levites, Clement of Rome saw types of Christian offices (c. 40). Irenæus shows how all the disciples of the Lord are Priests and Levites (iv. 8, 3; v. 34, 3). According to Origen, 'those who sit down to the Divine Word and are in God's service alone are not improperly called Priests and Levites' (see Hatch's Bampton Lectures, p. 138; Clem. S. v. 6). The (direct) service of God is, according to Clement of Alexandria, 'the enlightened man's continual supervision (ἐπιμέλεια) of the soul and occupation in what is divine;' the service

(directly) rendered to man is of two kinds: one is scientific improvement (ἡ μὲν βελτιωτική) and the other subordinate ministry (ἡ δε ὑπηρετική). Thus medical science has for its object the improvement of the body, and philosophy the improvement of the soul; ministerial service is rendered by children to parents, by subjects to rulers. Similarly, in the Church, the elders preserve the likeness of the skill which improves, the deacons that of subordinate ministry. But the pious and enlightened man, who through knowledge and skill sets before men the scheme (θεωρία) of improvement and gives them the fruits of his rectifying skill, secures the best harvest' (S. vii. 1). 'There is a saving word as well as a saving work, and happy is he who has the use of both hands' (S. i. 10).

Ministry.—The members of the Body owe one another a ministry of mutual benefit. In Palestine, the most nourishing winds are those of the North; in this way Clement explains why the Exhibition of Loaves was placed on the North side in the Holy Place; and, 'these would represent certain abidings (μοναί, comp. John xiv.) of Churches blowing together to form one Body and one Association' (σύνοδον, C² 242). Our Lord departed to prepare a place or make room for this other Body.

Light.—Irenæus and Clement enjoined men to study the Scriptures with great care and attention, because this is the way to become perfect disciples (iv. 26, 1; S. vii. 15). They dissuaded the Gnostics from thinking that they would attain to this perfect discipleship by following dreamy and imaginative conceits about God and germs of a new nature, &c.; but they appealed to men's sober-minded judgment as well as to the Scriptures. They also recommended men, in studying the Scriptures, to avail themselves of what aid could be obtained from those ordained teachers by whom the apostolic teaching had as yet been handed down as a legacy. 'The Church,' says Irenæus, 'everywhere preaches the truth; and this is the Candlestick with the seven wicks (or branches) bearing the light of Christ' (v. 20, 1). So long as it does so, it remains

the Church. 'For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and every grace; but the Spirit is truth' (iii. 24, 1). The Lamp was placed on the S. side of the Tabernacle, because the planetary lights shone on the world from the south; there were three branches on either side of the central sun; and, by the ministry of the first-born, men believe, hope, and see (S. v. 6). It is a foolish thing to imagine that God dispenses with the use of means and the established laws of learning; thus the way into the Most Holy Place is through the Holy Place. On the same principle it is foolish to overlook the assistance to be derived from the study of the early fathers and other studies. Irenæus regards the falling away of ordained men as a possible calamity (iii. 3, 1; iv. 27, 2). He exhorts his readers to study the Scriptures intently, availing themselves of the expositions of those presbyters of the Church who, in addition to the succession (as legatees of this doctrine), exhibited sound speech and irreproachable lives, but to withdraw themselves from those who, because of the original grant or chief seat (*principalis concessio*), abused their position, misrepresenting the truth, seeking their own selfish interests, or arrogantly driving men (iv. 26). Irenæus goes on to quote the solemn warning of a primitive elder, that those who were once really in God's Kingdom might apostatise after the example of the Jewish nation (iv. 27, 2; Rom. xi. 21). Suppose that, unlike Moses, the Church officials should become 'envious' of the spread of prophetic light among the people; then again, 'that which is preparatory becomes an opponent of that higher stage for which it was the very purpose of its institution to prepare' (Neander's 'Hist.' i. 50; Bohn).

Not the mere light of truth, but the entire life of Christian freemen, so far as whatever they do is done to God's glory, is represented by the light of this Golden Candlestick on the south side of this Altar of Incense. Men may eat and drink to God's glory (1 Cor. x. 31); every creature may be so sanctified (1 Tim. iv. 5); the married man may be a miniature

of God's providence (C² 457). Christians were to reprove the unfruitful works of darkness by an enlightened course of life, for that which is made to shine is light (Eph. v. 11–13). The Church oblations were the firstfruits of God's creation; but the whole creation will be made to shine in the divine light, and glorified when the whole framework (economy) of business and social life is emancipated from darkness and deformity, and made to exhibit truly the glory of God. The character of Christ's Body will be again wrought out in the citizenship of the Sons of God, when the fair face of a renewed world is an embodiment of God's Word, an Image of God, pleasing to God, and beneficial to man. Thus Christians are to give thanks to God, not only in the Eucharistic oblation of the firstfruits of God's creatures, but in all things (Iren. iv. 18, 4). The peace offerings corresponded to this Golden Lamp, being eaten on the south side in the outer court. To them the needy were invited. So, in addition to the study of the Scriptures, prayers, &c., the Christian knows of that other sacrifice, the giving of doctrines and money, of worldly wealth and divine wisdom, to those in need (C¹ 412; C² 442). Such good deeds the Lord esteems as done to Himself, and are doubly blest (Iren. iv. 18, 6; S. ii. 19).

Incense.—In the Centre of the Holy Place was the Altar of Incense. With us, says Clement, the terrestrial altar is the praying congregation; but the truly sacred altar is the righteous soul, and the incense rising from it is holy prayer (C² 428, 429), or holy thoughts (C² 442). The Sacrifice on the Brazen Altar was broken; and those who offer unto God the sacrifice of a broken and humbled spirit (Ps. li. 17) will propitiate God to the receiving of life from Him; an odour of sweetness to God is a heart glorifying Him who made it (Iren. iv. 17, 2). There is, therefore, an altar in the heavens, for thither our prayers and oblations are directed, and a Temple (iv. 18, 6). When the Temple of God that is in heaven was opened, there was seen in His Temple the Ark of His Covenant (Rev. xi. 19), that which is nearest and likest to God was clearly disclosed.

Clement also speaks of this middle altar of incense 'as a symbol of the earth which is situated in the middle of the universe (*κόσμῳ*) and from which are the sweet odours of incense' (S. v. 6), good deeds 'going up before God' (Acts x. 4). We may reconcile these explanations of Clement if we remember that there is a world within us as well as a world without us. In the inner world the soul is the altar, in the outer world this earth is the altar; and God will have us to be unceasingly presenting, on the one, the offering of right-minded thoughts and aspirations, and, on the other, our gifts of good deeds (Iren. iv. 17, 2; 18, 6). And as, in the outer world, God has set His bow of hope in the clouds, so in the inner world will this hope appear amidst cloudy troubles through which men's characters are perfected, if they endure or are exercised thereby. In the Church we may connect this altar of incense with the office of the president, who 'sent up' (Justin) prayers with all his might, conducted the Eucharistic service, received the people's offerings and solemnly presented them (Clem. Rom. i. 44).

THE LORD'S DAY is the day of holy convocation in the Christian Church as the Sabbaths were formerly (Lev. xxiii.). It has the appearance of being intermediate between these Jewish Sabbaths, which Justin classes among the abrogated rites and ceremonies of the Jewish law (Dial. 19–27), and that perpetual Sabbath which the New Law commands (Dial. 12). The early fathers speak of it as the eighth day (Dial. 24). So Barnabas, after explaining the seven days of Genesis as ages, speaks of the eighth day, which Christians keep with joyfulness as the beginning of another world (c. 15). Ignatius contrasts its joyful life with the sabbatising idleness of the Jews (Mag. 9). According to Irenæus, the (Mosaic) law enjoined men to abstain from all *servile* work, from all those worldly dealings which foster avarice, and to be occupied with works which benefit the soul and men's neighbours, with matters of judgment and good discourses (Iren. iv. 8, 2). The symbolic meaning of the Sabbath is that we should minister to God the whole

time after our belief, abstaining from all covetousness, not laying up our treasures on earth (iv. 16, 1).

THE HISTORY OF CHURCH ORGANISATION.

The Bampton Lecturer for 1880 (the Rev. Edward Hatch) treats very ably and impartially of the Early Church organisation and its developments. He contends that there was an original type; that its modifications in after ages were necessitated by altered circumstances; and that possibly, in the future, new modifications of the original type may arise, showing that Christianity has a divine vitality capable of adapting itself to men's needs. According to Mr. Hatch, the assembly of the faithful, as constituted by the apostles, was like the various colonies of Jewish settlers in the Roman world, a *parœkia* (parish) or settlement in a strange world (p. 60, comp. *Iren.* Frag. 3). Its officers were at first freely chosen by the several communities from their adult members (p. 202); there was a senate (from *senex*, old) or council of *elders* (the presbytery), who sat for judicial purposes, reconciling quarrels &c., for deliberation and superintendence (pp. 38, 66). Like other such councils or colleges, this session of presbyters or bishops had a president or ruling elder, who 'became a single permanent officer' (pp. 41, 66, 89). This officer also presided in the assemblies of the faithful; into his hands their offerings were committed; and he was primarily responsible as 'steward' for their distribution (p. 41). These offerings were of two kinds: (1) the Eucharistic offerings consumed at the time, afterwards restricted to the elements of bread and wine; and (2) free-will offerings for the clergy and the poor (pp. 39, 40). In both these functions he received assistance from men acting as *deacons* (pp. 49, 50, 78). It was from his superintending the distribution of these offerings that he received the title of *the* bishop (p. 41). But the members of his council were associated with him in this superintendence; and, as is now practically admitted, were at first called bishops as well as elders or presbyters (p. 66, 129; see Lightfoot on Phil.). They might or

might not assist him in teaching or preaching; for any Christian, if he were skilled in the word and reverent in habit, was to be allowed to teach (p. 115; Ap. Const. viii. 31); the spirit of prophecy was poured out on all (Iren. iii. 11, 9); but it very soon became a matter of Church order to obtain a president's warrant to teach or preach if he were present (pp. 114, 124). It was considered a breach of Church order when Origen, a layman, preached in presence of bishops (Eus. vi. 19). The office of the deacons was originally twofold: first, they assisted the president in watching over cases of distress, in distributing the Church offerings, whether as his assistants in the Eucharistic service or as outdoor relieving officers; secondly, they assisted him in his pastoral duties of guarding the strong or sound, of healing the weak or wavering, of restoring the wounded or erring, when they became penitent (p. 124). They were to be the presiding bishop's eyes and heart, reporting to him about the souls as well as the bodies of the flock (p. 51; Clem. Hom. iii. 67; Ap. Const. iii. 19). In subsequent times, the sick, orphans, infants, aged, poor and strangers were taken care of in institutions, called in Italy deaconships (*diaconiæ*) and presided over by appropriate officers (p. 52); thus the ordinary deacons came to be merely subordinate officers of public worship. The type of the president's original court has been preserved in the college of cardinals or parish clergy of Rome. The president's seat (bishop's throne) was slightly raised above that of the elders, who *sat* round him in a semicircle at the end of the holy table; while the deacons *stood* below (pp. 109, 200).

