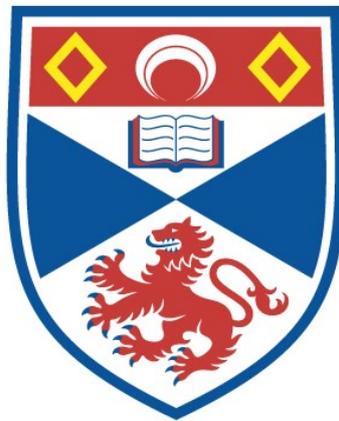


**THE ΠΑΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ CHRISTOLOGY IN JUSTIN
MARTYR, MELITO, AND IRENAEUS : A STUDY IN
THEOLOGICAL REINTERPRETATION**

Joh Theodore Brothers

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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THE ΠΑΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ CHRISTOLOGY
IN
JUSTIN MARTYR, MELITO, AND IRENAEUS:
A Study in Theological Reinterpretation

A Thesis
by
John Theodore Brothers

Presented to
The University of St. Andrews
In Application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



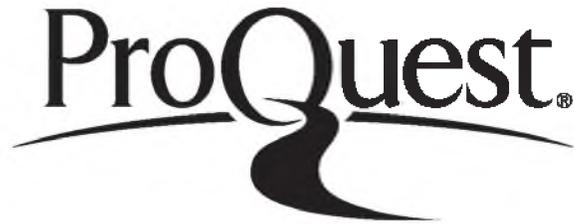
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D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out in St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews.

John Theodore Brothers

CERTIFICATE

I certify that John Theodore Brothers has spent nine terms at Research Work in St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Matthew Black, Principal,
St. Mary's College,
The University of St. Andrews.

C A R E E R

I enrolled in Davidson College in 1945 and took one year of a liberal arts course.

Following military service, I enrolled in Lehigh University in the combined curriculum of liberal arts and engineering in 1947, which led to graduation in 1951 with the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering.

After recall to active duty with the U.S. Marine Corps and employment with a firm of Engineering Consultants, I enrolled in Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, in 1958, and followed a course leading to graduation in 1961 with the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

In 1962 I commenced research on the Servant of the Lord Christology in the Second Century, the results of this research now being submitted as a Thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Haud ignara mali
miseris succurrere disco ...

(Not inexperienced in misfortune,
I have learned to aid the wretched ...)

- Virgil

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PREFACE

The intention of the dissertation is to conduct a critical examination of certain selected writings from the approximate period spanned by the second century of the Christian era to discover what interpretation was given to the Figure of the Servant of the Lord in the Christologies which the works represent. While the analysis of Isaiah's Servant Figure represents a well-trodden path in theological inquiry, the interpretation of the early Church has rarely been dealt with, and in most cases represents a broad survey, as opposed to a detailed study of a few selected writings. Such a study was suggested by Principal Matthew Black, and it was considered that it would build on the survey of the literature of this period that Adolph von Harnack made some forty years ago, in which Harnack concluded that the Christological understanding in respect to the title *παῖς θεοῦ* changed in the early Church.

In this Thesis it is proposed, firstly, to determine whether such a modification of the interpretation of the

Lord's $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ did, in fact occur. Secondly, through an analysis of the writers' Christological bias, the attempt will be made to discover the source of this change, or factors of influence which affected it. The subject is introduced by a review of articles and studies which pertain to this particular inquiry. This is followed with a brief survey of Christian literature in the sub-apostolic period up to the time of Justin, and thereafter those authors whose works constitute our primary interest are considered. To clarify the results of our examination, and as conclusive evidence in evaluating the findings of this period, a study of Origen's Christology in respect to the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ is appended.

The format and style of this Thesis is in accordance with the principles set forth in A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations (Rev. ed.), by Kate L. Turabian (Chicago: University Press, 1955), incorporating the following options: Sub-divisions of chapters include the centered heading, underlined, and with letter designation; the centered heading, not underlined; and the underlined heading running into the paragraph. For footnotes, Turabian's "Method A" (p. 45), or the shortened form, is followed, except that only the author's name, the title and date are given with the first citation, since the remainder of the publishing data is found in the bibliography.

Further, each chapter is considered as a separate entity from the standpoint of footnotes, with the full reference included for the first citation in that chapter, and footnote numbers beginning with each chapter. For cross-referencing, the footnote number only is given if the reference is to the same chapter, otherwise the chapter designation is also included. Certain specific subjects that are too detailed to be treated as a standard footnote on the pages of the text are appended at the ends of the chapters and designated accordingly.

It now becomes the pleasant duty of the writer to acknowledge the good offices of those without whom this work would not have been brought to completion. To my wife, whose patience during three years of intensive effort that allowed a minimum of time for family and friends goes no small measure of gratitude. To Reverend Professor Robin McLaine Wilson, who gave unselfishly of his time, goes a most sincere expression of thanks. At a stage when tangible results of this study were minimal, Dr. Wilson's incisive critical comments and encouragement were invaluable towards the continued pursuit of the inquiry. A word of thanks goes also to Professor Robert Davidson, whose seminars in Deutero-Isaiah were inspirational as well instructional. It has been a privilege to work under Principal Matthew Black. At times this writer has not escaped

that most common ailment of the research student, the feeling of being abandoned to one's fate. However, the Principal's vast learning and constructive critical comments at certain crucial stages in this endeavor spelled the difference between pursuing a wrong course and the uncovering of fresh and stimulating material. The writer recognizes the rare opportunity that has been his, and takes this occasion to express profound gratitude for the advice and counsel of the Faculty of St. Mary's College in the pursuit of this study.

There are many others whose contributions have been of real assistance. The cooperation of Librarians in four states during the time the writer was preparing for mission work in Portugal was most helpful. Appreciation is also expressed to Mrs. E. Lewis, whose tutoring in German and interest in this subject were a valuable assistance. Last but not least goes a word of thanks to my typists. Mrs. Andrew Crookstan tackled the original drafts which were handwritten and practically illegible. Mrs. B. Knott took painstaking care with the final draft, which has been a source of encouragement as the work drew to its conclusion, and Mrs. B. German, with great patience in adverse circumstances, completed the last details.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Old Testament and Apocrypha

The O.T. literature is cited according to the LXX in the edition of H. B. Swete (1887) unless it is expressly stated that the quotation is from the translation of Aq. (Aquila), Sym. (Symmachus), or Θ (Theodotiou). References from the Psalms are given first in the LXX numbering and then if it is different, in that of the Hebrew Bible [and English translations].

1. Old Testament

Am. = Amos	Job (unabbreviated)
I Chr. = I Chronicles	Jon. = Jonah
II Chr. = II Chronicles	Josh. = Joshua
Dan. = Daniel	Judg. = Judges
Deut. = Deuteronomy	I Km. = I Kingdoms (I Samuel)
Eccles. = Ecclesiastes	II Km. = II Kingdoms (II Samuel)
II Esdr. = II Esdras (chs. 1-10 = [Ezra]; 11-23 = [Nehemiah])	III Km. = III Kingdoms (I Kings)
Esth. = Esther	IV Km. = IV Kingdoms (II Kings)
Ex. = Exodus	Lam. = Lamentations
Ezek. = Ezekiel	Lev. = Leviticus
Gen. = Genesis	Mal. = Malachi
Hab. = Habakkuk	Mic. = Micah
Hag. = Haggai	Na. = Nahum
Hos. = Hosea	Nehemiah - see II Esdras
Isa. = Isaiah	Num. = Numbers
Jer. = Jeremiah	Ob. = Obadiah
Joel (unabbreviated)	

Prov. = Proverbs

Song. = Song of Solomon

Ps. = Psalms

Zech. = Zechariah

Ruth (unabbreviated)

Zeph. = Zephaniah

2. Apocrypha

Bar. = Baruch

III Macc. = III Maccabees

Bel. = Bel and the Dragon

IV Macc. = IV Maccabees

Ep. Jer. = Epistle of Jeremiah

Ps. Sol. = Psalms of Solomon

I Esdr. = I Esdras

Sir. = Ecclesiasticus,
or the Wisdom
of Jesus Sirach

II Esdr. = II Esdras (see O.T.)

Jdth. = Judith

Sus. = Susanna

I Macc. = I Maccabees

Tob. = Tobit

II Macc. = II Maccabees

Wisd. Sol. = Wisdom of
Solomon

B. New Testament

The basic text for the N.T. is Eberhard Nestle's edition (24), 1960. MS abbreviations follow the conventions employed in this edition.

Acts = Acts of the Apostles

Jas. = Epistle of James

Col. = Epistle to the
Colossians

Jd. = Epistle of Jude

I Cor. = First Epistle to the
Corinthians

Jn. = John

I Jn. = First Epistle
of John

II Cor. = Second Epistle to the
Corinthians

II Jn. = Second Epistle
of John

Eph. = Epistle to the Ephesians

III Jn. = Third Epistle
of John

Gal. = Epistle to the Galatians

Heb. = Epistle to the Hebrews

Lk. = Luke

Mk. = Mark	Rev. = Revelation to John (The Apocalypse)
Mt. = Matthew	I Thess. = First Epistle to the Thessalonians
Phil. = Epistle to the Philippians	II Thess. = Second Epistle to the Thessalonians
Philem. = Epistle to Phileman	I Tim. = First Epistle to Timothy
I Pet. = First Epistle of Peter	II Tim. = Second Epistle to Timothy
II Pet. = Second Epistle of Peter	Tit. = Epistle to Titus
Rom. = Epistle to the Romans	

C. Most Frequently Cited Works of the Early Christian Era

N.B.: Chapter, section or verse citations are by point designation, as opposed to the colon mark, which is used for Biblical literature, (e.g. Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians 1.2 = I Eph. 1.2, but N.T. Epistle to the Ephesians 2:2 = Eph. 2:2.)