The earliest records of Christian antiquity, as well as general considerations of probability, show that in each full-grown community there was a president, who at first did not hold supremacy as a monarch, but primacy or priority of rank as the centre round which the Christian system revolved, as chairman of the committee of elders and conductor of the conference or meeting of the assembly (pp. 41, 89, 90). His promotion to this office was at first determined by his fitness

for it according to the judgment of the people and their representatives. In the case of the republican magistrates at Rome there was, first, a nomination; then, the people 'ordered' the appointment of one of the nominated candidates; there was then an investigation into his fitness for the office; and, lastly, the action of the presiding magistrate, who was said to 'create' the official (p. 127). Mr. Hatch refers to his article on *ordination*, in the 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' for the evidence that the same order was observed in the appointment of all but the lowest grades of ecclesiastical officers (p. 128). Also the mode of election in the Church varied afterwards, as the mode of election in the state. In both it came to pass that the senate or officers nominated, and the people approved or vetoed; and, lastly, by steps that can be traced, the Christian people's right came to be to object to unsuitable candidates (p. 128). Justin calls this chief superintendent *the president* (ὁ προεστῶς, Ap. i. 65, 67). Similarly, in a formal letter to Victor, the head of the Roman Church, Irenæus speaks of 'the elders who before Soter presided (προστάντες) over the Church, which you now lead' (Frag. 3). Tertullian tells us that 'the most approved elders preside' (Ap. 39). The Greek word translated *preside* has etymologically the sense of *standing before* in active ministry rather than of *sitting* in council. St. Paul uses the word when he exhorts 'him who presides' (rev. vers. *rules*) to do so with zeal or diligence (Rom. xii. 8), enjoins the brethren to esteem those (presiding) over them (1 Thess. v. 12, 13), and lays down the principle that 'the elders who rule (or preside) well' are to be considered worthy of remuneration as well as honour, especially if they be laborious students and teachers (1 Tim. v. 17.) Who, then, were these ruling or presiding elders, spoken of by St. Paul? Were they the regular presidents? Mr. Hatch thinks that St. Paul is distinguishing between 'those elders who formed part of the governing (ruling, presiding) body and those younger who did not' (p. 63, n. 3); he believes that Hermas is thus distinguishing 'the elders who

preside over the Church' (Vis. ii. 4). He says: 'When the president became a single permanent officer, he was, as before, the person into whose hands the offerings were committed' (p. 41). He seems to hint that the presiding elder varied *before*. Several presbyters or elders might have the gift or talent of ruling or presiding; and, in fact, if a presbyter was detached to take charge of a parish, he was sent to rule (*ad regendum*), an expression still preserved in the modern title 'Rector' (pp. 75, 76). St. Paul specifies ability to rule as one of the chief qualifications of the bishop and the deacons; they were to be men who ruled well, or presided well over their own houses (1 Tim. iii. 4, 12). But good rule in a community must depend upon the state of it. Possibly some minds require restraint; but it is not a necessary element of good rule to discourage the active search for truth and the exercise of talents for exposition, as though it were the greatest merit to be an unthinking and passive recipient. Barnabas enjoins Christians to meet together to make common inquiry (c. iv). The active search for truth is a most important element of mental culture, as Clement of Alexandria repeatedly asserts; although we need not, with Lessing, think it of more consequence than the knowledge of the truth itself.

'If the prayer of one or two,' says Ignatius (Ad. Eph. 6), 'possesses such power, how much more that of the bishop and the whole Church. He, therefore, that does not assemble with the Church has even by this manifested his pride and condemned himself.' Ignatius thus regards the bishop as the expression of the Church's Oneness, and his official prayer as that of his congregation. As there were numerous assemblies, we should expect to find numerous bishops. Accordingly, from the proconsular Asia of post-Diocletian times (a small province about the size of Lincolnshire) 42 bishops were present at an early council; and, in North Africa, 470 episcopal towns are known by name (p. 78). This original completeness or independent government was modified by various circumstances. In the first place, the monstrous miscon-

ceptions of the Gnostics and their perversions of Christian liberty threatened to wreck the Church; tests would not prevent the evil, for they were liable to be perverted as well as the Scriptures (p. 94); and like the widow, who, forgetful of God, called in 'the judge of unrighteousness' to avenge her of her enemies (Iren. v. 25, 4), so the Church more and more gave up her original privileges to her officials, and next called in the secular authority to repress heresy. Clement of Alexandria had exposed the unreasonableness of ceasing to explore because some roads lead to precipices, or to cultivate gardens because weeds grow (S. vii. 15); but, in point of fact, men did more and more fall back on 'bare faith.' At first, the whole of Christians possessed gifts or talents for the common good; and the gifts which fitted a man to rule were merely a special manifestation of the Spirit that wrought in all (p. 119). Clement of Rome (c. 44) insists that those who have blamelessly and holily 'presented the offerings,' or honourably discharged their church offices, were not to be removed; but neither he nor Polycarp questions the right of the community to sit in judgment on these officials, and to remove them if they did not worthily discharge their offices (p. 117). In the third century, however, and subsequently, the bishops are found claiming exceptional powers; and what had been their primacy or first rank was becoming more and more a supremacy (p. 90). This was the result of the struggle with Gnosticism (p. 215).

But the need for maintaining a uniform system of doctrine and discipline led to the supremacy of the bishop in his town and diocese (p. 104). Evangelistic overseers had been appointed by the apostles. Thus Polycarp 'was appointed by the apostles bishop (or a bishop) for (εἰς) Asia in the church of Smyrna' (Iren. iii. 3, 4). There is in this passage no article before *bishop* to show he was constituted sole president; but his commission in the neighbourhood may have been similar to that of Titus, whom St. Paul left in Crete to organise churches, or to that of Timothy, whom he exhorted to tarry at Ephesus

to charge certain men not to teach a different doctrine, and not to occupy themselves with interminable questionings about what transcends the faith. Other circumstances came to modify the original self-government of each 'parish.' In the first place, one building soon came to be insufficient to hold all the members of the Christian Church in a large town, and the sentiment of one brotherhood survived the separation of the places of meeting. At Rome, this feeling was so strong that the bread and wine were consecrated by the bishop and his clergy only in one building and sent round; each district of the city was put in charge of a deacon, who reported to the bishop (p. 191). In the dispute between Cyprian and Novatian, in the third century, it became an established principle that in a city like Rome, which had already an organisation, a new Christian organisation should not be established side by side with it (pp. 103, 104). At Rome and Alexandria, again, the suburban churches, that is, those of the outlying hamlets, were presided over by a presbyter detached (*ad regendum*) from the bishop's church. The presbyter's district was originally called his diocese, and the bishop's district his parish (παροικία); but far down in the middle ages the bishop's district was called his diocese, and the presbyter's his parish. In Syria and parts of Asia Minor, the detached presbyter received for a time the name of *chorepiscopus*, or bishop suffragan (p. 192). Thirdly, in the scattered villages of the East, several of the communities of Christians had a bishop who was itinerant (περιοδευτής) from one to another, while two elders and two deacons seem to have resided in each (p. 194). When the diocesan system came to prevail, the itinerant bishop preserved his designation but lost his functions, which Mr. Hatch identifies with those of a western rural dean (p. 194). When, however, the bishop and the clergy of a city and of the surrounding district had formed themselves into an association for organised work, the bishop and his council were at first regarded so far as a unity, that 'the judgment of the bishop was invalid unless confirmed by the presence of his

clergy' (p. 109). But we soon find the high dignity of the bishop of Alexandria enforcing a subordination like that of the city prefect, so that his district was the earliest example of the modern diocese (p. 194).

Councils or conferences of neighbouring bishoprics began as early as the second century; they were held in order to adopt a common action in regard to the time of keeping Easter, the re-admission of those who had lapsed under pressure of persecution, and the treatment of the Montanist prophets (p. 166). Cyprian, although a vigorous preacher of Catholic unity, claims, in the most emphatic terms, the absolute independence of each bishop, who, he contends, is not bound to follow the practice of other bishops or the decision of their conference against his will (p. 167; Ep. 55, 59). As the mass of Roman citizens and still more as the barbarians of the North became nominally Christian, there seemed again to be need for a discipline of tutors and governors; no doubt there was under such circumstances much to be commended in orderly obedience to the direction of superiors, or in waiving one's right of judgment in favour of those better qualified to judge, or in seeking to have the greatest amount of order that is compatible with freedom rather than, as now, the greatest amount of freedom that is compatible with order; and thus the ecclesiastical dignitary came to stand upon a platform inaccessible to ordinary men as if he were 'a God upon earth' (p. 137). But were councils to tolerate ecclesiastical abuses in these circumstances? The church assemblies followed the lines of the civil assemblies and appropriated their designations; and as the bishop of the metropolis was the ordinary president of the assembly held in it, he came to have pre-eminence over the bishops of that province. As the vote and sanction of a provincial bishop had become necessary to the validity of the election of a presbyter, so the vote and sanction of the metropolitan bishop were necessary to constitute an ordinary bishop. So closely did the ecclesiastical organisation follow the civil, and so firm was its hold upon society, that in the France of the

present day, with hardly an exception, there is a bishop, wherever there was a Roman municipality, and an archbishop wherever there was a provincial metropolis. When the native Celts or the newly settled Germans became converted in large numbers, their district or head-quarters did not receive a new organisation; but officers of the bishop's church were temporarily dispatched to superintend them. The endowment of such church officers rendered them tenants for life (pp. 197, 198). In time, the archbishops or metropolitan bishops began to be grouped under patriarchs or exarchs (p. 170). The Roman Empire, acting in union with the Church, gave to the decisions of these councils and authorised bishops the sanctions of law; and thus by means of councils, authority delegated to bishops and state legislation, the Christian churches were consolidated into a great confederation, with formidable powers of excommunication and coercion (p. 177). When the Roman empire of the West was overthrown, a new central direction seemed needful, and the Church organisation became centralised (p. 215). 'The patriarchs of Constantinople or New Rome,' says Mr. Freeman, 'were the chief Bishops in the East; but, as the Emperors were always at hand, they never won anything like the same power which the Bishops of old Rome won in the West.'

There is nothing in the early fathers to support the claim of the Bishop of Rome to an authority over all other Bishops. The passage of Irenæus cited to prove this has another bearing. In refuting the Gnostic pretensions to a different apostolic tradition, he appeals to the tradition in the various Churches founded by these very apostles; for one might reasonably expect, he says, to find the truth correctly handed down by those to whom the apostles committed the care of these Churches; their 'correctness would be a great advantage, and their failure an extreme calamity.' Irenæus proceeds to estimate the value of the evidence thus supplied. He finds the *whole* of this Church tradition opposed to the Gnostic conceits. The evidence of a Church, however, would be more or less

'valuable' or 'sufficient,' according as it had received its doctrines directly from the apostles or from another parent Church. Now, the Church of Rome was probably the only church in the West which was founded by Apostles themselves; its primitiveness (*principalitas*) was therefore 'superior' to that of all those who were offshoots of itself, whose doctrines must (*necesse est*), therefore, have at first agreed with those of the Roman Church on account of its *superior antiquity* (*potentiorem principalitatem*). A comparison of other passages shows that the Latin translator of Irenæus uses *principalitas* as the equivalent of a Greek word meaning *primitive antiquity* (ἀρχή i. 31, 1, or ἀρχαιότης, *see* notes in Keble, p. 206, and Harvey, ii. p. 9). Tertullian (*De Præs. Hær.* 31) makes this *principalitas* a test of truth, as opposed to *posteritas*, or later origin. The Greek text of Irenæus immediately following has been preserved, and gives ἱκανώτατος, *most sufficient*, as the equivalent of the Latin *potentissimus*, the epithet applied to the tradition at Rome being now applied to Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians. The same Greek word is also applied to Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, and variously translated (*pervalida*, *perfectissima*); but the sense evidently is that the epistles are most satisfactory, the strongest evidence (iii. 3; 3, 4).