Aq.	= Greek version of the O.T. of Aquila
adv. haer.	= Irenaeus' <u>adversus haereses</u>
Apol.	= Justin's <u>Apology</u> (Apol. I & II)
Ap. Const.	= <u>Apostolic constitutions</u>
I Clem.	= Clement's <u>Epistle to the Corinthians</u>
II Clem.	= A Homily: attributed by some to Clement of Alexandria
Did.	= <u>Didache</u>
Dial.	= Justin's <u>Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew</u>
Barn.	= <u>The Epistle of Barnabas</u>
Diog.	= <u>The Epistle of Diognetus</u>

- Epid. = Irenaeus' 'Epideixis,' or The Demonstration (or Proof) of Apostolic Preaching
- e = Greek version of the O.T. of Theodotion
- Hermas = Hermas, The Shepherd:
 (Mand. = Mandate
 (Sim. = Similitude
 (Vis. = Vision
- Homily = The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis
- Ignatius
 (IEph. = Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians
 (IMag. = Ignatius' Epistle to the Magnesians
 (ITral. = Ignatius' Epistle to the Trallians
 (IRom. = Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans
 (IPhil. = Ignatius' Epistle to the Philadelphians
 (ISmyr. = Ignatius' Epistle to the Smyrnaeans
 (IPol. = Ignatius' Epistle to Polycarp
- Mart. Pol. = Martyrdom of Polycarp
- Origen, sel.:
 (c. Cels. = contra Celsum
 (comm. in Joh. = Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis
 (comm. in Matt. = Commentaria in Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum
 (de orat. = de oratione
 (de princ. = de principiis
- Pol. Phil. = Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians
- Philo, sel.:
 (de Abr. = de Abrahamo
 (de cher. = de cherubim
 (de confus. = de confusione linguarum
 (de fuga = de fuga et inventione
 (de migr. = de migratione Abrahami
 (de mut. = de mutatione nominum
 (de opif. mundi = de opificio mundi
 (de plant. = de plantatione
 (de sacrif. = de sacrificiis Abelis et Caini
 (de somn. = de somniis I, II
 (de spec. leg. = de specialibus legibus I, III, IV

Philo, sel.: (cont'd)

- (de vita Mos. = de vita Mosis I, II
 (leg. alleg. = legum allegoriae I, II, III
 (Q.D.S.I. = quod Deus sit immutabilis
 (qu.Ex. = quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum
 (quis rerum = quis rerum divinarum heres sit
- Sym., or Σ = Symmachus' translation of the O.T.
 into Greek

D. Periodicals, Collections, Translations,
or Works of Reference

- A & G, or Bauer = Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.
 (trans. of W. Bauer), ed. W. F. Arndt and
 F. W. Gingrich, 1957
- ANF = The Ante-Nicene Fathers, translations of
the Writing, of the Fathers down to A.D.
 325, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson
 (American ed., where noted)
- ASV = American Standard Version of the Bible
- AV = Authorized Version of the Bible, 1611
- BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of
Oriental Research
- BDB = Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old
Testament, by F. Brown, S. R. Driver
and C. A. Briggs
- BJRL = Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library
- BZAW = Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die
alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
- CGT = The Cambridge Greek Testament for schools
and colleges, ed. J.J.S. Perowne, et al
- CH = Church History
- DCB = A Dictionary of Christian Biography
ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, 1887

- DG = A. von Harnack, Dogmengeschichte, 1894 (refs. to Eng. tr. by Neil Buchanan, where noted)
- ERE = Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
- ET = Expository Times
- FRLANT = Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
- HDB = Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible
- HEB = Biblica Hebraica 7th ed. Rudolf Kittel
- H & R = A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, by E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath
- HTR = Harvard Theological Review
- IB = Interpreter's Bible
- ICC = International Critical Commentary Series
- IDB = The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
- JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis
- JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
- JEH = Journal of Ecclesiastical History
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies
- JR = Journal of Religion
- JTS = Journal of Theological Studies
- L & S = A Latin Dictionary, C. T. Lewis and C. Short
- LSJ = A Greek-English Lexicon, comp. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and (new rev.) by H. S. Jones, 1940
- LXX = The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint, H. B. Swete, 1887

- MT = Massoretic Text
- NEB = New English Bible
- NGG = Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen
- Nov. Test. = Novum Testamentum
- NTS = New Testament Studies
- OCT = Oxford Classical Texts
- ODCC = The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F. L. Cross 1961
- OTS = Oudtestamentische Studiën
- Peake = Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M. Black & H. H. Rowley, 1962
- PG = Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne, (162 vols., Paris 1857-66)
- PL = Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, (221 vols., Paris 1844-64)
- PTR = Princeton Theological Review
- RechSR = Recherches de Science Religieuse
- * RHE = Revue D'Histoire Ecclesiastique
- RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
- RSR = Revue des Sciences religieuses
- RSV = Revised Standard Version of the Bible, Thomas Nelson, 1953
- SAB = Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften z. Berlin (Phil. - hist. Klasse)
- SJT = Scottish Journal of Theology
- Str. Billerbeck = Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, ed. H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Munich, 1922-28
- *RGG = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart

TU	= <u>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</u>
TWBNT	= <u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, 1933</u>
TZ	= <u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
Vig. Chr.	= <u>Vigiliae Christianae</u>
VT	= <u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
West. Comm.	= Westminster Commentaries
ZATW	= <u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
ZKG	= <u>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</u>
ZNTW	= <u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
ZTK	= <u>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</u>

E. Miscellaneous

add'l	= additional
Amer.	= American edition
art.	= article
ca.	= <u>circa</u> , (about, approximately)
cent.	= century
cf.	= compare
chap., (chaps.)	= chapter (s)
cod.	= codex
col., (cols.)	= column (s)
con't	= continued
DSS	= Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran

ed.	=	edition; edited by	
e.g.	=	<u>exemplis</u> <u>gratia</u> (for example)	8
Eng. tr.	=	English translation	
espec.	=	especially	
f., (ff.)	=	following verse(s), page(s), or section(s)	
Grk.	=	according to the Greek	
Heb.	=	according to the Hebrew	
i.e.	=	<u>idem</u> <u>est</u> , (that is)	3
ln.	=	line	
Midr.	=	Midrash	
MS, (MSS)	=	manuscript(s)	
n. (or, f.n.)	=	note (footnote)	
N.T.	=	New Testament	
n.s.	=	new series	
O.T.	=	Old Testament	
p. (pp.)	=	page(s)	
pl.	=	plural	
pt.	=	part	
sect.	=	section	
sel.	=	selections (from); selected	
sing.	=	singular	
Tal.	=	<u>Talmud</u>	
tr. (or trans.)	=	translation; translated by	
v., (vv.)	=	verse(s)	
vol. (Bd.)	=	Volume (<u>Band</u>)	

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades much attention in Christological discussion has centered about the two-fold problem of Jesus' self-understanding, and the extent to which the Church has created an image of its own in attempting to recall the nature of the 'Jesus of History'. One of the key factors of interpretation related to this debate has long been the figure of the Servant of the Lord from Deutero-Isaiah, and the extent of its influence in Jesus' own understanding of His life and work. Traditionally, it has been held that Jesus found the clue to His ministry in the prophecy of the Servant.¹ But there are those who hold

¹ J. Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels, 1912, p. 149; A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, 1926, pp. 230 ff.; C. C. Torrey, "The Influence of II-Isaian in the Gospels and Acts", JBL, 1929, pp. 32-3; R. Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, trans. Filson & Lee, 1938 pp. 249 ff.; V. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, 1937, pp. 39-48; C. J. Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus, 1943 pp. 37-38; H. W. Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum, 1950 pp. 55 ff.; C. H. Dodd, The Old Testament in the New, 1952, pp. 9 ff., and in According to the Scriptures, 1952, pp. 123 ff., where Dodd observes that "at the stage to which evidence enables us to go back, Jesus is already thought of as the 'Servant' of Isa. 52:13 - 53:12", whose death in obedience to God is for the redemption of many; T. W. Manson, The Servant Messiah, 1958, (refs. in Cambridge paperback, 1961), p. 57. These are but a few representing this basic position. Essential agreement with this position is implied by W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, 1957, pp. 98, 104.

that this traditional claim has been vastly overemphasized, if it is not altogether historically false.²

Wilhelm Bousset developed the thesis that at first Isaiah 53 had very little influence on the Christian imagination,

1 (con't)

It must be recognized that *μαῖς* was never in the O.T. and late Judaism a Messianic title, but this does not preclude the fact that Isa. 53:1-12 may have been interpreted messianically in the pre-Christian era (as it most certainly was later), J. Jeremias, p. 86; C. R. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah, 2nd ed. 1956, p. 17, believes the association of the Servant with the Messiah ben Joseph was late, and points out that while there was the Christian association of the Messiah ben David with the Servant, Isa. 53:9 was not interpreted of his death; cf. Add'l Note II.2.

² F. C. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings, 1924, pp. 35-39, judged that the origin of "what may...be called the *μαῖς ἐκού* Christology" lay with the Greek-speaking believers, and not the earliest Christian circle, the Aramaic-speaking community (p. 39), and observed that the only clear use of Isa. 53 in any saying that can be actually ascribed to Jesus is Lk. 22:37 (p. 37). In this respect, Burkitt was in essential agreement with H. J. Cadbury, Beginnings of Christianity I, Acts of the Apostles, 1933, p. 383, who ascribed the origin of the connection to Christian tradition "since there is no clear reference to the Suffering Servant in the early strata of the Gospels"; cf. B. W. Bacon's art. in JBL, 1929, pp. 59 ff.. Bacon emphasized the Servant Christology, but denied that the identity was made by Jesus Himself.

Most recently, M. D. Hooker (Jesus and the Servant, 1959) believes there is insufficient evidence in the Synoptics to support the view that Jesus identified his mission with the Servant of the Songs (p. 102), and denies that the Servant-Christology held any important place in Christian thought of the N. T. period (p. 128); cf. J. Knox, The Death of Christ, 1959, p. 106; and C. K. Barrett, "The Background of Mark 10:45" in New Testament Essays, Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson, 1959, ed. A. J. B. Higgins, pp. 1, 9.

and that the Servant Christology was a later development in the theological formulation of the early church.³

Those scholars of a few years ago, who denied that there was sufficient evidence that Jesus associated himself with the Servant of Isaiah 53, still did not rule out the linking of this prophecy by the apostolic church to the events of the Passion.⁴ To-day, the tendency in some quarters is more radical, as certain critics find insufficient evidence to justify the claim that either Jesus or the apostolic church initiated the identity with the figure of the Servant. This school holds that Christians of a later period are responsible for the doctrinal connection of the Servant Songs to the

³ W. Bousset Kyrios Christos, zw. Aufl. 1921, p. 69. With reference to Paul's theology, Bousset adds: "Paulus zeigt in seinen sämtlichen Briefen keine wesentlichen Spuren von einer Beeinflussung durch dieses Kapitel /Isa. 53/". In Bousset's view, I Cor. 15:3 was unconvincing. Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament I, Eng. tr. by K. Grobel, 1952, p. 31, who believes that the earliest N.T. passages in which the Suffering Servant of God of Isa. 53 represents the interpretatio christiana are Acts 8:32 f., I Pet. 2:22 ff., Heb. 9:28, and that possibly it lies behind Rom. 4:25. Thus, the interpretation is older than Paul's writings. For Bultmann, the association with I Cor. 15:3 remains in doubt (loc. cit.).

⁴ So F. C. Burkitt, p. 37, H. J. Cadbury, p. 383, although Cadbury believed "it was the knowledge of the Passion, and not the interpretation of Isaiah 53, which produced the Gospel narrative".

Passion of Christ.⁵ It must be said that any attempt to interpret the sacrifice on the Cross apart from the total ministry of our Lord is foreign to the witness of the New Testament. Thus, if we consider the relation of any prophetic teaching to Christ's Passion, we refer not only to the events of the crucifixion, but also the total content of His teaching ministry, which was exemplified in His life and culminated in His self-offering on the Cross.

As recent spokesman for those who reject the identity of Jesus and the Servant, Miss Morna Hooker examined principally the canonical writings of the New Testament, with the stated purpose of determining if the Servant doctrine was inherent in the teaching of Jesus or, if introduced by the Church, when this was done.⁶ Denying that the Servant Christology was important in New Testament thought, Miss Hooker believes that the doctrinal association is to be ascribed to the latter

⁵ Miss Hooker believes the connection was not made before 150 A.D. (Jesus and the Servant, p. 133), but that it "was well established by the time of Origen" (p. 154, f.n. 4). On this, see my remarks, chap. II, n. 74, and cf. my discussion in chap. V, particularly in reference to the passages in c. Celsum IV.15 and VI.77, pp. 442. There is no evidence to justify a genuine Servant Christology either as being inherited by Origen or developed in his theological speculation.

R. Bultmann, Theology I, Eng. tr., p. 31, cites such passages as I Clem. 16.3 f., and Barn. 5.2 in evidence of the establishment of the doctrinal association, but cf. our findings in chap. I, pp. 65, 67 ff.

⁶ M. D. Hooker, p. 1.

part of the second century, if not later.⁷

If upon a more detailed examination of that period which is supposed to have created the Servant Christology, the indications are that a theological connection between Isaiah's Servant and the ministry of Christ is lacking, we are left without explanation of how such an interpretation arose, unless it was organic to the earliest Christian tradition. If this proves to be the case, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the association began with the Lord Himself. Further, if such an intensive examination discloses that instead of the sub-apostolic period providing evidence of a developing Servant Christology, the theology rather is characterized by descriptions of Christ in which exalted categories are dominant, then the position of those who believe that the Church of this period created the doctrine of the Servant becomes indefensible.

We must be on our guard, however, to avoid reading a pre-conceived theology into the New Testament, or any other body of literature. A contribution of the recent critics may be to avoid a facile understanding of Jesus' identity

⁷ M. D. Hooker, p. 133.

with the Servant that makes a misuse of the textual evidence.⁸ On the other hand, the tendency of radical critics to disclaim the influence of Deutero-Isaiah on the life and ministry of Jesus is open to severe questioning.⁹

In a recent very readable examination of the Kenotic motif throughout the history of the Christian literature, Donald G. Dawe has pointed out that for some scholars at the close of the last century the possibilities for discovering Kenotic Christologies in the New Testament were almost limitless.¹⁰ In attempting to find biblical support for this view, these writers would have arranged the entire New Testament into a proof text for the Christology of Kenosis. As Dawe observed, such an approach attempts to prove too much. Thus, some

⁸ L. L. Carpenter's study, Primitive Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant, 1929, is an example. It has value as an analysis of the subject in Jewish and primitive Christian literature, but finding Jesus presented as the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah in the words of the Transfiguration (Mk. 9:7 and parallels, pp. 53 ff.) carries the case too far.

⁹ In the case of the Synoptics, Miss Hooker concludes there was nothing in the details of the passion narrative or in words or phrases of Jesus to indicate that the ideas expressed "could only be derived from relevant passages in Deutero-Isaiah". (Jesus and the Servant, pp. 101 ff.). Obviously, this makes the case too narrow; it could be said of many other prophecies and parts of the psalms as well.

¹⁰ Donald G. Dawe, The Form of a Servant, 1963, pp. 27-28, citing Gottfried Thomasius, August Ebrard and H. R. Mackintosh, among others. The inclusion of the latter in this category we find questionable.

favorable results of modern criticism have been to correct the tendency of magnifying one doctrinal aspect and imposing it on texts where it is not justified. In addition, historical criticism has warned against the assumption of a facile understanding of Jesus' self-consciousness, based on the records we possess.¹¹ However, we must treat with equal care the contrary position, which is to assume that the record of historical event has been so glossed by interpretation that nothing tangible remains which can be considered as a valid account of Jesus' life and outlook. Theologically stated, such an approach dictates that in seeking to apprehend the "Jesus of history" we can never penetrate beyond the "Christ of faith". The logical outcome of such a pre-supposition is to assign all significant theological perceptions to the creative thinkers of the early Church, and recent criticism has not been altogether free from

¹¹ Cf. D. G. Dawe, p. 200.

This was manifested in the much disputed problem of Jesus' messianic self-consciousness, which dates back to the time of H. S. Reimarus (d. 1768). The inconclusive results that were obtained following the two poles of approach by W. Wrede (Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien-Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums, 1901) and A. Schweitzer (The Quest of the Historical Jesus, Eng. tr. W. Montgomery, 1910) illustrate the difficulty involved in attempting to recover accurately an understanding of the historic Person. Hugh Anderson's recent valuable summary of studies on the subject concludes with a comment that the "new quest" at least "has brought the historical Jesus again to the forefront of discussion, and, as some of us believe, He is still the supreme mystery and central figure of our historic religion", (Jesus and Christian Origins, 1964, p. 315).

this tendency.

Where "historical fact" is concerned with a body of teaching, especially religious teaching, it is the more elusive, since teaching necessarily involves interpersonal relationships, and its transmitted content includes the reactions of the hearers. Instruction, as when Jesus taught about the Kingdom of God, took place in dialogue, both with His adherents and with His enemies. When analysis is made of primitive sources giving evidence of this teaching, we need not make a commitment a priori to acceptance of the material as objective Historie, nor need we follow the other extreme of classifying it as non-historical theology. With Professor James M. Robinson, we may view the material as "theologically understood history", which takes into account that the primitive kerygma is witness to a fact of history, that also embraces the eschatological experience of those who receive this testimony.¹²

When we consider the Servant doctrine, it could be claimed that the early Christian community framed the relationship with Jesus out of regard for fulfillment of prophecy and the need for a reasonable apologetic in the face of the seemingly disastrous events of the crucifixion. If, however, such a position is

¹² James M. Robinson, The Problem of History in Mark, 1957, see espec. pp. 12-15. Regarding the instruction of Jesus, T. W. Manson observed " ... both as to matter and method the teaching of Jesus is conditioned by the nature of the audience", (The Teaching of Jesus, 2nd ed. 1935, p. 19).

maintained, and that the theological perspective originated as a result of the reflections of Christian piety, it follows that an inquiry of the period which is supposed to have shaped this Christology will give its own evidence of such a contribution. Specifically, this means that if the recent critics of a primitive Servant doctrine are right, in the sub-apostolic Church we should be able to detect a growing awareness of the Servant Christology, or its proposition by one or more Christian authors. On the other hand, if the evidence contained in the texts indicates that such a Christology was not advanced by Christian interpreters in the sub-apostolic period, but should there still be traces of its influence, reason dictates that the Christology existed at an earlier period, and later was denied. A different theological bias would be an adequate reason for such a reinterpretation. If this is the case, we may be in touch with an important change of emphasis that could affect biblical exegesis which concerned itself with problems of Christology for generations to come.

In an article written in 1926, Adolph von Harnack advanced the argument that a theological development in respect to the interpretation of the ambiguous title $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$ occurred within the period spanned from the time of the apostolic writings to the early part of the third century.¹³ However, according to

¹³ A. von Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' und ihre Geschichte in der alten Kirche", SAB xxviii (1926) pp. 212-38.

Harnack, rather than this being a development that signalled increasing importance of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ - $\tau\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ Christology, the period witnessed a much rarer usage of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ - $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omicron}\upsilon$ as a title than one would expect.¹⁴ Harnack held that the reason was that $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, which could be translated both as "son" or child", as well as "servant", did not exclude the lower connotation.¹⁵ Further, he observed that where $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ as a title did occur, it belonged to the liturgical usage, but even the association with the prayer formulae was insufficient to perpetuate its retention by the Church for more than a few centuries.¹⁶ These conclusions remain to be supported or modified in the present study. Some

¹⁴ Remarking that from the beginning of the history of Christianity the "Ebed Yahweh" of Isaiah has been understood as a prophecy of the coming of Jesus, Harnack observes that in Christian literature from 60 to 160 A.D. the full title $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ - $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omicron}\upsilon$ occurs in only four works (Acts, Did., I Clem. and Mart. Pol.) for a total of only 14 times, while titles such as $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\psi\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omicron}\upsilon$ are found during these years more than 2,000 times, (p. 234). Yet we should avoid being misled by Harnack's analysis based on the occurrence of titles, for in this period there are numerous quotations from the Servant prophecy, although they fall short of providing evidence for a genuine Servant Christology in the sub-apostolic era (see, for example, the discussion of quotations from II-Isaiah in Justin's Dialogue, my chap. II).

Oscar Cullmann believes the "Ebed Yahweh" to be one of the oldest Christologies (cf. Harnack, p. 213), but attributes the disappearance of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ to the interest of the Church in expressing its faith in the present Christ, as opposed to Christ incarnate, which meant Jesus as the present $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ of His Church, (The Christology of the New Testament, Eng. tr. 1959, pp. 79,81).

¹⁵ A. Harnack, p. 234.

¹⁶ A. Harnack, p. 238, cf. J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, p. 84.

recent discoveries such as the Greek text of Melito's Homily, have provided additional sources in which the Christology of the period may be examined, and which were not available in Harnack's time.

It is interesting to find that the problem apparently had occurred to Harnack earlier, near the end of the last century,¹⁷ and at approximately the same time it had been remarked upon by the eminent New Testament and patristic scholar, Bishop J. B. Lightfoot.¹⁸ In the earlier period, Harnack believed that the *παῖς* sprang from the Messianic circle of ideas,¹⁹ but he later

¹⁷ Discussing the various titles by which Gentile Christians gave expression to the idea that Jesus is the Christ, called of God and entrusted with an office, Harnack held that "*παῖς* (after Isaiah) ... frequently, united with *Ἰησοῦς* and with the adjectives *ἀγίος* and *ἠγαπημένος* ... seems to have been at the beginning a usual /title/". However, he observed with interest the fact that it was gradually put into the background and finally abolished, being kept longest in the liturgical prayers, citing, eg., I Clem. 59.2; Barn. 6.1, 9.2; Did. 9.2,3; Mart. Pol. 14.20; as well as the Acts passages, 3:13, 25; 4:27, 30, (DG I, Eng. tr. by Neil Buchanan from the 3rd German ed. 1893, p. 185 f., fn. 4).

¹⁸ Commenting on the occurrence of *ὁ παῖς σου* in I Clem. 59.2 (f.n. on ln. 12 f.) J. B. Lightfoot offered: "This designation is taken originally from Isa. 42:1, quoted in Mt. 12:18 *ἰσοῦ, ὁ παῖς μου ...*, where *παῖς* is 'servant, minister' (ΤΠΥ). Cf. Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30. But the higher sense of *υἱός* was soon imported into the ambiguous word *παῖς*: e.g. Ap. Const. 8.40 *τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου παιδός Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* Diog. 8, Irenaeus, adv. haer. III. 12.5, 6, etc.; and probably Mart. Pol. 14 *ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός ...* And so Clement seems to have used the word here," (The Apostolic Fathers I.2, 2nd ed., 1890, p. 171).

¹⁹ A. Harnack, DG I, Eng. tr., p. 185, f.n. 4.

modified this position, holding that the Ebed of God is in itself no Messianic designation, but refers to the acceptance of an individual by God into His service.²⁰ Although not in itself a proper Messianic title,²¹ the word παῖς with its prophetic association commands considerable consequence. As a guiding theme for the study of the whole question of the early Church's understanding of relationship between the writings of the Hebrew canon and the New Testament, it would merit our investigation. But there is the added significance related to the Christological controversies on the nature of Christ in the succeeding centuries that give the subject further import. Harnack's analysis dealt principally with the use of titles, covering a wide range of literature in the sub-apostolic Church, but without particular enquiry into the theology which the works represent. In this study we propose to examine in detail only a few writings of the post-apostolic period, giving particular attention to the Christological interpretation of the Servant prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah.