As the Church now included the ordinary masses of men, the old contrast between it and the world took a new aspect. An unenlightened spirit of self-sacrifice began to aspire to the perfection of an ascetic life, beyond the virtues of ordinary life; the persecution of monks by the Arians increased the tendency to monasticism; and all this acting on Church organisation practically compelled the clergy to live this higher, that is, this more ascetic life (p. 158). Legislation now gave the clergy a civil status with their own laws (i.e. the laws of the old Roman empire), emoluments apart from ordinary pursuits, from which it excluded them, and a separate garb. The shepherd bishop, the merchant bishop, and the physician presbyter were now vanished types. It became customary for

the clergy to live together; this served to provide for the education of the younger clergy (p. 202); the bishop's council (or chapter of presbyters) became the *canons* of the cathedral church, called *canonici* because they received an allowance (*canon*) of church funds. If they lived together *under a rule*, they were *regulars;* if they lived apart, managing their own revenues, they were called *seculars* (pp. 204, 205). Chordegang, the pious bishop of Metz, A.D. 760, drew up a strict rule for his canons (p. 204); but before two centuries had elapsed, the name was all that was retained of the ancient 'common life.' 'The canons of the middle ages living in separate houses, discharging their duties by means of *vicars*, that is, substitutes, and no longer giving their superfluity to the poor, became legitimate objects of satire and lament' (p. 205.) The clergy of the country parishes and dependent towns were still in theory members of the bishop's council, which met every year (p. 205); but the canons of the cathedral or bishop's church came to administer the affairs of the diocese during a vacancy and elected a new bishop (p. 206). When the parochial clergy came to be grouped into districts, each of which had its own organisation, the difference between them and the cathedral clergy was widened. As the cathedral had its arch-presbyter and its arch-deacon, so had each rural district. The rural arch-deacon was in a special sense the bishop's deputy, and had a jurisdiction over a district in which several arch-presbyteries or 'rural deaneries' were comprised (p. 207).

Mr. Hatch believes that the Church will continue to adapt herself to human needs. But what are the needs of the people at the present time? Among the Anglo-Saxon communities people have grown habituated to meet together, discuss without violence, organise themselves and submit to rules of action agreed upon by the majority, knowing that the forms of the constitution are sacred in the eyes of their opponents as well as their own. What hinders such a free organisation of the Church? Perhaps the great obstacle is that 'ignorant and unstable' men hastily explain what are mysteries and call their

strange explanations mysteries; because ordinary men have scarcely the time or means to investigate these subjects thoroughly, and must take a great deal at second hand. It is to be hoped that, as in science, the leading principles of theology will soon be firmly established. In the mean time, the spirit of determined inquiry is abroad. The people who ask for bread will not be satisfied with husks. They seem ready to lapse largely into secular antagonism to the faith, because they cannot receive the gross expositions which perhaps satisfied their forefathers. A better knowledge is needful; the discipline of mind in the search for it is needful; and the encouragement to be obtained by common inquiry is needful.

THE SACRAMENTS.

BAPTISM.—The punishment of men's follies and sins is mental and moral, as well as physical, death. Men become stamped with the image of that which they worship. Ignorance and foolish conceits lead to evil customs (C^1 91); and again, evil customs foster ignorance and mistakes. That which characterises the rational soul, however, is knowledge; this, therefore, must play a great part in man's redemption, for all rational action proceeds from impulses derived from knowledge of some kind. Accordingly, Clement calls upon those who were polluted by evil customs transmitted from their fathers to put away childish grossness, to take or receive the rational Word and wash, to purify themselves from such evil 'use and wont,' by the drops of truth (C^1 91, C^2 343). Before the heathen convert was baptised, he had to come under the catechumenical discipline of the Church, so as to learn the elements of its saving truths, and be put in the way of correcting his bad habits. But, if darkness and the enslavement of bad habits be the punishment of sins, we need not wonder if the baptismal completion of a training, which removed the darkness by light, and puts men in the way of good habits, was almost a synonym for the remission of sins; for it did away

with that darkness and paralysis which were the results of sins (v. 17, 3), and surely that which is the beginning of a new life is properly called regeneration or the new birth.

Justin tells us that those who (1) received as true what was taught in the Church, who (2) undertook (promised to be able) to live accordingly, were taught (3) to pray that God would grant them forgiveness of their past sins, and (4) were baptised. At his baptism there was 'called over' him who chooses the New Birth and repents of his sins, the name of God the Father (Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit) . . . his conductor saying over him (ἐπιλέγοντος, comp. ἐπιλογή, Iren. Frag. 35 or 36) this and nothing more (Ap. i. 61). As Naaman the leper was baptised and cleansed, as a man must be born of water and the Spirit, so says Irenæus, 'we being lepers in our sins are by the Holy Water and the *calling over* (ἐπικλήσεως) of the Lord cleansed from our old transgressions, as new born children spiritually regenerated' (Frag. 33). It was a very early and probably a primitive practice of the Church to require at baptism, that the person baptised should express his belief in the leading articles of the Christian Faith, in some Rule of Faith similar to that of the Apostles' Creed (Iren. i. 9, 4), to say 'Jesus is Lord' (1 Cor. xii. 3), or to answer as the Ethiopian Eunuch, 'I believe that Jesus is the Son of God' (Iren. iii. 12, 8). Cornelius and the Gentiles, who were with him, already knew the true God, but were baptised into 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Judge of the living and the dead, unto or into (εἰς) remission of sins' (iii. 12, 7 ; comp. Acts ii. 38). In the burial of the baptised person in the water, and in his rising again, St. Paul evidently saw a bodily or symbolic reception of the New Birth (Rom. vi.). In early times, the newly baptised person received the anointing with oil, the laying on of hands, the sign of the cross and a benediction. The early fathers were well aware of man's instability and the strength of temptation, by which lapses are occasioned. Clement looked upon the frequent recurrence of such lapses as little better than wilful choice of evil (S. ii. 13). The power

of the keys was exercised by the Church, both in admitting men by baptism to its membership, and also in expelling unworthy members. Before loosing the penalties of Church censure and interdict, after these had been bound, a penitential confession called *exhomologesis* was required (Harvey, Iren. i. 122, n. 8). Clement makes a distinction between first forgiveness (ἄφεσις) and the condonation (συγγνώμη) of subsequent lapses. The loving Word no longer passes over infidelities in silence (C[1] 152). He condones, but condonation is not established according to forgiveness, but according to remedial healing (S. ii. 7). Thus the very enlightenment or knowledge of what is meant in the baptismal service, &c., (Just. Ap. i. 61) is the taking effect of the forgiveness of sins (C[1] 134), the beginning of a new life or the new birth (C[1] 104); and the remedial healing of lapses arising from the re-appearance of sinful habits and dispositions is the condonation or pardon of them. Accordingly 'there are two ways of rectification (τρόποι ἐπανορθώσεως), one the teaching method and the other the corrective (or punitive), which we also call the disciplinary. It ought then to be known that those who lapse into sins after the Laver (or washing, τὸ λουτρὸν), are the disciplined, for those sins which were wrought before were remitted (ἀφείθη), and those which are done afterwards are purged (ἐκκαθαίρεται, comp. John xiv. 2), but of unbelievers (rejecters or practical deniers of the faith) it is said, they are reckoned as the chaff' (S. iv. 24). 'Wherefore prophecy invests our Lord with a rod, that whom the persuasive Word heals not, the threatening may heal, and whom the threatening heals not the rod may heal, and whom the rod heals not the fire may devour.' (Pæd. i. 7.)

Our Lord's Body was the manifestation of the truth; it bore the character or presented the earthly figure and expression of the Divine Word. Now, baptismal washing is also an outward expression of the Christian faith and life; and, in the baptismal service the Name of God is 'called over' the baptised. In respect both of this significant washing and this no less significant 'calling over' them of God's Name, our

bodies receive at baptism the mark or character of God's purity ; they have put upon them, or are made to bear the Name or Word of God, and are thus one with the Body of Christ. This washing and 'calling over' are 'antitypes' of a true washing from all pollution of sins and a true writing of God's Name on Christians ; but in Baptism there is a certain *unity* received bodily (Iren. iii. 17, 2). In speaking of this 'manner' of regeneration and its 'meaning,' Justin says that Isaiah declares in what way repentant sinners shall escape from their sins : 'Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from your souls, cease to do evil, learn to do well' (Is. i. 16–20). But the very outward sign is the grace of God, because by outward signs God teaches us heavenly and saving truths. Christians, therefore, brought their converts to the laver, that 'they might receive remission of sins in the water . . . Now, this washing (laver) is called illumination (φωτισμός), because they who learn the meaning of these things are enlightened in their minds' (Ap. i. 61). Justin tells the Jew Trypho that it was 'the baptism of repentance (change of mind) and the knowledge of God which was instituted for the sins of the people,' that 'the same baptism which Isaiah preached, and which is alone able to cleanse those who repent, is the water of life. For what profit is there in that baptism which cleanses the flesh and the body only? Let your souls be washed from anger and from covetousness, from envy and hatred, and the whole body will be clean' (Dial. 14). There is no other obtaining of the forgiveness of sins or hope of the future inheritance than that 'becoming acquainted with this Christ of ours, and being washed in that laver of the forgiveness of sins of which Isaiah speaks, men should henceforth live without sin' (Dial. 44). Isaiah speaks of 'the mystery of the regeneration both of us and, in fact, of all those who look for the appearance of Christ in Jerusalem, and endeavour by their works to please Him' (Dial. 85).

It must be remembered that, in much that they said about Baptism, the early fathers were dealing with those who, mis-

taking the deep things of Christianity, conceived that an unspeakable enlightenment came upon them in some magico-miraculous manner; that the divine nature was deposited in them as a seed or germ determining their choice, as men inherit a physical nature apart from choice or conduct; that they were thus free from all law and saved in virtue of their nature apart from conduct; that free choice and good works and the belief that these were indispensable to salvation belonged to natural or psychical men, not having the Spirit. These perverters of Christian truths forgot that the same God who works in us by His Spirit gave us also reason and a bodily constitution, and that He works according to good laws of orderly development. Thus, as Clement tells us, they despised also catechetical training and baptism as belonging to natural or psychical men (Pæd. i. 6). Clement shows that the elementary teaching of the Church, the milk of catechetical instruction, was no longer to be displaced or superseded, as the old elements of Judaism or of heathen philosophy had been (C[1] 135); that it is the one only foundation on which Christian knowledge is built; that catechetical instruction conducts to faith which is the completion of this discipleship[1]; that where the faith is there is the promise (for our Lord promised that the divine working would accompany its teaching, Matt. xxviii. 20); that the consummation of the promise is rest (rest from evil passions, peace with one's self, oneness of mind with God) and the final resurrection. It is by rational baptism (*λογικῷ βαπτίσματι*), by instruction in the Word and by washing, that is, amending the life (C[1] 91), that the bonds of ignorance and the entanglements of vice are unloosed (C[1] 134). The catechumen's training included such rules of life as those contained in the second and third books of Clement's Pædagogus; and both the instruction imparted catechetically and the rules, which served to bar up the way to evil, would

[1] *πίστις γὰρ μαθήσεως τελειότης*, words omitted in Clark's Clement, Pæd. i. 6, top of p. 134. From this chapter most of this summary is taken.