²⁰ A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'..." SAB xxviii, p. 212: "'Ebed' Gottes ist also an sich keine Messianische Bezeichnung, sondern besagt nur, das der Betreffende von Gott in seinen Dienst genommen ist."

²¹ See J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, p. 86, and cf. my Add'l Note II.2. Regarding the vicarious suffering of the prophesied figure, in the Jewish belief "a suffering Messiah and a Messiah who should deliver them from their enemies, were humanly incompatible in the same person", (S. R. Driver, A. Neubauer, The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters, II, 1877, p. xl).

If such an interpretation is lacking, it will have significance for the analysis. Indication of theological trends is important, especially where there is marked emphasis on the divinity, or on the humanity of Christ.

For the remainder of our introduction to this study, we may direct our attention to several principal questions. First, what was the sense of the term $\pi\alpha\iota\delta$ as it was employed in the Septuagint, as a translation for the Hebrew בְּנֵי , and how is it distinguished from the other terms associated with בְּנֵי ? Further, in respect to this distinction, we may inquire whether $\pi\alpha\iota\delta$ was employed by later Jewish interpreters in any significant way. Second, what are the principal themes of the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah? In treating this subject, we will include brief mention of some of the problems which the original presents. Finally, what are significant passages in the New Testament that bear testimony to a Christological interpretation of the Servant prophecy? In the primitive period, we may afford to take note of any indication of theological trends that would guide us in the pursuit of our inquiry.

In classical usage, the term $\pi\alpha\iota\delta$ occurs with the meaning of "servant" or "menial", as one who performs tasks at the bidding of others,²² but the sense of "son" or "child" is

²² Examples are found in Aeschylus, Choephoroi (OCT ed. A. Sidgwick, p. 653) and Aristophanes, Acharnenses (OCT ed. Hall and Geldart, p. 395).

also found occasionally.²³ In the religious usage, the word study by W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias is still the most valuable in tracing the nuances of meaning for the occurrences in the Scriptures.²⁴ Following Zimmerli's survey of the נַדְבָרִים דְּבָרִים in the Old Testament, and the LXX translations, Professor Jeremias discusses the usage in late Judaism and the Christian era, concluding that the title דְּבָרִים or נַדְבָרִים was restricted to divine discourse, and was not a pre-Christian title of the Messiah.²⁵ Generally, in Jewish literature, דְּבָרִים characterizes the attitude of subservience, political submission, or the sense of belonging to another; it may also refer to a person who is at the disposal of another, to carry out his will or represent his interests.²⁶ In religious terminology, it became

²³ The secondary meaning is comparatively rare, see LSJ, p. 1289.

²⁴ The Servant of God, Eng. tr. of the art. " Παῖς Θεοῦ " from G. Kittel's TWBNT, 1952.

²⁵ J. Jeremias, pp. 50, 86; cf. E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship Eng. tr. 1960, p. 49; J. Muilenburg, IB V, p. 412 ("... there is no credible evidence that ... /the Davidic Messiah and the servant/ were equated before the Christian Era"). See my Add'l Note II.2.

²⁶ W. Zimmerli, The Servant of God, pp. 9-13; cf. G. A. Smith, The Book of Isaiah Vol. II, p. 255 f..

the humble self-designation of worshippers in the divine presence;²⁷ and extended to the collective sense, it denoted the pious, the God-fearers, and later, the covenant people, Israel.²⁸ Accordingly, it may serve as either an individual or collective designation.

As a title for especially distinguished figures, two lines of development are observed: first, the reference is to the King who has rendered outstanding service to Israel, that particular King as Yahweh's servant who has the special duty of saving the people of God out of the hand of their enemies.²⁹

²⁷ Moses being an example, cf. Ex. 14:31, Num. 12:7, Deut. 3:24. Moses, as Yahweh's servant, symbolizes that divine history is not exclusive to the heavenly realm, but is in contact with the world and creatures. Men's obedience to this divinely appointed representative is symbolic of their attitude to Yahweh, W. Zimmerli, p. 19 f.; cf. R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 80.

²⁸ Isa. 41:8, 9; 44:1, 2; 45:5; 49:3, etc., but see n. 59 below.

²⁹ W. Zimmerli, p. 20, citing the pre-Deuteronomic text of II Km. (II Sam.) 3:18. The distinction in context between the "Ebed" which referred to the Israelite monarchs and the "Ebed" of II-Isaiah is to be noted. The Isaianic Servant is not technically a royal figure, as proposed by J. Morgenstern ("The Suffering Servant - a New Solution", VT xi /1961/, p. 414), although there is the common element of a special relationship to Yahweh existing in both the royal figure, as God's "Ebed" and the "Ebed" of II-Isaiah, who is the servant-intercessor. G. von Rad believes that the Servant has either a royal or prophetic function, but that the emphasis is on the latter, and the principal function of the King (governship) is lacking

Second, from the promise made to Nathan, David is pointed out as the pre-eminent leader of the holy people. In the Deuteronomic history, David is described as the Ebed of Yahweh, with emphasis on his obedience, but the same history stresses the fact of divine election, which shows that the Davidic Kingship was thus itself a pure gift of divine grace. Where the subordination of individual features to the overriding principle of God's sovereignty becomes especially marked is in the figure of the Saviour-King. Although in some prophecies there is little or no trace of this figure, in others it occupies an important place, with emphasis on his mediatorial function. This concept achieves great profundity in the oracles of Second Isaiah: where the mediatorial position is based on voluntary atoning suffering and achieves its purpose in the acceptance by the group of the intercession made for them, a new relationship of covenant is made between the individual and God.³⁰ The golden ideal

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(Theologie des Alten Testaments II, p. 271). The figure, according to John Bright, has features that are priestly and royal, but especially prophetic: through him God will accomplish His redemptive purpose for Israel and the world, (A History of Israel, p.340). The force of Isa. 53:12 is the Servant's intercession, certainly a traditional role of the prophetic witness, cf. I Km. 7:5, Jer. 7:16; 11:14, etc.

³⁰ For Davidic kingship as a gift of grace, see W. Zimmerli, loc. cit., citing III Km. (I Ki.) 11:34. On the development of the Saviour-King's role to a mediatorial position between the people and God, establishing a new covenant relation, cf. W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament Vol. I, Eng. tr. espec. pp. 482-5.

of the people's collective response is actualized in Yahweh's representative, the $\Pi\text{I}\Pi' \text{I}\text{I}\Psi$, yet at the same time he is the instrument for the renewal of the covenant.

When the title $\text{I}\text{I}\Psi$ was translated in the Septuagint, the two most important words found were $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. While the pattern of distinction is not always consistent, in the writings from Judges to IV Kingdoms (II Kings) there seems to be some awareness of a difference of meaning.³¹ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ represents the category of free or voluntary service to the King, as soldiers, or ministers and officials of the state who place themselves at his disposal by their own decision, whereas $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ expresses the position of slavery by ownership.³² Often, a $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is a born slave. There are other alternative renderings for the term $\text{I}\text{I}\Psi$, but these are not important for the usage of the Servant prophecy.³³

³¹ W. Zimmerli, The Servant of God, p. 38.

³² W. Zimmerli, p. 37; cf. II Km. 9:10, 12; 19:17, III Km. 1:47, etc. The term $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is used contemptuously of Saul in I Km. 22:8.

³³ In the Hexateuch as well as the group from Judg. to IV Km., they include $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ and $\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\nu$. $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$, used only as a translation for $\text{I}\text{I}\Psi$, occurs often in the Pentateuch (cf. Gen. 9:25, 26; 27:37; Ex. 5:15, 16; Deut. 5:15; 6:21, etc.) and in Prov. (13:13; 17:2; 19:10, etc.), but not in the Psalms, and only once in Isaiah (36:9). $\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\nu$, while being used frequently in the Pentateuch as a translation for $\text{I}\text{I}\Psi$, is not found in the prophets.

Some years ago, K. F. Euler made a study of the Servant prophecy in which the LXX translations for $\tau\eta\varsigma$ were treated in considerable detail.³⁴ Some of Euler's observations may serve as a guide to the distinction of the words. Basically, the terms $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ belong to every-day speech, but in attempting to express the relationship of man to God from the terminology of the profane, they enter the religious sphere. $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, with its primary meaning of slave,³⁵ when referred to a collective group or community, meant subjects or tributaries. Although $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ may have been an offensive title at one time, when it was introduced into the language of the Hofstil, it simply defined the relationship between a ruler and his subjects. Thus the King was referred to as $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and the subjects were his $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$. The contrast between these words, which had a developed usage, has considerable import for the choice of terms found in the Kenotic Hymn of Philippians 2:6-11.³⁶

Corresponding to the secular use of $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, a religious usage developed. Like the subjects of the King, the worshippers of

³⁴ K. F. Euler, Die Verkündigung vom leidenden Gottesknecht aus Jes. 53 in der griechischen Bibel in Beiträge z. Wissenschaft vom Alten u. Neuen Testament 14 (1934), see espec. pp. 86-91.

³⁵ Euler, p. 86: see Lev. 25:44; 26:13; I Km. 2:27; Judg. 5:11.

³⁶ See below, pp. 51 ff.

Yahweh are sometimes referred to as δούλοι.³⁷ Euler believed that this terminology influenced the New Testament.³⁸ It is of interest to find that the noun, δούλοι, referring to Christian believers, seldom occurs in the Apostolic Fathers,³⁹ and very rarely in the apologists.⁴⁰

παῖς, as has been stated, referred to a "servant" or "menial", but it also includes the sense of family relationship. Even when the reference meant "servant", the connotation was of a more intimate character than was associated with δούλος.⁴¹ In the specifically religious sphere, faithful worshippers of Yahweh are called His παῖδες, often with the closer relationship

³⁷ K. F. Euler, p. 87, cites examples in Deut. 32:36; IV Km. 10:23; II Chr. 6:23; II Esdr. 5:11; Ps. 33 (34):23; 88 (89):51, etc.; and Isa. 56:6.

³⁸ Euler, loc. cit.

³⁹ See the so-called II Clem. 20.1, and Hermas, Vis. I. 2, 4; Mand. III. 4; IV. 1.2; Sim. I. 1.1; V. 5.3, etc., but in Sim V. 5.5 we have the unusual reference where the δούλος of the parable is said to be the Son of God, (see p. 56 of M. Whittaker's text in GCS: Die apostolischen Väter I, Der Hirt des Hermas).

⁴⁰ Contrary to Euler's assertion (p. 87), it does occur. In quotations from Isaiah in Justin's Dialogue we have examples: Dial. 25 (Isa. 63:17), and Dial. 123:3 (Isa. 42:19).

⁴¹ K. F. Euler, p. 89. Thus, it was a παῖς whom Abraham entrusted with the mission of seeking the hand of Rebekah for Isaac, (Gen. 24:2 ff.).

being suggested.⁴² In the Septuagint rendering of the Fourth Servant Song, the subjugation of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$, is clearly intended, but at the same time it is evident from the context that he has been chosen for a particular service.⁴³ In the context of this most important passage, therefore, the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ terminology contains an ambiguity not unlike the $\tau\tilde{\iota}\nu$ of the Hebrew. Whereas the latter could refer to 'servant' or 'menial', but also could be an honored title, the former contains the sense of both 'servant' and 'son'. In context, it was the lowly one, but also it was the selected one, the one appointed to a particular task.

In considering the later Jewish translations in comparison with Christian usage, it may be observed that Aquila and Symmachus render the $\tau\tilde{\iota}\nu$ of Isaiah 52:13 by $\delta\delta\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, but Origen

⁴² Euler, pp. 89, 90, citing as examples: Lev. 2:55; I Chr. 17:4; Isa. 41:8, etc., where Yahweh uses this in addressing His worshippers; also it is used in self-identification: e.g., Gen. 18:3; 32:10; I Chr. 17:17, etc.

⁴³ Cf. H. W. Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum, p. 25; and see A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'..." SAB xxviii, p. 213. Harnack adds that the Latin puer lacks the intimate character associated in some circumstances with $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ (loc. cit.), but also he acknowledged that $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ does not exclude the lower meaning (p. 234; and see the change of emphasis in Irenaeus' text, my chap. IV pp. 368ff.

retains the word $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ at this point.⁴⁴ There appear to be polemical considerations on the part of the early Jewish translators who wanted to replace the intimacy of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ with the more formal $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. The significant fact is that if $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ at an early date had a certain Christological association in the community of believers, this would be adequate reason for the Jewish interpreters' desire for its replacement,⁴⁵ and the substitution here cannot be explained in any other way. This supports the fact that the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ of the prophecy at an early date was associated with Christ.

There is another term associated with the $\tau\tilde{\iota}\nu$ which, while rare in occurrence in the Septuagint, finds significant usage in the New Testament in relation to the concept of the Servant. Since apostolic times the substantive $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ("server", "attendant" or "minister") has referred to one of the major

⁴⁴ See F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, p. 533. It is doubtful that Origen's choice is based on a theological connection between Christ and the Servant, however. In actual fact, Origen denies that Christ submitted to any real lowering, cf. c. Celsum IV.15 with I. 54 and VI. 77, and see my discussion in chap. V.

⁴⁵ Cf. Euler, p. 88: "Dabei scheint auch eine gewisse anti-christliche Tendenz vorzuliegen, namentlich bei Aquila, wenn bei Stellen, die eine christologische Deutung zulassen, das Vorkommen von $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ getilgt wird ...".

With Aquila's translation probably being not later than 130 A.D. (IDB I, p. 130), the antiquity of the Christological association is evident.

orders of ministers in the Church. Its institution is commonly related to the account in Acts 6:1-6. However, the author does not use the noun "deacon" to describe those men who are chosen to assist in charitable distribution to the widows, but rather employs the verb *διακονεῖν* to describe their function of "serving tables",⁴⁶ which is certainly a menial task. It is remarkable, therefore, that Paul uses this term in describing his own ministry,⁴⁷ and that on at least one occasion it is his choice to describe the ministry of Christ,⁴⁸ associating it with the announcement of the ideal ruler from the line of David. As Professor M. H. Shepherd has pointed out, attempts to find prototypes of the office of deacon in Jewish or pagan sources are but partially successful.⁴⁹ However, there seems to be a liturgical analogy between the Christian

⁴⁶ M. H. Shepherd, Jr., in the art. "Deacon", IDB I p. 785 f..

⁴⁷ I Cor. 3:5, where the contextual emphasis is to de-emphasize Paul or Apollos, and to direct attention to God who gives the increase in spiritual nurture; cf. II Cor. 3:6; 6:4; 11:15, 23; Col. 1:23, 25, in every case in a context that deals with the Christian call to service, often in the face of hardship or suffering.

⁴⁸ Rom. 15:8, following with other quotations which include a citation of Isa. 11:10.

⁴⁹ M. H. Shepherd, p. 786.

"deacon" and the *ὀπαρῆτης* who assisted the ruler of a synagogue. Shepherd adds that in both the Septuagint and in classical Greek writers, the term "deacon" has a secular sense of servant, or court official. Yet Josephus and the Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, sometimes employ the word in reference to a "servant" of God, giving a certain cosmic and religious dimension to what otherwise would be a very ordinary term.⁵⁰ It is most important to observe that the word *διάκονος* lacks the ambiguity contained in the *παῖς* terminology, and leaves no doubt that it refers to the service of a subordinate.

From these remarks on the terminology related to the usage of the Septuagint, we may now turn to a consideration of the principal themes of the prophecy. While it is true that the Ebed of God denoted certain individuals in the prophetic tradition, Zimmerli believes that the very anonymity of the title as it occurs in Deutero-Isaiah is intended to focus attention not on the prophet but on Yahweh, to whom he belongs

⁵⁰ H. W. Beyer gives examples from Epictetus, Dissertations III. 22.69, III. 24.65 in the art. in TWBNT II, pp. 88 ff.. Lacking access to Kittel's TWBNT at this point, the writer was dependent on a Portuguese translation of the article, entitled "Servir, Serviço e Diacono", in A Igreja no Novo Testamento, 1965, pp. 269 ff.; for Epictetus, see espec. p. 275 where Beyer takes note of the diminishing usage of service to one's neighbor. In Josephus, the word has three senses, (a) to serve at the table, (b) to serve in the sense of to obey, and (c) to render priestly service (p. 276, citing examples from the Antiquities). Beyer also cites a rabbinic usage which recalls Abraham who served at the table (p. 276, citing the Qidushin 326).

as an instrument of His will.⁵¹ Accordingly, the figure of the servant in itself is of secondary importance, while the emphasis falls on the cardinal theme of the sovereignty of God.⁵² Thus, even the suffering of the Servant goes back to the plan and the will of God.⁵³ The theme of the universal power and majesty of the one righteous God is set forth in stark contrast to the impotency of pagan deities. The writer's effect is heightened by the use of contrasts repeated throughout the oracles.⁵⁴ Similarly, the Servant's suffering and rejection is set over against his future vindication and glory.⁵⁵ In a message that essentially beholds with wonder the ultimate purpose of God, Deutero-Isaiah's thought is eschatological:⁵⁶ he looks beyond

⁵¹ W. Zimmerli, pp. 26, 27.

⁵² On the centrality of the theme of God's sovereignty in Deutero-Isaiah, see C. F. Whitley, The Exilic Age, 1957, pp. 140 ff.; J. P. Hyatt, Prophetic Religion, 1947, pp. 159 ff.; G. W. Wade, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, 1911, pp. lviii ff.; J. Muilenburg, IB V, pp. 399 ff..

⁵³ C. Maurer, "Knecht Gottes und Sohn Gottes im Passionsbericht des Markusevangeliums" ZTK 50 (1953) p. 4.

⁵⁴ For example, in Isa. 40, cf. v.18 with v.20; v.22 with v.24; in Isa. 45, cf. v.9 with v.11 f..

⁵⁵ Isa. 53: cf. v.3, 7 with v.12.

⁵⁶ J. Muilenburg, IB V pp. 399 f., 404, 410-412, and comments in the exegesis, e.g., p. 627; cf. G. von Rad, Theologie des Alten Testaments II, pp. 254, 259, J. Bright, A History of Israel, p. 339 f..

the exigencies of history to God who controls it, and to the end of history which finds its meaning in God. Only in this perspective can the suffering of the righteous Figure make any sense.

As to the identity of the Figure, scholarly debate over the past century has failed to arrive at a satisfactory answer. Nearly every conceivable possibility has been suggested as a model for the Servant Figure, and there is little to be gained by reviewing the wide variety of conflicting opinions which are adequately presented in other sources.⁵⁷ It is probable that the Figure is best understood by employing the principle of "corporate personality"

⁵⁷ C. R. North provides a summary grouping of the various theories into the historical individual conception, the mythological, the collective, and the messianic interpretations (The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah 2nd ed., pp. 192-219; cf. J. Muilenburg IB V. pp. 408-10.

For comparative non-biblical material, see Curt Lindhagen, The Servant Motif in the Old Testament, 1950; pp. 6-39. The Scandinavian school (i.e. H. S. Nyberg, Ivan Engnell, with others) believe that the language of the Songs is influenced by the Kingship ideology of the ancient Near-East, see I. Engnell, "The Ebed-Yahweh Songs and the Suffering Messiah in 'Deutero-Isaiah'", BJRL 31 (1948), pp. 54 ff.; cf. S. Mowinckel, who maintains that the immediate source for the author's conception of the Figure was by way of the psalms (He That Cometh, pp. 234 ff.).

associated with the name of H. Wheeler Robinson.⁵⁸

Adherence to a collective interpretation logically seems to follow from this position, but this must be qualified by observing that within the fluidity of expression that characterizes the portrait of the Servant, the inclusion of its application to an ideal, or a representative individual who epitomizes the perfect response to divine ordinances expected of Yahweh's people is not ruled out.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ H. Wheeler Robinson, The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament, 1913 (2nd ed. 1956), p. 203 f., cf. pp. 87 ff., and The Cross in the Old Testament, 1955, pp. 83 ff., 107 ff.. H. H. Rowley accepts this as the basis for approaching the interpretation of the Servant, (The Faith of Israel, 1956, pp. 118 ff.). Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, "The Ebed-Jahwe in Isa. xl-lv in the Light of the Israelite Conceptions of the Community and the Individual, the Ideal and the Real", ET xliv:1 (1932-33), pp. 261-8.

It is of interest to find something of the conception of "corporate personality" as a basis for Irenaeus' doctrine of recapitulatio, which constitutes an important part of his understanding of the atonement, see my chap. IV, n. 228.

⁵⁹C. R. North emphasized this in his conclusion, while rightly distinguishing between this future "Ideal" (cf. J. Skinner, Isaiah xl-lxvi, pp. lx f., 268 ff.) and what properly should be called the "Messianic" hope of Israel, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah (2nd ed.) pp. 215-19. Cf. C. C. Torrey, The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation, 1928, who gave a collective interpretation to the 4th Song (pp. 138, 140), but an individual Messianic interpretation to the 1st and 2nd (p. 142).

It should be added that the position advanced by Johann Fischer which singled out two main objections to the collective interpretation, the concreteness of detail in describing the Figure's person and the sharp contrast between the Figure and the holy community of Israel, are a case in point for the individual interpretation that is not wholly resolved by the

In the light of this oscillation between the collective and individual portraits, there are certain difficulties presented when common authorship of the "Songs" with the remainder of Deutero-Isaiah is accepted.⁶⁰ To this date no solution has been found that completely resolves these difficulties, but to regard the Figure as a fluid conception containing both individual and corporate characteristics seems to be in closest accord with the context of the poem as a whole.