aid the formation of better habits, tend to remove or wipe away the film of those sins which obscured the vision and found the faith. Thus, the moment (εὐθέως) the man gave ear, he became a disciple ; after the rational washing or baptism of the Word, he acquired a new state of mind (τρόπος). But the question might be asked : Did not this altered state of mind or improvement of character take place sometime on the arrival of the instruction? To this Clement answers : '*You could not tell the time*, for catechetical instruction brings round (περιάγει) to faith, and faith along with (ἅμα) baptism is instructed (or trained, παιδεύεται) by the Holy Spirit' (C[1] 134). Evidently, therefore, Clement connects no magico-miraculous result with the mere act of baptismal washing. The young Christian certainly received and confessed at baptism the form of teaching (Rom. vi. 17) or of sound words (2 Tim. i. 13), which is called 'the faith'; even this was a great step out of heathen darkness. He was also baptised into union and communion with the one visible Body of Christ, the Church, and received the fellowship of excellent Christian men ; this was, in some sense, a separation from the evil fellowships of the world. He also received the promise that, if he continued in the good course he had begun, his soul would be washed from all pollution, and new habits formed. But this washing of the soul could not be assigned merely to the time of baptism ; according to Clement, it might have begun before baptism, and might go on after it. All, however, who turned back from the downward course, who renounced evils, were already entering upon salvation, which is to follow Christ (C[1] 132). The very reception of elementary Christian instruction is the rising of the sun-light of knowledge on the mind ; those who are out of the darkness are already entering into light (C[1] 133). There are only two ways, the way that leads into darkness, and the opposite way that leads into light (comp. Bar. c. 18) ; and all who have abandoned the darkness of idolatry and the lusts of the flesh are equal and spiritual before the Lord (C[1] 135). The perfection of Christianity consists in forgetting these idolatries

as childish things behind and in stretching forward to the things which are before (Phil. iii. 13); it is to be perfect as aspiring after fuller knowledge (not as unsettling the basis of the faith), and as striving after perfection in the better life (C[1] 148). It is very unphilosophical to despise outward things as the Gnostics despised the Church training and baptism. Our Lord, whom Clement calls God and the Word, who was in no need of instruction, because he was superior to all teachers, fulfilled by baptism the profession (or announcement) which man makes (*τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον*). It seemed good to say to Him at His baptism 'Thou art My Beloved Son, to-day have I begotten Thee.' The perfect Word of the perfect Father was surely free, and yet He was according to economic fore-typing (*προδιατύπωσιν*) 'to-day born again' (*ἀναγεννηθεὶς*), 'perfectly regenerated.' 'He was perfected by the laver (washing) alone, and sanctified by the descent of the Spirit. And this same thing also takes place in the case of us, whose pattern (*ὑπογραφὴ*) the Lord became' (C[1] 131, 132). Clement is contending *against* any magical distribution of natures, especially such as would make freedom of choice a mere redundancy. The outward training and the open reception of the faith are the necessary means whereby the Divine Nature is made to grow in us inwardly. The Blessed Seal is rationally, not magically, wrought in us (S. ii. 3).

According to Irenæus the Gnostic doctrines of regeneration and of redemption were 'a denial of baptism (as) regeneration into God, and a rejection of the whole faith' (i. 21, 1). The purport of his answer is similar to that of Clement; we gather from both these fathers that there is, first, an outward manifestation of the truth corresponding to faith and baptism, and that the Spirit follows upon and works by means of this apostolic foundation; that as the Holy Spirit 'speaketh not of Himself, but makes clear to us the things of Christ,' namely, the faith and its outward manifestations (John xvi. 13, 14), therefore the faith is the basis of the whole teaching, and

those men who with baptism receive the faith may properly be said to have entered upon a new way of thinking, and to be 'regenerated into the faith of the only Perfect One' (C[1] 148).

The teaching of these Gnostics, and the answer of the early fathers, deserve the most careful study, because of the analogy of many notions current at the present time. It is common to hear the new birth represented as the physical gift of a new nature or disposition, which must precede all our efforts to amend our lives—as the deposition of a germ which 'must and will grow after its kind or type.' But, according to the early fathers, the same man, who has sunk towards the worse and become earthly, becomes, on yielding to divine impulses and returning to the better, renewed after the divine type (Iren. v. 12). The Gnostics taught that baptised Christians were merely natural or psychical men, and promised those who followed them another baptism, which they called *redemption* and *regeneration*, namely, the deposition of some divine seed (in some mystico-physical way) in them, or the descent of some divine nature (in some magico-miraculous way) into them. Thus they held out hopes of another forgiveness of sins, that is, of an internal manifestation of the truth, coming upon or into men apart from the faith or their conduct, and *so* pulling the strings of their wills that their actions are no longer worthy of praise or blame; and they represented their followers, who adopted their conceits or their phrases, as having received this extraordinary gift, as *so* redeemed as no longer to be amenable to judgment, and *so* one with the Ransom that, in the Judgment, they would be screened from the Judge, even if He did lay hold of them, justified and ushered into heaven, whatever lives they may have led (Iren. i. 13, 6; i. 21, 1, 2; note in Harvey; Hip. vi. 41). Thus they subverted the Christian Faith, and did what they could to blind men to the rebukes and judgments of God, coming on those who lapse. Irenæus speaks of men having their sins forgiven in the Coming or Presence of the Lord; of that remission of sins and justification, which are by

His Coming or Presence, when men give heed to it and turn their earthly property to His service; he speaks of our Lord's death as being to the Patriarchs (in Hades) healing and remission of sins (iv. 5, 5; 27, 2; 30, 3; 31, 1), and of our Lord's addressing the Pharisees (Matt. ix. 6) 'as not receiving the Advent of God's Son and, therefore, not believing the remission which was being made by Him' in the undoing of the paralysis which was the result of sins (v. 17, 2, 3). Those, therefore, who by the faith and baptism, or by the manifestation of God's Word, had that heathen darkness in a measure dispelled, received in the same measure the forgiveness of past sins; for heathen darkness was the result of sins. But all through his writings Irenæus is solemnly warning those who have thus received God's Word to give diligent heed to its warnings, not to pervert its meaning, or continue in sin; for the judgments inflicted of old on those who did evil in God's sight are but types of more serious, lasting, and real calamities coming upon those who now displease God (iv. 28, 1). Therefore, in addition to that which is earthly and outward, we need also the *heavenly water* or dew of the Spirit, and should cultivate such gifts lest a non-literal fire from heaven scorch us up (iii. 17; iv. 36, 37).

In accordance with their theory the Gnostics represented Jesus as, at first, a natural man, and his baptism by John also as natural or psychical; but after his baptism the Saviour-Spirit or the Christ, they said, descended into Him. After relating what did occur at our Lord's baptism, and how our Lord gave to His disciples 'the power of regeneration into God,' when He bade them go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them, &c., and how after our Lord's ascension the Spirit came down on the disciples at Pentecost, Irenæus goes on: 'Wherefore also the Lord promised to send us the Paraclete to unite us to God. For we being many, could not be made one in Christ Jesus without the water which is from heaven. For by the washing (baptism into one Name of God, one Faith and one Body) our bodies received that unity that leads to incorrup-

tion, but our souls (receive it) by the Spirit. And so both (the outward manifestation and Spirit within men) are necessary, since both are profitable unto the life of God; even as the Lord had pity on that sinful woman of Samaria, both showing to her (*et ostendente ei*), and promising Living Water' (iii. 17, 3). It is clear that the Lord's visible presence was the Living Water which He *showed* to the Samaritan Woman; and we should have *one* form of sound words, *one* watery element of life-giving truth (C[1] 206), *one* body of Christians, if the Church were not so sadly rent for want of the Heavenly Water. Irenæus means that men's souls can only be brought into oneness of mind with God and with one another, when they cultivate the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit (Is. xi. 2) which are for mutual benefit (Just. Dial. 39). Irenæus goes on to say that Gideon prophesied of the drought which was to fall on the fleece, a type of the Jewish people, while the heavenly Moisture (needed to mould us into one Bread), the Dew of heaven, that is, the Spirit of sevenfold gifts, both descended on the Lord and is sent upon the whole Earth by the Church. But on this (Earth) also the Devil was like lightning projected, as the Lord saith (Luke x. 18). Wherefore the Dew of God is needed by us that we be not scorched up nor become unfruitful; and that where we have an accuser (one who pleads our offences), there we may have also an Advocate (the Paraclete), that we, receiving by the Spirit the image and inscription of the Father and the Son, may cause the coin (penny) entrusted to us to bear fruit, rendering it to the Lord (Matt. xxii. 21) with manifold increase (iii. 17, 3). Upon the baptised person the worthy Name of Jesus Christ has been called (James ii. 7; Acts xv. 17). Christians must therefore be careful not to misrepresent God in word or deed, lest they lose the very traces of God's name on them. Shakespeare expressed a great truth when he makes Richard II. (iv. 1, 274) speak of himself as the book in which all his sins are writ. In the course of this life each man is stamped or sealed or characterised (χαρακτηρίζεται) according to the impress on his soul of the things he has chosen

(S. iv. 23). Men who worship the wild-beast receive his mark or character or name; they become licentious as the ass, covetous as the wolf, deceitful as the serpent (C^2 144); but all the servants of God receive the seal of the Living God; the Name of God shall be written permanently upon them, the Name of the City of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and our Lord's new Name (Rev. iii. 12); God Himself shall tabernacle upon them (Rev. vii. 15).

Our Lord passed through the different stages of human life and thus sanctified them all (Iren. ii. 22, 4). The children of Christians are called holy (1 Cor. vii. 14). The light of reason and conscience dawns very early on their minds; and if this be also the true light; if such children are from the very first taught by their Christian parents and severed from evil fellowship by their connection with them; if they might be considered as parts of their parents' bodies (1 Cor. vii. 14); if the kingdom of heaven be of such; and if even adults after their baptism may need correction like children: why should not the Name of God be called over such children in baptism? And if, after being trained by Christian parents, they fall away into evil courses, is not this apostasy? Origen calls infant-baptism *a rite derived from the apostles* (Hagenbach).

THE EUCHARIST.—There can be no doubt that the early fathers, as well as the Scriptures, call the consecrated bread and wine of the Sacrament the Body and Blood of Christ; but as our Lord is the Word of God, the question might properly be asked what is meant by saying that the consecrated Bread is the Body of the Word of God. There can be no question that our Lord did habitually, and to a very great extent, veil His teaching in parables; and assuredly the early fathers diligently sought for mystic meaning in much of His recorded discourses. It would have been very inconsistent in Justin to find so much fault with the gross interpretations of the Jews (Dial. 112), if he had seen no mystic meaning in what Jesus Christ, the prophet like Moses, also said. Thus Justin explains the sprinkling of the blood of the Paschal Lamb on the houses of the Israelites,

when leaving Egypt, as a type of Christ, with whose blood men according to the measure of their faith anoint their houses, i.e. themselves; and Justin goes on to speak of the Eucharist as being 'done' in remembrance of the passion which our Lord underwent for those who purify their souls from all sin (Dial. 40, 41). Surely Justin understood this 'purification unto brotherly love unfeigned' (1 Pet. i. 22) as being the meaning of having the blood of Christ sprinkled on the soul. Should we, as some religious teachers, put a more literal sense also on this washing in Jesus' blood? The exact words of our Lord in instituting the Sacrament are, we may presume, given by St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 24) and St. Luke (xxii. 19, 20); and it is to be observed, first, that our Lord said: 'This Cup is the New Testament (or Covenant) in My blood.' Clement speaks of this New Testament or Covenant being the food and drink of the Christian athlete (De Div. Ser. 3). Now we can understand how our Lord left us a Testament of Enlightenment and a Covenant or Bond of Love,—but not how this Bond is drunk literally. Again, if our Lord added the words, 'which is poured out for you,' He was undoubtedly speaking of the cup then being poured out rather than of His Blood which was to be poured out, for the word *poured out* agrees with the Cup and not with the Blood (*τὸ ποτήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου . . . τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον*, Luke xxii. 20). Similarly, when our Lord said, 'This is My body,' if He did add 'which is broken for you' (not in the Rev. Text) or 'which is given for you' (Luke xxii. 30), the reference would be to the Bread, for in the New Testament the Eucharist is called the Breaking of Bread. Thus, if we are to interpret literally, we should conclude that the Bread which He broke was the Body of the Word of God and that the Blood of the grape which He poured out was the Blood of this Word; in other words, that the Bread and Wine are an embodiment of God's Word. We need not by a hasty generalisation suppose that this embodiment of God's Word is or contains the identical particles of matter of the Body which broke it. The Church is also Christ's Body

(Col. i. 24); Christians are His members, the robe which He will wash in the Blood of the grape (Gen. xlix. 11); and, therefore, their consecrated food is affirmed to be the Body and Blood of Christ (Iren. v. 2, 2). We should not, therefore, suppose that Christians and their consecrated food are literally the identical portions of God's created matter, the same particles of it which hung on the cross. The Word of God may surely clothe Himself with other material forms than that of a Man; and the particles of matter in the several formations need not be always the same.