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fluid nature of the expression, (see Das Buch Isaias Übersetzt und erklärt, II. Teil: Kapitel 40-66, 1939, espec. pp. 10-11). Yet it is doubtful that we can answer the problem simply by seeing here a "double figure": first the nation Israel, but afterwards the Servant who suffers for Israel, as suggested by Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology 1958, p. 66.

H. H. Rowley believes that from the evidence of the 4th Song, "the Servant is at once Israel and an individual, who both represents the whole community and carries to its supreme point the mission of the nation", summoning the people to this mission which is theirs and not merely his, (The Faith of Israel, pp. 121-2). Rowley holds that in the thought of the prophet this is a future individual; if this is correct, the view provides a singularly good illustration of the Hebraic conception of the solidarity of the community of all generations (p. 122; cf. J. Pedersen, Israel I-II, 1926, p. 276.).

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See J. Muilenburg, IB V, p. 408, who readily admits the problem that this presents. Outside the "Songs" the Servant is Israel, and specifically once within the 2nd Song (Isa.49:3). Attempts by some to excise the word "Israel" seem to be based on polemical considerations (H. H. Rowley, pp. 120-1). In the 4th Song, where individual features are prominent, the Servant has a mission to the chosen people.

Regarding the literary relationship of the "Servant Songs" to the rest of the prophecy, the problem has challenged the imagination of scholars since B. Duhm first published his thesis that the Songs are later compilations which represent intrusions into the text.⁶¹ However, we accept the view that the "Songs" are essentially part of larger literary units, and that the structure of these units bears characteristics that are displayed elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah.⁶² Accordingly, the isolation of this material from the rest of the poem represents a modern grouping, and there is no need to consider the Songs as independent later compositions.⁶³

⁶¹ B. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia übersetzt und erklärt, 1892, suggested that the author lived a century later than Deutero-Isaiah; cf. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 188 ff., 242, whose criteria for the separate authorship are based on the content of the "Songs".

⁶² J. Muilenburg, IB V, pp. 406-8; cf. C. R. North, pp. 156-177. Regarding similarities in characteristics of style, see the remarks in Muilenburg's exegesis, pp. 464, 475; on unusual words in the 4th Song not found elsewhere in II-Isaiah, see pp. 614 ff. With reference to the subject of the literary unity of Isaiah 40-55 as a whole, see P. A. H. de Boer "Second Isaiah's Message", OTS XI (1956), pp. 1 ff.

⁶³ Reference made hereafter to the "Servant Songs" is a designation of convenience (e.g., Isa. 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13 - 53:12); it does not imply separate authorship.

We have remarked on the writer's eschatological perspective, and the centrality of the theme of the sovereignty of God which underlies the content of the proclamation of Deutero-Isaiah as a whole. With all of history viewed from this vantage point, it is clear that to the author the procession of events is not a fortuity.⁶⁴ It is Yahweh that is the Great Actor in human events, if Cyrus is His political agent, the true instrument of His purpose is His Servant Israel.⁶⁵ Geschichte is Heilsgeschichte because it is under God's dominion.⁶⁶ The whole course of human history is a witness to His redeeming activity. Yet, the "return to Yahweh" is not the end in itself; indeed, redemption in this sense has already been accomplished, and the true purpose of the Servant is to be a testimony to God, the Creator and Redeemer.⁶⁷

Yahweh performs the duties of בַּחַיִּים, by paying ransom for His people (Isaiah 43:3); His vengeance is taken on those who have violated what rightly belongs to Him (Isaiah 41:14; 43:14; 49:7). As Mullenburg has observed, the new feature in this prophetic understanding of redemption is its eschatological orientation: release from the Exile is a New

⁶⁴ Isa. 40:22 f.; 41:2, 25; 45:1-7, et passim.

⁶⁵ J. Bright, p. 339.

⁶⁶ Isa. 43:1 ff., 11 f.; 49:8 ff.; 51:5, 11, 22; 53:10 ff.

⁶⁷ Isa. 43:1-12; 45:2-6; 46:8-10; 49:3, 5, 7, 8; 52:10, see J. Mullenburg's exegesis, IB V, pp. 524, 540, 566.

Exodus (Isaiah 49:8-9; 52:2), the restoration of the land is the counterpart of the gift of the land (Isaiah 44:26). According to Deutero-Isaiah's theology, it is never 'repent, so that you will be saved', but rather, 'repent, because you have been saved', and thereafter you will become more useful in Yahweh's service.⁶⁸ Had they been heeded, these words would never have permitted the development of legalistic forms of religion which were to characterize Judaism.

The Servant's very existence he owes to God, the same as his redemption. The frequent use of the verb אִיצַּר by Deutero-Isaiah with the sense of "create" or "fashion", but also "transform", is employed, as always in the Old Testament, with God as subject.⁶⁹ God who redeems is also the Creator. The soteriology of the prophet is both cosmic and personal in its application. Because Yahweh has the power to make harmony out of chaos,⁷⁰ and because the ends of the earth are His,

⁶⁸ See especially Isa. 44: 21-22, cf. 40:2.

⁶⁹ See Isa. 40:26, 28; 41:20; 42:5; 43:7; 45:7, 8, et passim, cf. J. Muilenburg, IB V, p. 401.

⁷⁰ J. Muilenburg acknowledged the ~~likelihood~~^{possibility} that the Babylonian creation epic was familiar to the writer, but in oracles such as 40:26, Yahweh is portrayed as infinitely greater than **Marduk**; there is no comparison between Him and the pagan deities (IB V, p. 443). Cf. G. von Rad, p. 255.

the promise to redeem His people is trustworthy.⁷¹ Creation and salvation are not separate and distinct acts, but are inextricably bound together as "the major realities of the Heilsgeschichte".⁷²

As to the means by which this great act of redemption is brought to pass, the oracles culminate in the poem of the Servant's vicarious self-offering. With H. W. Wolff, we may afford to ask is the stress in the Fourth Song on the Servant's passion, or glorification?⁷³ The answer is found to be inclusive, rather than exclusive, in the dual themes presented: the Servant's lowliness leads to majesty. As Wolff states it,

⁷¹ Cf. G. von Rad, Theologie II, pp. 254-5; the Creation is for II-Isaiah the first of the historical miracles of Yahweh and the special testimony of His will for salvation. Release from bondage may be the counterpart to the Exodus event, as Muilenburg suggests, p. 401.

⁷² J. Muilenburg, p. 402, f.n. 60, citing von Rad's art. in Werden und Wesen des A.T. (1936).

⁷³ H. W. Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum, p. 31.

Die Niedrigkeit ist die entscheidende Grundlage dieser Botschaft, die alle schon vor Augen haben, aber darauf erhebt sich, und eben das will nun diese Prophetie in Sicht bringen, die Hoheit. 74

His passion and his death comprise a unique way, but the ultimate goal of that way is victory. The Erhöhung of the Servant is announced at the beginning, and the incredulity arises not from the descriptions of suffering, but that this suffering leads to the highest glorification. With the oscillation between collective and individual interpretations, it can be seen that as this applies to Israel, the range of thought includes past, present and future. The primary relationship Israel bears to her Lord is that of Servant. The worship of Yahweh is a service (עֲבֹדָה) to Him. Israel's peculiar relationship to the Holy One, her unique creation, her redemption, her very witness to the God who saves her are understood, as Muilenburg has suggested, in relation to the Servant and his Lord. The way of self-abasement as a man of sorrows and acquainted with pain is the way of the Servant. Above all, the Servant offers himself as a vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the nations. Whereas divine judgement was the nation's due, the Servant has borne it. Within the

74 H. W. Wolff, loc. cit. Wolff observes that the poem of the Servant's sufferings reads like a hymn of gratitude; it is praise for the victorious experience. The introductory sentence is the title to the whole prophecy: "Behold, my servant is victorious", (Isa. 52:13).

purposes of God, he has carried their afflictions; their grief he has borne in the violence of his death. Yahweh's will prospers in his hand, it is brought to fruition in the travail of his soul.⁷⁵ He reveals Himself in His Servant, who shall be exalted and lifted up.

A case can be made in favor of finding the Servant's blessings as primarily focused on Israel.⁷⁶ If this is true, then a central motif in the prophet's theology has to do principally with the renewal of Israel.⁷⁷ However, even if this be so, as Professor Davidson has pointed out,

Particularism in the context of the Old Testament paradox of mission could not be a merely negative separation from the rest of the world, but rather a 'being oneself for the sake of others'.⁷⁸

Accepting the distinctiveness of the Jewish community, it is

⁷⁵ Isa. 53:10 ff., cf. Wolff, p. 26; J. Muilenburg, p. 411.

⁷⁶ The recent article by Prof. Robert Davidson asserts that the prophet's concern is principally for Israel, from the first verse to the last, ("Universalism in Second Isaiah", SJT 16:2 /1963/, see p. 178). Davidson's analysis gives exegetical support to the position of N. H. Snaith and P. A. H. de Boer, against the view of other scholars (chiefly H. H. Rowley, S. Mowinckel and H. Wheeler Robinson), who found a true missionary emphasis in II-Isaiah; that is, the point at which the O.T. faith takes the stand to spread its light throughout the world, which is given concrete expression in the book of Jonah (Rowley, The Faith of Israel, p. 123).

⁷⁷ R. Davidson, p. 179.

⁷⁸ R. Davidson, p. 183.

nevertheless difficult to explain away the element of universalism when Israel is summoned to be "a covenant to the people, a light to the nations".⁷⁹ The Servant is God's instrument for enlarging the blessing of the covenant relation, and the concluding chapter in a magnificent stanza affirms the consequences of this service:

Behold, you shall call nations that you know not,
and nations that knew you not shall run to you
because of the Lord your God ... 80

The principal themes of Deutero-Isaiah have been considered in the light of the prophet's belief in the sovereignty of God over His creation, and the eschatological context in which the thought of the poems is presented. God who has created and sustained His people is their Redeemer, and the instrument of His redemption is the Servant. In the Fourth Song, this theme reaches a new profundity expressed in the vicarious sacrifice of the Servant, where the twin themes of his abasement and glorification are held in balance, evoking the amazement and incredulity of the hearers. In the Servant's punishment is borne the judgement due to the

⁷⁹ Isa. 42:6; cf. 49:8 f.. Perhaps, as Prof. Davidson suggests, particularism and nationalism are not opposites, but points of tension in the prophetic faith of pre-exilic Israel, and in this faith the world will seek its true welfare (Davidson, pp. 176-7; cf. J. Muilenburg, "Abraham and the Nations", Interpretation xix:4 (1965), p. 396). In our view, II-Isaiah has really added a new dimension to Israel's pre-exilic faith.

⁸⁰ Isa. 55:5.

nations. The way of the Servant is the way of self-offering for others. If both the individual and collective interpretations are true to the prophet's original intention, and accepting with C. R. North and H. H. Rowley that the Fourth Song treats of One who is yet to come,⁸¹ the prophecy has been fully realized in Jesus of Nazareth,⁸² and his Church is the heir to Israel's vocation of God's Servant.

From these remarks on the themes of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy and the nuances of meaning which the terminology of the Septuagint suggests, we may now turn to a consideration of the principal passages in the New Testament that give testimony to the Servant Christology. Explicitly, the two most important references to the words of Jesus are Luke 22:37 and Mark 10:45. It is recognized that much depends on the authenticity of these sayings. Against Bultmann's conviction that all predictions of the passion are vaticinia ex eventu,⁸³

⁸¹ Cf. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah, p. 238, and Rowley, The Faith of Israel, p. 122.

⁸² It is to be noted that Miss Hooker's recent critical study does not deny that Jesus fulfilled the pattern of which Deutero-Isaiah spoke, but she maintains that we lack indication in the N.T. that Jesus associated Himself with the prophetic Servant figure, whose vicarious suffering was the means by which He would accomplish His vocation of calling the nations of the world to worship, (Jesus and the Servant, pp. 162-3).

⁸³ See R. Bultmann, Theology I, Eng. tr., p. 29.

it is noteworthy that the words of the Lukan passage go back to the Hebrew text, and not to the Septuagint, and that nowhere else in descriptions of the passion do the Evangelists make explicit use of Isaiah 53.⁸⁴ Certainly this would be the case if, by the time of the earliest written gospels, the Christology of the Ebed was already on the wane. It appears that it was not widespread in the Church by this time.⁸⁵ In addition, there is unmistakable evidence that, at the beginning, the teaching of Christ as God's Servant was a hard one to accept, even by Jesus' most intimate followers.⁸⁶ Following the Lukan citation, the disciples' failure to

⁸⁴ Cf. H. W. Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum, p. 57. The fact that the saying is peculiar to Luke is of itself no reason to question its genuineness.

⁸⁵ O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, Eng. tr., p. 61, cf. A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' ..." SAB xxviii, pp. 233-4, and B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, 1961, pp. 77-8, who finds that while quotes from Isa. 53 are not especially numerous in the N.T., allusions to it are deeply embedded in the writer's work, and that it belongs to the earliest thought of the Church.

⁸⁶ With Jesus' determination to accept the role of vicarious self-offering and deliverance into the hands of His persecutors, the role of Isaiah's Servant, there is unanimous testimony in the Gospels to the disciples' lack of understanding, cf. Mk. 9:32 and parallels (Mt. 17:23, Lk. 9:45).

The tension between the intentions of Jesus and the aspirations of His followers became progressively more acute throughout His ministry. Combined with the fears of His enemies, in the end it made the cross inevitable, T. W. Manson, The Servant Messiah, p. 75.

comprehend that the nature and fulfillment of Jesus' ministry is described in terms of the Servant Figure prompts an immediate and ironical dismissal of the subject.⁸⁷ There is no reason to dismiss this passage as "obscure" as Miss Hooker has done;⁸⁸ indeed, the teaching it contains is of central significance if the followers could but receive it. The saying should not be excised from the context, but viewed in relation to the total instruction of this farewell discourse, which opens with the teaching on the marks of 'true greatness'.⁸⁹ Both by example and in the instruction to which we have access, the Lord stressed to believers that leadership in the Kingdom was accomplished through service, and humble submission to the will of God.

⁸⁷ G. W. H. Lampe, "Luke" in Peake, 1962, #733e, and cf. T. W. Manson's comments in The Mission and Message of Jesus, by Major, Manson and Wright, 1940, p. 634. The saying about the 'two swords' should not be subjected to literalism, but is indicative of the crisis that is at hand (A. B. Bruce in EGT I, pp. 628-9). The effect of the concluding words could be 'there is enough of this misunderstanding' (Bruce), or 'there is to be no further talk of armed resistance' (Manson).

⁸⁸ M. D. Hooker, p. 86.

⁸⁹ Lk. 22:24-38 is the grouping of this entire discourse, cf. S. M. Gilmour, IB VIII, p. 381.

In this respect, the context of the Logion from Mark⁹⁰ is similar to that cited in Luke. The discourse in which this allusion to Isaiah 53 occurs is extremely important for an understanding of what is taught about the form of the Servant. The Markan section opens with the petition of James and John to sit at the Lord's right hand in the Parousia, which is followed by Jesus' reply with a reference to His 'true baptism', which is the Cross.⁹¹ It concludes by defining the

⁹⁰ Mk. 10:42-45, as compared with Lk. 22:24-30 (Wm. Manson, The Gospel of Luke, 1930, p. 244). In our view, a better appreciation of the similarity is represented by grouping the entire sections, Mk. 10:35-45 and Lk. 22:24-38, together.

As Gilmour observes (loc. cit.), Luke's tradition counsels those already in positions of leadership to demonstrate graces of humble service, while Mark urges those with ambition for greatness to achieve their goal through service.

⁹¹ Therefore, the context includes implicit reference to the passion, which is the necessary outcome of the Servant's total obedience, and the consummation of His ministry. An understanding of baptism that includes this aspect of being incorporate into the Lord's death (Rom. 6:3) is crucial to the apprehension and appropriation of the sacrament by the Church, see C. F. D. Moule's remarks in the Festschrift for C. H. Dodd, "The Judgement Theme in the Sacraments", The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, ed. Davies and Daube, 1956, pp. 466-7. This is directly related to the unique solidarity of the Christian with his Lord, (cf. Hugh Anderson, pp. 274 ff.), but there was a significant departure from this understanding in the Second Century Church, from the evidence in Melito's Homily on the Passion, see my chap. III, pp. 243ff.

form⁹² that the apostolic ministry is to take:

You know that in the world the recognized rulers lord it over their subjects, and their great men make them feel the weight of their authority. (NEB). But that is not the way it is to be among you; Rather, whoever wishes to be great among you, he must be 'as one who waits on tables' /διάκονος/, and whoever wishes to be first among you must be as a 'born slave' /δούλος/ to all; For indeed the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve and to give his earthly life a ransom for many. 93

The fact that the title "Son of Man" is found with the allusion to Isaiah 53 is not surprising, in view of the synoptists' preference for the term, and since it always occurs in words attributed to Jesus Himself.⁹⁴ Against the

⁹² From the beginning Jesus rejected the Jewish Messianic ideal as descriptive of His own ministry. His vocation is unreservedly that of the Servant of Yahweh, and this accords with the principle biblical revelation of God as sovereign to which the Servant is witness (cf. n. 52, supra). The apostolic mission is the extension of this Servant ministry and is marked by humility and service to others, (T. W. Manson, The Servant Messiah, pp. 59-60). It is of significance here that the fluidity of the concept embodies the vocation of both the Individual and the community, the latter being the heir to the Great Servant's ministry (n. 58 and n. 59 above).

⁹³ Mk. 10:42-45. For the choice of διάκονος, see above pp. 21f. Arguments against the authenticity of Mk. 10:45 are met by C.E.B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to St. Mark /CGT/ p. 343 f.. The choice of διάκονος makes mandatory an interpretation that is faithful to the Servant concept of the original, but which would be ambiguous, by this time, if παῖ were used.

⁹⁴ Cf. S. E. Johnson, "Son of Man" in IDB IV, p. 418 f.. C. H. Dodd cites 3 passages employed as "testimonies" which contain the term 'Son of Man': Pss. 8; 80 (79); and Dan. 7. The last two refer collectively to Israel, oppressed and

opinion that Mark 10:45 is to be classified merely as 'Hellenistic-Christian doctrine of salvation'⁹⁵ is the fact that the title "Son of Man" is a Semitic phrase, familiar to Jewish hearers in spite of its ambiguity, which no Hellenistic Christian would be likely to insert into tradition.⁹⁶

A few years ago, T. W. Manson held that the Son of Man, like the Servant of Yahweh, is an ideal figure that stood for the manifestation of the Kingdom of God on earth in a people wholly devoted to their God.⁹⁷ This is an apocalyptic

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humiliated, but later glorified, while the former means simply 'man', in all his weakness, yet "visited" by God, (According to the Scriptures, p. 117). F. W. Beare believes in the N.T. it was not a title, but was substituted for the title of 'Messiah', facilitated by the fact that as used by Jesus it was a surrogate for the personal pronoun, 'I' or 'me', (The Earliest Records of Jesus, p. 186). I have discussed the historic significance of the title in more detail in chap. II, and compared it with Justin's usage, see pp. 186 ff.

Some years ago, F. C. Burkitt stressed the fact that Mark was concerned to show that in the mind of Jesus was not the appropriateness of this or that title (as applied to Himself), "but the irresistible sense of vocation", (Christian Beginnings, p. 29). Yet, Burkitt arrived at a different conclusion from my own, with respect to the earliest "Christology" (Burkitt, pp. 41 ff.).

95 R. Bultmann, Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, p. 154.

96 S. E. Johnson, loc. cit.; cf. J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, p. 102.

97 See T. W. Manson, The Teachings of Jesus, pp. 227 ff., and cf. "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels",

description of conditions in the Kingdom. Individually, the conditions are realized in the chosen representative who is a pure personification of Israel, but corporately, His experience embraces that of Israel and is shared by the true Israel, accomplishing its destiny. For Jesus, the Son of Man, while retaining its apocalyptic association, was defined in terms of the Servant, and, as is likely, near the end of His ministry it had come to absorb other aspects of the Messianic idea.⁹⁸ Whether there was a pre-Christian precedent for the fusion of the Son of Man and Yahweh's Servant is a most difficult question to answer with certainty,⁹⁹ But it is noteworthy that by the time of the Second Century Church, there is lacking the humble association with humanity in the use of the title, Son of Man having

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in Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, p. 144; but C. K. Barrett is unconvinced that the Servant of the Lord modified the Son of Man concept, "The Background of Mark 10:45" in New Testament Essays, 1959, pp. 9 ff.

⁹⁸ William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 111 f., W. C. van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ", NTS 8:2 (1962) p. 106 f., C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 119, O. Cullmann, p. 65, C. E. B. Cranfield, p. 275, and cf. my chap. II, n. 141. F. C. Burkitt deduced from Mk. 9:9-13 that it was Jesus' connection of 'suffering' and the 'Son of Man' that puzzled Peter and his companions, (pp. 33-4).

⁹⁹ See F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, 1960, pp. 62-66; cf. M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate", BJRL 45:2 (1963), pp. 312 ff.

become a designation that signified exclusively Christ's eschatological glory.¹⁰⁰ Of further interest is the fact that in Mark, as in other parts of the New Testament, the Servant association seems to show little evidence of reflection on the part of the writers, but rather comprises part of the tradition handed down to them, which was faithfully recorded, although later it may have met increasing resistance.¹⁰¹

There is a quotation of Isaiah 42:1-4 in Matthew 12:18-21, which follows an account of Jesus' healing and His command of silence to His followers. The words echo the heavenly voice at the baptism of Jesus, containing some variations from the Septuagint as well as from the Massoretic Text.¹⁰² Here, the evangelist proclaims the one greater than the temple who nevertheless enjoins His followers to silence. Comparing the citation with Matthew 8:17, there is evidence of the

¹⁰⁰ See chap. II, pp. 189-92.