In interpreting the early fathers and especially Irenæus, it is important to observe that they saw in this ordinance, *first*, the presentation unto God of His creatures and especially of these first fruits of them—a thankful acknowledgment of God's goodness in providing men with bodily and mental food and the means of health; and, secondly, as God does not fail to make a return when we worthily thank Him, they saw, *after the completion of the offering* (Iren. Frag. 36), the exhibition to man of the Divine Word who manifests Himself in all creation, but more especially in that Bread and Wine which have been set apart or 'called out' to bear His Name, as the *ecclesia* (Church) means 'called out' from God's creatures. Thus there is, first, a Eucharist or thanksgiving to God for all our means of subsistence and health (Just. Ap. i. 13), especially for the Word which is presented unto God (*quod* or *per quod offertur Deo*).[1] This Eucharistic Thanksgiving or Presentation the Jews could not make, for they have not received the Word; nor could those heretics who regarded God's creation as the result of ignorance or as opposed to God, present the first fruits of it as a thanksgiving (iv. 18, 4). Secondly, the Eucharistic offering was, as it were, received back as a manifestation or embodiment of God's Word. There is reason to believe that this was what Irenæus meant when he said that

[1] One MS. has *per quod*, 'through whom the oblation was made' (Harvey ii. 203). So, 'the Church makes her offering in God Almighty through Jesus Christ' (iv. 17, 6).

'the Eucharist (i.e. the Thanksgiving of Bread and Wine) becomes the Body of Christ,' (i.e.) an embodiment of God's Word to those who have senses to perceive it (v. 2, 3). We should infer that this is his meaning from his ideas respecting the Mediatorial presentation of man to God and of God to man, and also from a fragment of his lost works found by Pfaff in the Royal Library of Turin. Irenæus is showing that both that rational service of our bodies, of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. xii. 1), and also the sacramental offering are a worship in spirit and truth (John iv. 25), a worship according to knowledge. 'For we offer (or present, προσφέρομεν) unto God the Bread and the Cup of blessing, giving thanks unto Him that He bade the earth send forth those fruits for our nourishment, and *afterwards, having completed the oblation* (τὴν προσφορὰν τελέσαντες),—we call out or invoke (ἐκκαλοῦμεν) the Holy Spirit that He would exhibit (ἀποφήνῃ) this sacrifice, the Bread (as) the Body of Christ and the Cup (as) the Blood of Christ, that they who partake (or have partaken, μεταλαβόντες) of these antitypes (copies or exact counterparts [Harvey], true likenesses, 1 Pet. iii. 21, Rev. Ver.) may obtain forgiveness of sins and eternal life. Those therefore who bring these offerings in remembrance of the Lord do not approach to Jewish ordinances; but, performing (liturgical) services spiritually, shall be called sons of Wisdom' (Frag. 36, Harvey, n. 8). Such men receive remission of their sins in the very enlightenment. 'As those who see the light are in the light and partake of its splendour; so those who see God are in God, partaking of His splendour. And the splendour quickens them. Those therefore who see God will partake of life' (iv. 20, 5).

Our Lord appeared bodily to Abraham; the Israelites in the wilderness did all eat the same spiritual meat and drink the same spiritual drink; our Lord's historical coming or presence as man (κατ' ἄνθρωπον) summed up the long dramatic exhibition (*expositionem*, Iren. iii. 18, 1) of men or made to men in the past; so the Holy Spirit in every age gives such an exhibition (σκηνοβατοῦν=*exposuit*, iv. 33, 7); and such is 'the com-

pendium of the cup' which Mary wished to bring in prematurely at Cana (iii. 16, 7). Again, by enlightenment and consecration, every creature of God may be made to show forth God's glory (1 Cor. x. 30, 31). Irenæus speaks of the Creation as being borne (*portatum*) by the invisible Father and as bearing (*portans*), so far as it is visible (*secundum visibile*), the Word ; as a sort of outward expression (body) of God's power, wisdom and skill (v. 3 ; v. 18). Now though the wine of God's creation was good, yet that which was furnished 'compendiously and simply' at the marriage was better (iii. 11, 3). Thus we may understand the Eucharist as also a compendium of the Word embodied in God's visible creation. But although the Eucharist would not be to us the Body of the Divine Word unless this Body were seen, yet all the flesh of our Lord is not the same flesh, for, if His Body was like ours, probably not one particle of His Body on the Cross was the same as those which formed His Body as a boy or as a child. The very fact that our bodies are nourished shows that there is a change of particles. And again, though our bodies shall rise again after death, it is as the plant from the seed. The risen body need not contain one single particle of matter which was in the seed. Again, we can readily understand that our sensuous minds are influenced by sensuous exhibitions ; but there is no need to suppose that God sets aside His established laws and brings about results by physical agencies which have no connection with these results. The magician astonishes people by the incongruity of the means he uses to accomplish seeming results ; but all we know of the serene and self-consistent God proves that He does not thus disregard the laws which He Himself established.

In most of his references to the Eucharist, Irenæus is disproving the Gnostic conceit that the material creation is essentially the kingdom of darkness and evil, and showing that it was created with a view to become the organ or vehicle of God's manifestations of Himself, that it is not inconsistent with or opposed to these manifestations. The notions of the

Gnostics led them to the mischievous conclusion that our material bodies are to be neglected as incapable of showing forth God's glory, or abused as evil things, fit for destruction, having no share in the future resurrection. Irenæus reasons that it was in our Lord's power to dispense with the agency of the present creation; but the very fact that He did not shows that He was carrying on and completing the Creator's work (iii. 11, 5). If the present creation had been a worthless obstacle or the evil work of another, God would not have made use of it to bear (*portaret*) or be the vehicle of His Word, nor would His Word have really assumed flesh and blood to redeem man; and the Gnostic idea that the word of truth would assume the appearance of a suffering man, not having really become such, is monstrous (iii. 18, 6; v. 1, 2; v. 18). In regard to the resurrection, Irenæus taught that our Lord formed (*faciens*) in Himself the first fruits of man's resurrection, that as the Head rose from the dead, so the rest of the body of the whole man, such as He is found in life, may rise again (iii. 19, 3); that those who know Christ are those who are made like Him in a resurrection life here (Frag. 35); but that then 'the end cometh,' when their bodies shall after death be transformed (Phil. iii. 21), that is, shall put on immortality and incorruption; for 'then shall death be truly overcome (1 Cor. xv. 33–35), when the flesh which is holden of it shall have gone from under its sway;' that the new bodies of the redeemed shall be substantial and capable of inheriting the earth (v. 13, 33, 36). Irenæus endeavours to prove this, among other arguments, from the fact that the Word of God stamps the Bread and Wine of the Sacrament with the character of His Body and Blood, and reasons that there would be no sense in feeding Christians with such food, if the material world were incapable of incorruption. Thus in the Eucharist 'we present unto God the things which are His own, showing forth suitably (ἐμμελῶς) communion and union (and confessing a resurrection) of flesh and spirit: namely, that as bread from the earth,

receiving the calling out (ἔκκλησιν)[1] of God, is no longer common bread but an Eucharist constituted or consisting of two things (ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα), an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies partaking of the Eucharist (or thanksgiving) are no longer corruptible, having the hope of eternal resurrection' (Iren. iv. 18, 5). We say that a coin or a banknote is not an ordinary piece of metal or paper, that it consists of two things, the metal or paper and the stamp or mark impressed upon it, and yet the stamp on the metal is merely the form. The anointed, crowned and enthroned deputy-elect King was the figure of God's majesty, but became unkinged Richard when he gave away what constituted him more than a common man (Richard II. Act iv. 1). But it was not a physical substance, but a character, which Richard gave away. So Irenæus speaks of Christians as receiving the image and inscription of the Father and the Son, or the anointing of the Spirit (iii. 9, 3; 17, 3). Those receive the image of the heavenly who put off the former lusts, are restored to the original type of man, and moulded by the form-giving Spirit in God's image and likeness (v. 19). What our Lord reconciled or brought into friendship and harmony with God is the same humanity which formerly lost the divine image; it is no new substance that is saved, but the old (v. 14). Hence we are not 'to devise a new substance of our Lord's flesh,' or humanity, as if a Saviour-Spirit called the Christ was deposited in a mere man Jesus after His baptism. The Word Himself became flesh, and bore God's image and likeness. Similarly, it is not by the deposition of a physical nature or substance in us as a germ, but by making our earthly members instruments of well-doing, by having our whole nature cleansed from the filth of sin and adorned with divine beauty, that we receive the Spirit or put on the new man. Our flesh is thus possessed by God's Spirit, the very vessel being vivified when it assumes the quality of the Spirit, being made comformable

[1] St. Basil speaks of the words as 'called over,' τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα. *See* Harvey's Iren. II. 205, n. 4.

or becoming conformed to the Word of God (v. 9–14). If Irenæus had meant to say that another spiritual body or substance is deposited in the Bread after consecration, the Gnostics could not have desired any better analogy to support their perverted conceits that another spiritual substance was deposited in the mere man Jesus after His baptism, and that the New Birth or Regeneration of the enlightened is the deposition of a higher physical nature or germ disposing them. There is a heavenly element in the Church which Irenæus calls the *character* of Christ's Body (iv. 33, 8), and Clement calls the Blessed Seal (S. ii. 3), and it is the *character* of the life-giving Word and Spirit of God, which the consecrated Bread and Wine bear, *stamped like a name* on a coin, and which we may reasonably judge to be the heavenly thing they possess.

Again, the very fact that the bodies of Christians are nourished by the Bread and Wine, *which are of this creation* (v. 2, 2), disproves the ideas of these Gnostics; for what would be the sense of nourishing *in this way* a body which does not admit of being saved or of putting on incorruption? Irenæus means that all God's creatures are good, because He puts His Name upon certain of them. It is not his object to show that the Bread of the Sacrament and the Body on the Cross are, or contain, the same identical portions of created matter. On the contrary (in Frag. 13), he tells us of the mistake of some slaves of Christian catechumens, who, 'hearing from their masters that the participation in God (*τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν*) was Christ's Body and Blood, and supposing that it was in reality (*τῷ ὄντι*) flesh and blood, told this to those who were examining them' by torture. Should we then conclude from Irenæus that the Bread, which is the Body of the Word of God on which we feed, and the Wine, which is His Blood which we drink, are the same human flesh and blood which hung on the Cross? The argument of Irenæus is as follows: 'And because we are members of Him and are nourished by the creation—which creation is His gift unto us, in that He causeth His sun to rise and raineth according to His will—He confessed the

Cup which is of the creation to be His own Blood, wherewith He supplieth (or bedeweth, *δεύει*) our Blood, and the Bread which is of the creation He affirmed to be His own Body from which He nourisheth our bodies. Since (*ὁπότε*) therefore it—the mingled Cup and the produced Bread—receiveth (or taketh upon it, *ἐπιδέχεται*) the Word of God, and the Eucharist becometh the Body of Christ (i.e. what we present unto God becomes in turn a manifestation to us of God's Word), and of these things the substance of our flesh groweth and is composed (*συνίσταται*), how say they that the flesh is not capable of the gift of God?—that flesh which is nourished by the Body and Blood of the Lord and is a member of Him, as Paul saith, 'We are members of His Body, of His flesh, and of His bones' (Eph. v. 30). He saith not this of some spiritual and invisible man—for a spirit hath neither bones nor flesh—but of the frame accorded to the true man (*περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας*, comp. v. 3, 2), consisting as it does of flesh and nerves and bones, which (frame) is nourished from His Cup which is the blood, and groweth from the Bread which is His body. 'And even as the corn of wheat falling into the ground and being dissolved is raised up manifold by the Spirit of God, who keepeth all things together (*συνέχοντος*) . . . so our bodies nourished thereby (by the Eucharistic Bread and Wine) and put into the ground and dissolved therein, shall rise again in their own time, the Word of God giving them resurrection to the glory of God and His Father . . . that having learned by experience that not of our own nature but of God's excellency (by the working of the Lord, not of the body's own substance, v. 13, 3), we have continuance for ever[1] . . . we might see what God can do and what benefits man receives' (v. 2, 3). From the fact that God hath been both able and willing to call us into conscious existence, and clothe us already with so wonderful a body, Irenæus goes on to reason

[1] *τὴν εἰς ἀεί παραμονήν = in æternum perseverantiam.* This passage gives the Greek equivalent for that *continuance for ever*, which the lost do not have (ii. 34, 3).

that God would not be unable to restore the body again after it had been dissolved in the earth into its primary constituents (εἰς ἐκεῖνα ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγεγόνει ὁ ἄνθρωπος); that He would be much more willing to restore again to life those who had already been brought into existence; and that the flesh would anew be found receptive of, or impressible by (χωρητικὴ), or capable of participating in the Power, Wisdom and Artistic Skill of Him who already has moulded our bodies—an eye capable of seeing, an ear capable of hearing, &c. (v. 3). On those who follow Him the power of God is exerted to heal their bodies here, and to reconstitute them after death. It is not, as Irenæus reasons, the subsistence or essence of the creation, but the fashion of it, that passeth away (v. 36, 1); there will be a new Cup to drink in the Father's kingdom (Matt. xxvi. 29), when the inheritance of the earth is renewed and the mystery of the glory of the sons is perfected afresh; and, though we cannot understand our Lord's meaning to be that He would then drink of the fruit of the vine; yet, whatever the new Cup is, those who drink it are not without flesh; such drinking belongeth not to the spirit, but to the new flesh which ariseth (v. 33, 1; 36, 3).

According to Irenæus, it is not the principle of making gifts, sacrifices and oblations that is changed, but the special sort of them. He from whom the Jews received their ritual by way of types, as was shown to Moses in the Mount, is the same God whose Name is now glorified in the Church in all nations. It accords (*congruit*) with this, that the earthly things which are ordered with a view to us (*erga nos disposita*) should be types of the things which are heavenly, made however by the same God. For in no other way could He represent (*assimilare*) the image of things spiritual. The peculiar mark (*indicium*) or characteristic (*character*), which distinguishes Christian from Jewish oblations, is the mark of *freedom*, the Church offering to God (things) of His own Creation, and not merely the lesser portions, but cheerfully and freely assigning all that themselves have, as men having the hope of greater

things. Now those who give to the poor lend to the Lord; and, though God does not need our offerings, He esteems what is done to the needy as done to Himself, and gives us a return of His own good things (Iren. iv. 18., 4–6; 19, 1; Matt. xxv. 34–36). As Clement expresses it (C[1] 136), Christians are saved by willing choice, being rationally afraid of God, not irrationally terrified as children are by bugbears (*μορμολυκείοις*); and, as Justin says, we have been instructed that the only sacrifice worthy of God is not to consume by fire what He has given us for our sustenance; but to apply it to our benefit, and to that of those in need (Just. Ap. i. 13). The Jewish burnt-offerings were thus those of bondmen; but Christian freemen, who know what their Lord is doing (John xv. 15), offer rational sacrifices (Rom. xii. 1).

But men are not full-grown all at once. They must still grow from childhood to maturity; and, therefore, according to Irenæus, 'our Lord came to us in the last times, not in His incorruptible glory, for as yet we had not the power to endure the greatness of His glory. And, therefore, to us, as to babes, the perfect Bread of the Father communicates Himself as milk; for that kind of thing was His presence as man (*κατ' ἄνθρωπον*): in order that we, as (it were) nourished by the breast of His Flesh, and accustomed by this sort of milk diet to eat and drink the Word of God, might be able to retain in ourselves the Bread of Immortality, *which is the Spirit of the Father*. And therefore Paul saith to the Corinthians: I have fed you with milk, &c. (1 Cor. iii. 2): i.e. Ye have indeed been taught the presence of the Lord as Man; but not yet doth the Spirit of the Father *rest* upon you, because of the weakness and incongruous state of your conversation. There was no inability on the part of the Apostle to give them the meat; for they on whom they laid hands, received the Holy Ghost, which is the meat of life; but they for their part were incapable of receiving it, because they had their souls' organs of discernment as yet weak and unpractised in the Divine (or perfect) training' (iv. 38; 1, 2). To be fed with milk is, there-

fore, to learn the (historical) presence of our Lord as Man, that is, to be instructed in the Gospel history, and in such elementary lessons as are easily received and not easily perverted. But the strong meat belongs to the full-grown or spiritual man, whose well-balanced mind harmonises the various utterances of the prophetic Word into one consistent system, based on the Apostolic Faith, as dry wheat is made into one loaf by means of the water of heaven, or as different notes are combined into one harmonious strain (ii. 28, 3). The truth is spiritual; we express it by verbal or external symbols: but it is discerned in the mind itself; our true thoughts are truths perceived.

According to CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, the wine and the bread, the consecrated food, given by Melchizedek, priest of the Most High God, is a type of Eucharistic thanksgiving (*τύπον εὐχαριστίας*, S. iv. 25). 'Further,' he says (Pæd. i. 6), 'the Word declares Himself to be the Bread of heaven, saying: Moses gave you not that Bread from heaven, and the Bread which I will give is my Flesh, &c. Here is to be noted the mystic meaning (*τὸ μυστικὸν*) of bread, that He calls it flesh (John vi. 32, 51); and the blood is allegorically termed (*ἀλληγορεῖται*, figuratively described as) wine (for the Scripture has named wine the symbol of the Sacred Blood, Pæd. ii. 2). Thus in many ways the Word is allegorically termed meat and flesh, and bread and blood and milk. Let no one then think it strange, when we say that the Lord's blood is figuratively termed milk. For is it not figuratively termed wine: "Who washes," it is said, "His garment in wine, His robe in the blood of the grape" (Gen. xlix. 11). In His own Spirit, He means, He will deck the body of the Word, as certainly by His own Spirit He will nourish those who hunger for the Word' (C[2] 206). According to Justin, this passage in Genesis shows that our Lord's blood is *by a figure of speech* called the blood of the grape, and is thus proved to be not of human generation, but from divine power, while 'the Holy Ghost calls those who receive remission of sins through Him

His robe, in whom He shall be manifestly present in His Second Appearing' (Dial. 54, 63). Man is transformed by the Word; and the faultless sons of God shall be the word of wisdom (C[1] 341). In showing that pains and skilful husbandry are necessary in order to gather fruit from the Vine of Truth, in other words, that we must make a careful use of all the proper means in order to expound the revelations of God, Clement shows that what the Divine Word or Reason (λόγος) does is done rationally, and must be interpreted consistently with reason. 'Wherefore the Saviour, taking the bread, first spake and blessed; then, breaking the bread, He presented (προέθηκε) it, that we might eat it rationally (λογικῶς), and that knowing the Scriptures we might walk obediently' (S i. 9, 10). Clement, at least, gives no sanction to an irrational interpretation of this mystery.

Clement discusses at large what we are to understand by the solid bread or meat, the milk, and the wine or blood which is the strength of the meat (Pæd. i. 6). The solid food is not essentially different from the milk; it is milk solidified (γάλα πεπηγός), just as cheese is the solidification (πῆξις) of milk; it is the faith compacted out of catechetical instruction into a foundation, solider than the hearing, and made into a body in the soul itself (C[1] 139, 140). In other words, it is the body of the Faith, fitly framed or compacted into a scientific system in the mind, such a knowledge or true gnosis as that which Clement repeatedly asserts was handed down among the learned Christians of his time, and the actual existence of which is also proved by the strange counterfeit perversions or mistakes of the Gnostics falsely so called. Clement goes on to tell us that the blood is the hope, the promise hoped for, that which, like the soul in the body, binds the faith together and gives vitality to it (C[1] 140). This must be the Divine character in men. 'Eat ye my flesh and drink my blood! O paradoxical mystery! He enjoins us to cast off the old and carnal corruption, as being also the old food, and participating in Christ's other new kind of living (διαίτης), taking Him up if

possible and laying Him up in ourselves, to enshrine Him in our breasts, that we may correct the affections of our flesh' (C[1] 142). Clement goes on to notice another interpretation of this mystery. We might understand the Blood of Christ either as something external presented to us, or as something of which we are made partakers. If both the Flesh and the Blood of Christ be viewed as external objects for our regard, he understands by the Flesh the Holy Spirit made flesh, the Life (of Jesus Christ), into which the Word of God has been richly poured as blood, flowing forth as milk to us (C[1] 143). Thus Irenæus represents the Ark overlaid within and without with pure gold as a type of the Body of Christ adorned within by the Word and guarded without by the Spirit (Frag. 8). Thus the sanctified Flesh is the Life (which men contemplate), the Blood is that which is thereby spoken. But 'the blood of Christ is twofold. For there is the fleshly Blood, by which we have been redeemed from corruption; and the spiritual, that by which we are anointed. And to drink the Blood of Jesus is to participate in the Lord's immortality, the Spirit being the strength (ἰσχὺς) of the Word as the blood is of flesh' (Pæd. ii. 2). Clement therefore considers that, when taken into the mind, the Bread represents the well-compacted and solidly digested Faith, and the Blood, the participation in what is Divine—in God's loving nature and immortal life. His object is mainly to prove (against the Gnostics) that the fuller knowledge is in harmony with the catechetical instruction, and to show where it comes in the natural order of growth. 'Believing,' he says elsewhere (S. vii. 10), 'is the foundation of knowledge, and Christ is both the foundation and the superstructure.' He maintained, as St. Paul did, that there is a progress from light to light or from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit; that faith leads to knowledge; and that knowledge is quick in purifying, and fit for the acceptable transformation for the better, or that it leads to love, which has the promise of the inheritance (S. vii. 10). He also asserts that 'when our Lord said, "Eat ye My Flesh and

drink My Blood," He was distinctly speaking allegorically of the drinkable properties (*τὸ πότιμον ἀλληγορῶν*) of the faith and the promise' (C[1] 140). 'The Sacrament,' said Augustine in a later age, 'is the visible Word, because the rite is, as it were, the picture of the Word, because the effect of both is the same.'

ESCHATOLOGY: OR THE DOCTRINE OF THE LAST THINGS.

The minds of the early Christians were much occupied with 'The things which must shortly come to pass'—the Second Coming or Presence of the Lord, the resurrection and the judgment to come.

THE COMING OF THE FULL-GROWN AND OF LATTER-DAY ORDEALS. As the Old Testament prophets blended together in their visions the nearer and more distant future, so our Lord in His last great prophecy concerning the destruction of the Temple, warns His disciples by this type that they must act so as to be counted worthy to *stand before Him* as His Temple in that day and that hour when He came again for judgment, and to escape all these things (Luke xxi. 36), namely, a similar destruction (Rom. xi. 21; 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; 1 Pet. iv. 17). Hengstenberg, in a chapter on the Nature of Prophecy, maintains that we ought not to ignore the light thrown upon prophecies by their partial fulfilment. He quotes two passages from St. Peter (1 Pet. i. 10–12 and 2 Pet. i. 19–21), showing that the chief import of the O. T. prophecies did not relate to the prophets themselves and their contemporaries, and was not of *their* own interpretation (*ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως*); that they were not the originators, but spake, being moved or borne along by the Holy Spirit, and testified of the sufferings of Christ and the glories *that should follow*; that now, after Christ has suffered, *we* have a surer exposition (word) of prophecy, and ought to give diligent heed to this lamp; for false prophets would arise, and ignorant or unstable men would pervert St.

Paul's meaning; the very rudimentary elements would be on fire in the day of the Lord (2 Pet. ii., iii.).

In the same way, Irenæus maintains that 'every prophecy before its fulfilment is to men enigmatical and of double sense or analogous reference (*ambiguitates*, *ἀντιλογία*); but when the time has arrived and the thing foretold has come to pass, then the prophecy has got the most exact (clear and certain) exposition.' Thus he shows how, in the days of the dispersion (Dan. xii. 4, 7), or in the last days (Jer. xxiii. 20), men would know the meaning of the prophecies referring to the coming of our Lord as man; that an attentive reader of the Scriptures would find in them not only such prophecies, but also a prefiguring of the new vocation, for they announce that man loving God shall improve so far as even to see God, to hear His voice, and from the hearing of what He saith to become highly glorified (like Moses). Such a careful reader of the Scriptures will be a perfect or full-grown disciple (Iren. iv. 26, 1). He says that when that which is perfect or full-grown cometh, there will be no new foundation of the faith, no other Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but that in these, the very same, we shall have our growth and increase, so as to enjoy the gifts of God now no more through a mirror and in an enigma (*ἐν αἰνίγματι*, 1 Cor. xiii. 12), but face to face (iv. 9, 2). This is what J. Smith, in discoursing 'of Prophesie' (Ed. 1673, p. 172), calls the Mosaic grade, when the things are expressed not in dark riddles but nakedly to the understanding (Num. xii. 8). 'Respecting all Scripture after our manner (*τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς*),' says Clement of Alexandria, 'it is expressly written in the Psalms (lxxviii. 1, 2): "Hear, O my people, my law: incline your ears to the sayings of my mouth. I will open my mouth in parables: I will utter enigmas from the beginning." Similarly, the noble apostle says: "Howbeit, we speak wisdom among the full-grown . . . the wisdom of God in a mystery, wisdom having been hidden, which God appointed before the ages to be for our glory" (1 Cor. ii. 6, 7). Now the apostle in contradistinction to the enlightened full-growth speaks of the

common faith sometimes as the foundation and sometimes as milk . . . these (were) superstructures of knowledge built on the groundwork of faith in Jesus Christ (1 Cor. iii. 1–12). In reference to the systematic knowledge he says in his Epistle to the Romans: "For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, that ye may be established," for it was not possible to send by letter in an unveiled way gifts of this description. . . . It was for the teacher to open up the covering of the ark. "I know," says the apostle, "that if I come, I will come in the fulness of the blessing of Christ," calling this fulness. . . . the showing (*τὸ δείκνυναι*?) what the things are (mean), which are in a mystery. It will then be understood that the milk is catechetical instruction, and that the meat is the initiated science' (*ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία*, S. v. 4 and 10). Barnabas, he says, was already depositing a trace of this knowledge, writing in a plainer way (*ἁπλούστερον*) that they might understand (cc. 1, 6).

The grace of God has now been manifested for all men's salvation (Tit. ii. 11); 'the faith' has come (Gal. iii. 23); 'the atonement' has been received (Rom. v. 11). We do not *hope* for a manifestation already given (Rom. viii. 24), but that we may know and understand and fulfil the mystery of God, and thus grow up, individually and collectively, to the full stature of Christ's body (Col. ii. 2; Eph. iv. 13, 14). First, the creature, man, is emancipated from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children (*τέκνων*) of God; but even those children, who have *tasted* the good word of God, or have received the *first-fruits* of the Spirit, earnestly wait for the adoption or sonship (*υἱοθεσίαν*), something beyond the state of children, when God's will is done more perfectly on earth (C² 168), and the body or outward manifestation is redeemed (Rom. viii. 21–23). '*Now* we are the children of God,' said St. John, 'and it is not yet manifested what we shall be. We know that when or if (*ἐὰν*) it is manifested, we shall be like Him (God), for we shall see Him as He is. And every one that hath this hope *upon him* (*ἐπ' αὐτῷ*) purifieth himself even as He (*ἐκεῖνος*) is pure' (1 John iii. 2, 3). His faithful people

are 'the robe (Gen. xlix. 11), in whom He shall be manifestly (ἐναργῶς) present in His Second Coming' (Just. Dial. 54). God 'shall tabernacle upon them' (σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς, Rev. vii. 15).

So long as their Lord did not depart, that which is spiritual or full-grown did not come to the disciples (John xvi. 7). So Joshua exhorted the children of Joseph to learn self-help (xvii. 15); so heresies were to come that they who are approved may be manifested (1 Cor. xi. 19); and so he who prevented the growth of the great apostasy was to be taken away, before the bright day of the Lord's Second Coming shone forth in His Temple. The early fathers saw what facilities the Scriptures presented for counterfeiting the truth (*Tert. de Præs. Hær.* 39). But, on this account, to interdict investigation and to limit the communications of the Holy Spirit to would-be prophets is to make void the gift of the prophetic spirit poured out in the last times on mankind, men and women (Iren. iii. 11, 9; 1 Cor. xi. 4, 5). It behoved Christians, as long as they had the sound, safe, and legitimate exposition of apostolic men, to follow it; but the time was certainly to come when such extraordinary helps would be found wanting. Christians would have to judge their angels (presidents) and test the coin, like approved bankers (C² 474). Irenæus exhorts them to learn the truth from those presbyters, who, along with the original succession or concession or deposit of faith committed to them, exhibited sound speech and blameless conduct, but to withdraw themselves from those who, puffed up with the conceit of what had been granted to them, and, regardless of God, lawlessly drove others and did evil in secret or hidden things (*in absconsis*), among which Irenæus has just reckoned types and parables. Of them our Lord spoke, Luke xii. 45, 46 (Iren. iv. 26, 2–5). According to Irenæus, it was in the Temple of the *true* God that Antichrist was to exalt himself above every idol. This is the unjust judge, to whom the widow in her forgetfulness of God has recourse for redress upon her enemy; tyranny, divisions, the burning of Babylon, and the driving out of the church or the exiling of the saints, were

to follow; but, in the end, God was to raise up a kingdom which would suffer no decay for ever (Iren. v. 25, 26).

THE FUTURE JUDGMENT AND THE FUTURE LIFE. This subject is connected with that of the two natures acquired by or sealed upon men, the nature of God and the mark or character of the wild beast. By persevering in well-doing, men attain 'glory, honour and immortality;' by indulging earthly desires, the soul of man comes to share in the designation of *earthly*; by giving vent to tempting passions, by worshipping the wild beast, men become demon-like. But although the Scriptures declare that God has prepared eternal fire for transgressors, they do not tell us what their nature is essentially (Iren. ii. 28, 7); and though we infer from the early fathers that their punishment is never-ending, yet we should also infer that, some time or other, when God wills it, the soul or consciousness would cease to continue, that loss of life is part of the eternal punishment.

THE GEHENNA OF FIRE is a metaphor taken from the burning of carcases outside Jerusalem in the valley of Hinnom. The spirit of reprobate men is spoken of as a spirit of burning, an abyss of wrath, an outer darkness bringing calamities, an unrest which torments day and night. Our Lord cautioned His disciples against giving vent to bitter anger, as when Moses inadvertently called the people Moreh, against contending who should be greatest, or jealously forbidding one who did not follow with them to cast out devils—lest they should fall into this Gehenna (Matt. v. 22; Mark ix. 33–50).[1] Bodies of men

[1] In searching out the deep meaning of prophetic language respecting the judgment to come, we need the cautious vigilance and the careful research, which Clement recommends (De Div. Ser. 5). Our Lord warns us in the above passages that it is better to have only one eye than to lose the sight of both or to turn the elementary principles into dark perversions; it is better not to know much that may be known than, by plunging into

as well as individual men may fall into it. When Moses bids the Gentiles rejoice with God's people (Deut. xxxii. 43), Justin says that all the people of Israel are not meant, but only those well-pleasing to God; for we know from Isaiah that the carcases (Heb. iii. 17) of transgressors are devoured by the worm and unquenchable fire, remaining immortal, for a spectacle of all flesh[1] (Dial. 130). The connection and Iren. iv. 4 show that Justin is speaking of the exhausted shell of the Jewish national party, the burning carcase,[2] the dry tree, when all true life and sap had been driven out, and not of the immortality of any

transcendental questionings and things too high for us, to pervert what is the basis of true belief into falsehood. Men may cover God's altars with weeping (Mal. ii. 13) or gnash their teeth in religious fury; but how shall they escape the fire of strange doctrines when bound upon them by traditional standards? Again, it is better to have only one hand, better not to use one's full liberty, than to become more and more the slave of the carnal things we are using (1 Cor. vi. 12; x. 23), and thus to give occasion to the flesh or carnal doings which deprive of life (Iren. v. 14, 4). Irenæus says that life and death, corruption and incorruption, expel one another; that by the presence of the one the other is made away with or perishes (ἀναιρεῖται = interit, v. 12, 1). Thus, when prophecy speaks of a death or worm of corruption that does not die, this does not mean that the man lives for ever. Again, when we say that the passions of some men are insatiable, and their zeal fiery and unquenchable, we do not mean that these men live for ever.

[1] Justin says εἰς ὅρασιν πάσης σαρκὸς *for a vision of or unto all flesh*. Two other passages (*Dial.* 44, 140), where Justin quotes the exact words of the Septuagint (πάσῃ σαρκί, Is. lxvi. 24), show his meaning. The Jews, he there says, deceive themselves in supposing that, because they are the children of Abraham according to the *flesh*, therefore the promised gifts of God's eternal kingdom will assuredly be given to them. The destiny of *all* flesh (which is grass), of *mere* flesh, not having the Spirit, is shown by this *vision for all flesh*; and, therefore, they should not think that *mere* flesh and blood can inherit the kingdom of God (comp. Iren. v. 9). The *spectacle of mere flesh*, earth without the fruits of the Spirit (Heb. vi. 8; Iren. iii. 17, 3), burning with fiery passions and becoming the prey of an irremediable corruption, will remain while human flesh or nature remains what it is; such vultures will be gathered together, wheresoever the carcase is.

[2] τὰ κῶλα, *members* = *corpse*, or, as we say, *bones* (*see* Robinson's Lexicon).

individual's body living in pain. Such effete bodies or perverted organisations are wonderfully tenacious of life; as soon as any member makes an effort to correct them, he is expelled from the society; and thus we may expect that some remains of Judaism will survive, being thus immortal, even when the fulness of the Jewish people are enlightened. In regard to the individuals, it is better to put restrictions upon one's liberty than to become the slave of the things one uses or the prey of malicious passions. An untamed tongue is set on fire by the Gehenna (James iii. 6). The fire is eternal, first, in the primary sense of the Hebrew word *olam*, something *hidden*, something beyond mere physical sense and connected with the *unseen* world of mind, conscience and conscious existence (2 Cor. iv. 18). Secondly, the fire is said to be *unquenchable*; and the passions, when indulged, become insatiable or unquenchable. Also, when we read that the wild beast and the false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever (Rev. xx. 10), the meaning surely is that evil men and seducers have no peace day or night; that unrest and trouble are the appointed reward of such evil doers, as long as the world lasts and men are what they are; that an age will never come when men who worship their evil passions have peace. There is even in this life a repentance which is of no avail, but drives men to worse excesses; and Justin speaks of a late unavailing repentance as eternal sensation and torment (Ap. i. 52); it is one of those punishments which are *hidden* and unseen. Thirdly, Irenæus and other early fathers believed in the *endlessness* of eternal punishments, in this way that dissolution (the opposite of that *union*, which Irenæus associates with the living principle) would some time, when God pleases, be the endless consummation of these punishments. A man so engrossed with the pursuit of earthly riches and pleasures as to have, as it were, a heart of metal or earth 'is earth and shall return to earth' (Clem. de Div. Ser. 17). The sinful soul is in partnership with the dying body (S. iv. 3). Our Lord wrote such mere flesh *into the ground* (John viii. 6, 8). The good things from God

are eternal and endless; and, on this account, the privation or loss (*στέρησις*) of them is also eternal and endless (*ἀτελεύτητος*, Iren. v. 27). And one good thing, of which 'the unthankful man, who is not subject to God but throws life away, deprives himself, is continuance (*perseverantia*)[1] for ever . . . length of days for ever and ever . . . given to those who preserve the gift of life and are thankful to the Giver. For life is not of ourselves, nor of our own nature, but is given according to the grace of God' (Iren. ii. 34). Irenæus here refers what is said of Lazarus and Dives to their state *before* the judgment. This subject was that on which Justin conversed with his aged instructor, the conclusion being that souls are neither necessarily mortal nor inherently immortal; that those whom God finds worthy die no more, because He wills it; that the others undergo punishment as long as God wills them to exist and be punished; but that, when the soul is to die, it returns again to that from whence it was taken (Dial. 5, 6). It is singular with what confidence Dr. Pusey, in his recent book on Eternal Punishments, speaks of this old man as affirming that *souls never die*; whereas other eminent scholars (e.g. an authority at Oxford, Dr. Clyde of Edinburgh, &c.) translate the passage differently; and the whole context before and after unmistakably shows the

[1] The connection leaves not the slightest doubt that physical continuance is meant; and a comparison of other passages (e.g. iii. 3, 4; iv. 38, 3,; v. 2, 3; v. 12, 2, or in Harvey's Irenæus, vol. ii. 12, 295, 323, 351) shows that the original Greek word was *παραμονή*, and that undoubtedly it means literal continuance in life, as when Polycarp continued (*παρέμεινε* = *perseveravit*) very long, or as the bodies of the antediluvian patriarchs lasted (*perseverabant*) much time (Harvey ii. 330). St. John remained (*παρεμεινε* = *permansit*) till Trajan's time (i. 331; ii. 15); and Valentinus continued (*παρεμείνεν* = *prorogavit tempus*) till the time of Anicetus (Harvey ii. 17). Thus the reckless, ungrateful man 'deprives himself of continuance for ever and ever,' and 'shall not receive from God length of days for ever and ever' (ii. 34, 3). What would Irenæus and Justin's Instructor have said of the article in the 'Westminster Confession of Faith,' asserting that 'men's souls neither die nor sleep, having an immortal subsistence'? (chap. 32). The work of Arnobius in the third century shows the change of ideas on this subject.

meaning to be that souls do not necessarily die, that it would be a godsend to the wicked if the death of the soul depended on some necessity and not on the will of the Creator, Supporter, and Judge of men ;[1] that, as the death of the soul is not a matter of necessity, so neither is its continuance in life. That *phenomenal* consciousness, which had a beginning, *may* surely have an end. 'What is your life? For ye are a vapour that *appeareth* (φαινομένη) for a little time and then vanisheth away' (James iv. 14). An eternal fire, a fire from heaven, burns up or scorches up corrupters of God's word, who, 'like Nadab and Abihu, offer strange fire at God's altar, that is, strange doctrines,' and those who listen to them ; but these men are not therefore immortal. 'Those who rise up against the truth and stir up others against God's Church, shall remain in the lower regions (*apud inferos*), swallowed up by the earth's chasm as those around Korah, Dathan and Abiram (Iren iv. 26, 2 ; Ign. Eph. 16). But the approved shall rise to inherit the material creation (p. cxix. &c.), with a purified vision and unsatiating joys' (S. vii. 3).

[1] Canon Farrar is clearly of opinion that the passage should be translated : 'Nay but neither do *I* affirm that all souls die.' He believes that if the doctrine, that the lost will finally cease to exist consciously, had not come subsequently to be regarded as a heresy, there would have been no question as to this being the belief of Irenæus. The same belief, he thinks, underlies the teaching of Justin on this subject (*Mercy and Judgment*, pp. 242, 243). What else did Clement indicate when he spoke of the incorrigible as the chaff or small dust so easily scattered, as the drop spilt from the bucket (C[1] 176 ; C[2] 41, 211, 368, 489), as superfluities with regard to (περισσοὶ εἰς) salvation, cast away from the body (C[2] 368), as good for nothing but fuel (C[1] 257)? He taught that painful inflictions of punishment are corrective, not retaliative, that 'God does not hate anything and yet wish what He hates to exist . . . nor does He wish anything not to exist and yet this exists . . . that that of which He supplies the cause of existence is loved by Him' (*Pæd.* i. 8). If, then, Clement believed that God sentences men to endless, hopeless, and conscious misery, he must have supposed that God loves them throughout all this eternity of hopeless torment! But how could Clement have reconciled his statement with the doctrine that they are sentenced to this before they are born?

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Barnabas professes to 'write more clearly,' and then proceeds, says Clement, to 'deposit already a trace of philosophical (gnostic) tradition.' The Gnostic perversions of the Christian Gnosis or full knowledge caused eminent Christians to collect 'the scattered seeds.' Works of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Clement of Alexandria. Eusebius gives extracts from others.

II. THE EARLY CHURCH RULE OF THE FAITH; THE INSPIRED WORD AND TRUE KNOWLEDGE xii

The Early Church Rule of the Faith and of Christian knowledge was the teaching of the apostles. The tradition, carefully preserved in all churches founded by them, was in this period one and in harmony with the Apostolic Scriptures, and thus proved to be primitive and well-founded. The inspired prophesyings, heard by Irenæus, were explanations spoken in season and for profit, not frenzied utterances like those of the Montanists. By the Spirit some might still 'speak in all sorts of languages, as Paul himself spoke.' But *such* inspirations and the *oral* traditions of the 'wisdom spoken among the full-grown' (the Primitive System) were passing away; consequently, sound knowledge, which conduces to 'the acceptable transformation for the better,' must be sought for through careful cultivation. Tertullian and Origen belong to the next age.

III. THE CONNECTION AND HARMONY OF THE DISPENSATIONS xix

As the Lord's Coming was the fulfilment of the law and the prophets, 'the Testament according to His Coming' and the Old Testament were 'the things new and old,' to be expounded harmoniously together, so as not to 'judge' unfairly of typical histories or of God's ways, for such was said to be the meaning of Matt. vii. 1 (Iren. iv. 16-32). This early 'Ecclesiastical Canon' or 'Church Rule,' as Clement calls it,

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THE rules and lists given in this grammar have been arranged and rhymed with the greatest care, so as to relieve as much as possible the labour and tedium of learning them. As it frequently happens in German that a word is irregular in more respects than one, an attempt is here made to meet the difficulties together. For instance, in the lists of nouns, when the plural form is a sufficient index by which one may distinguish the gender, the word is given in the plural; and, similarly, if the gender serves to indicate the plural, the word is given in the singular with the definite article attached. The meaning also of the word is commonly given along with its grammatical irregularities; for the student *must* learn the word and its meaning sometime and somewhere, and if he learns it in such a connexion as to learn by the same effort its grammatical forms, he will thereby make his labour more effective. If the word be a noun, he will thus by one effort learn its meaning, its gender, and its declension; if it be a verb, he will learn its meaning and its irregular parts.

Another peculiarity of these lists is that words having a similar meaning are grouped together, with a view to render the lists less dull and difficult, and to adapt them for reading as well as for committing to memory. By reading the lists several times attentively (with the English), the student will acquire readiness in recognising and in using the words. Committing to memory is, of course, a much more impressive mode of learning than reading is: and one must not imagine that this impression is lost, though the exact order of the words in the lists be afterwards forgotten. Great care has been taken with the rhymes and metre, so as not to offend the ear in reading or repeating these lists.

As the variety of exceptional forms and the number of exceptional words are apt to tire and bewilder the student, the subject is arranged in such a way as to give him clear and complete ideas as he goes on, the most important lists coming usually first. In this way, the weak declension is treated of before the strong, not only because it is simpler, but also because one can readily learn all the weak monosyllables, and thus acquire at once a distinct idea what monosyllables are weak and what are strong. For the same reason, the strong neuters forming the plural in *er* are given before the neuters which form the plural in *e*. The list of masculine monosyllables which do not modify the plural is shorter than that of those which do; but it is important to accustom one's ear to the sound of the modified plural. The student may learn either list or both.

The classification of the irregular verbs is the same as that adopted in the best grammars, such as those of Bekker and Hoffmann; while advantage has been taken of several remarkable sequences of the vowels of the roots, to construct a tabulated *memoria technica*, by means of which one can easily attain a knowledge of the subject, and to which one can readily refer in the intercourse of life. In addition to this table the irregular verbs have been given in rhyming lists along with the English and the principal parts, so as to accustom the student to use and recognise them.

In many Grammars, the lists of conjunctions is mixed up with that of connective adverbs; or if the two lists are given separately, no means are supplied whereby the student can distinguish the one set of words from the other, unless he learns them by heart. As the order of words in the sentence is differently affected by these two classes of words, a simple way of distinguishing them has been introduced, founded on the fact that the adverb is movable in the sentence, while the conjunction must commence it. The student will thus be able without hesitation to determine whether the word be a conjunction or a connective adverb, and what will consequently be the order of words in the sentence. The construction of sentences in German is treated of so as to train the learner in the logical analysis of sentences—an exercise which the Germans first introduced, and for which their grammar has a special adaptation. The subject of particles has been fully treated of, their senses being compared and discriminated. A chapter on adverbs used as expletives may supply information on a neglected subject.

Teachers often find it necessary to prescribe not merely a chapter to be read, or an exercise to be written, but also short and concise portions to be learned by heart. Accordingly, short metrical summaries have been given at the end of each chapter, containing the substance of what is more fully explained in the prose, with short examples to make the rule or summary more intelligible. Some supplementary chapters concerning the use of the article, the government of verbs and adjectives, the use of prepositions after verbs and in phrases, have been given in rhyming rules. Perhaps the most difficult task in German Grammar is to make one's self familiar with the correct use of prepositions; and it is hoped that the treatment of this subject will be found to be an efficient means of acquiring a thorough practical acquaintance with it.

Alphabetical lists of the nouns and verbs are given in the last part of the book. Two supplementary lists contain the rest of the monosyllables and nouns ending in *el*, *en*, and *er*. A subsequent appendix gives rhyming as well as alphabetical lists of all the foreign words about whose gender and declension the student need have any hesitation.

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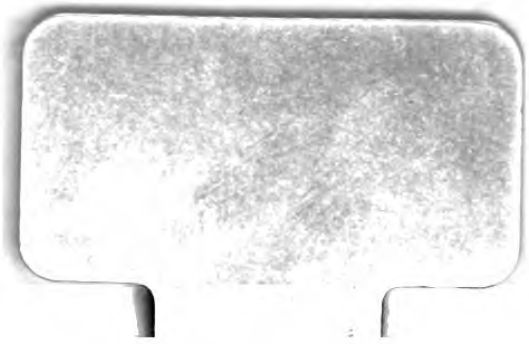
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