¹⁰¹ O. Cullmann, p. 69, following Christian Maurer, "Knecht Gottes und Sohn Gottes in Passionsbericht des Markus-evangeliums", ZTK 50 (1953), pp. 2 ff.; and see my chap. II, n. 57, and chap. IV, n. 70 and n. 71, where we cite the opinion of E. Lohmeyer, P. Bonnard, and R. H. Fuller, who deny that Paul makes use of the Servant language except where he quotes from earlier tradition.

¹⁰² These are discussed by G. Bornkamm, C. Barth, and H. J. Held, Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, Eng. tr., 1963, p. 126, who cite Mt. 3:17 as an adaptation of Mk. 1:11. Cf. K. Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, p. 108 f.

writer's consciousness that Jesus is exemplifying the role of humility, with healing accomplished, like the Servant, in bearing the distress of those afflicted.¹⁰³ The quotation in Matthew 12:18, and Peter's speeches in Acts, are the only occasions in the New Testament when the title $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, as a terminus technicus, is referred to Jesus. When, in the later period, we find Irenaeus quoting Matthew 12:18, it is remarkable that the $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ of the quotation is not rendered by servus, or even by puer, but by filius, which has a higher sense.¹⁰⁴ It would seem that a different emphasis may be encountered in the sub-apostolic era than is witnessed to in the New Testament.

There are other less direct evidences of a primitive association of Jesus with Deutero-Isaiah's Servant figure that may be mentioned briefly. The predictions of suffering in Mark 8:31, with its parallels, certainly suggest that He acts under a compulsion that is beyond human comprehension, constrained by the Will of God, and that His destiny of suffering and rejection, like Isaiah's Servant, conforms to

¹⁰³ Isa. 53:4 is cited in Mt. 8:17; cf. Bornkamm, Barth and Held, pp. 127-9.

¹⁰⁴ See chap. IV, pp. 368ff.

the divine plan.¹⁰⁵ Grouping this saying with Peter's confession, which has immediately preceded it, follows naturally,¹⁰⁶ and it gives important testimony to the Lord's understanding of His earthly ministry at this critical stage. Moreover, in this first prophecy of the passion, the teaching is based on a unique combination of the Son of Man with the obedient Servant, who accepts rejection,¹⁰⁷ and whose vocation is to be the organ of God's redemptive purpose in the world.¹⁰⁸ It is noteworthy that the teaching has application to the destiny of the Individual, but also, from what follows, it applies to the community, preserving the dual aspect of the prophecy in the original.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ C. E. B. Cranfield offers a very adequate discussion in his commentary (pp. 272 ff.), and lists Isa. 53 as one of a variety of O.T. passages that lie behind this saying (p. 277). Cf. Mk. 9:12; 10:33 f..

¹⁰⁶ C. E. B. Cranfield, p. 271, as opposed to Lagrange and Turner, who understood it as the beginning of a narrative. This section is separated, according to the parallel in Mt. 16:21, but from Luke's testimony, it is connected with the prohibition by the *ἐπιπῶν* found in Lk. 9:22, cf. V. Taylor, The Gospel According to St Mark, 1959, p. 377.

¹⁰⁷ See Isa. 53:3. Cf. Euler, p. 113 f.

¹⁰⁸ V. Taylor (p. 378 f.) accepts the combination here of the two figures and discusses the differences on wording with the parallels, remarking on the fidelity of Matthew and Luke to their source.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. n. 59 supra.

There is additional implicit evidence to associate the role of the Servant with the passion, which is most strikingly symbolized in the foot washing at the Last Supper.¹¹⁰ The use by the Fourth Evangelist of the title "Lamb of God", which may have been "Servant of God" in the Aramaic original, suggests that the predication *ḥāi, ʿēbō* of Jesus belonged to the Aramaic-speaking primitive church.¹¹¹

The imagery of the sacrificial lamb is employed by the author of I Peter, and it is worthy of consideration that this figure has several associations in its usage in the New Testament, all of which have parallels in the descriptions of the Servant figure in Isaiah 53.¹¹² Furthermore, the

¹¹⁰ See Jn. 13:3, cf. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 366 f: "The primary intention here is to emphasize the humility of the Lord and Master, who stoops to serve His servants". Remarking further on this section, Barrett finds that John has related baptism to the Lord's death (cf. Rom. 6:3), integrating baptism into the act of humble love where the Lord's death was set forth before the passion, (p. 367).

¹¹¹ Jn. 1:29, 36, following C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, 1922, pp. 104 ff.; cf. J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, pp. 82-3. The recent objections of M. D. Hooker to this theory are dealt with in my discussion of the title in chap. III, see p. 250, and cf. pp. 248ff.

¹¹² T. W. Manson (On Paul and John, ed. M. Black, 1963, p. 125) cited basically three things involved in the conception of Lamb of God: 1) His patience under suffering - Acts 8:32 (cf. Isa. 53:7), 2) His sinlessness - I Pet. 1:19

exhortation in the epistle is to emulate the humility and submissiveness of Christ, following His example. In this context occur references to the Fourth Servant Song.¹¹³

The language which describes the sufferer here represents an interesting combination, deriving partly from Isaiah 53 and partly from the account of a witness of the Passion.¹¹⁴

The testimony from this letter has importance for our study in that it quite likely reflects closely the accepted belief of the very primitive Christian community.¹¹⁵ If Peter's "turning again" was a strategic point in the origin of the Christian church after the crucifixion of Jesus, as some sources suggest, then the content of the Petrine

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(cf. Isa. 53:9, 11), 3) the redemptive power of His death, extending to the whole world - Jn. 1:19-36, I Pet. 1:18-21, (cf. Isa. 53: 11-12).

With regard to the subtle distinctions in terms, see my chap. III, n. 94.

113 I Pet. 2:21-25. For I Pet. 2:22, cf. Isa. 53:9; for I Pet. 2:24, cf. Isa. 53:5 f., 12.

114 C. E. B. Cranfield, The First Epistle of Peter, 1954, p. 67. Cranfield (p. 11) with others, believes the letter bears the testimony and authority of Peter, while style and expression are to be attributed to an amanuensis, or more probably an "interpreter", quite likely Sylvanus, C. Bigg, Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, ICC, p. 5.

115 E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, 1958, p. 22, follows V. Taylor, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching, p. 48, cf. pp. 38 f., 45.

tradition has more than casual significance for Church doctrine.¹¹⁶ The epistle testifies to the association of Isaiah's Servant with Jesus' life and Passion, at a very early stage in Christological thought.¹¹⁷

Peter's speeches as they are recorded in the passages of Acts 3 and 4 provide significant, but perplexing examples of the usage of the title $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ in reference to Jesus. This is the only such use in the New Testament outside of quotation.¹¹⁸ The critical problem for our interest is whether at this stage $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ meant "child", or "servant", and there is lack of agreement among students of the New Testament on this point.¹¹⁹ From a detailed investigation of the early

¹¹⁶ O. Cullmann, Peter, Eng. tr., F. V. Filson, 1953, pp. 66-68; cf. L. L. Carpenter, Primitive Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant, p. 90.

¹¹⁷ Miss Hooker regards the second chapter of I Peter as "the earliest definite proof for the full identification of Jesus with the Servant in all its Christological significance", (p. 127); see O. Cullmann, loc. cit.

¹¹⁸ Mt. 12:18 cited Isa. 42:1 ff.

¹¹⁹ E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, 1959, believes all four citations refer to God's "son", (pp. 165-187). G. H. C. MacGregor, IB IX, p. 313 f., translates Acts 3:13 by "his servant Jesus", while remarking on the ambiguity of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. M. D. Hooker (p. 108) believes the translation must be "servant", citing the similar usage of the title for David (Acts 4:25); so also is H. W. Wolff's interpretation (p. 86 f.). G. W. H. Lampe, in Acts 4:25 and 27, allows either "servant" or "son" (Peake, # 778 1).

speeches in Acts, J. A. T. Robinson concluded that they betray a theology that is by no means homogeneous.¹²⁰ It may be that with the ambiguity of the *παῖς* terminology, and with conflicting estimates of the Christ-event,¹²¹ we have here the turning point for the interpretation.

Further, since the phrases

... ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν 122

(... He glorified His servant/child/son Jesus)

and

... διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ 123

(... through the name of Thy holy servant/child/son Jesus)

certainly appear to belong to liturgical usage, it is clear that this influence looms large in importance. Whereas *παῖς*-Ebed has been inherited from the liturgical formulae of Jewish prayers (*παῖς* meaning "servant"), the Palestinian Christian community may have used the term in such a way that it passed

¹²⁰ J. A. T. Robinson, "The Most Primitive Christology of All?", *JTS* viii:2, (1956), p. 187.

¹²¹ J. A. T. Robinson (p. 185). With regard to the speeches in Acts 3 and 2, he remarks that the language in Acts 3 suggests it is the more primitive.

¹²² Acts 3:13

¹²³ Acts 4:30.

into the higher sense, with later writers considering it as a solemn expression for "son of God".¹²⁴ The ambiguity of $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, which also suggests intimacy of relationship, did not exclude the elevated sense, and therefore was admirably suited to this change.

We find no certainty that the author of Luke-Acts understood the title to mean "son", and the earliest usage from the Jewish prayers suggests "Servant", but the point is that the way was now open for the change. It therefore becomes a matter of great interest to make inquiry of the contexts in which the title occurs in the apostolic fathers,¹²⁵ as well as to investigate the terms employed when the Acts passages are cited by later interpreters.¹²⁶

Evidence from the Kerygma of the primitive Christian community for the Servant Christology may be found in Philip's

¹²⁴ E. Haenchen (p. 165) remarks with reference to Acts 3:13: "Die christliche Gemeinde hat aus jüdischen Gebeten, in denen grosse Gottesmänner, besonders David, $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ Gottes genannt wurden, die Bezeichnung $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ übernommen und auf Jesus angewendet; Lukas hat sie als feierlichen Ausdruck für "Sohn Gottes" aufgefasst." Cf. A. Harnack's comment in SAB xxviii (1926), p. 234.

¹²⁵ E.g., I Clem. 59.2 f., Mart. Pol. 14.1, Did. 9.2, Diog. 8.9, citing occurrences that bear close relationship to the liturgical usage.

¹²⁶ In particular, Irenaeus, adv. haer., see my chap. IV, pp.367ff.

evangelistic appeal to the Ethiopian Eunuch, where the Fourth Servant Song is used in explanation of Jesus' suffering.¹²⁷

It is well to remember that in these early days one can hardly expect to find more than the simplest explanation of the events that had occurred. Metaphysical questions of the relationship of Jesus to God had not arisen at this stage. What is important in Acts 8:32 ff. is the reference to Jesus' humiliation that is contained in the quotation from Deutero-Isaiah. It will be worth inquiring how this passage is handled by interpreters of the second century, in comparison with its use here.¹²⁸

In Paul's preaching, the Servant passages helped to provide scriptural warrant for a theological interpretation of the passion and triumph. Professor F. F. Bruce has cited some of the more important sections which show that the influence of the Servant Songs, while not prominent, is nevertheless

¹²⁷ Acts 8:32 ff., cf. Isa. 53:7-8; G. H. C. Macgregor IB IX, p. 113 f: observes it is the first time Isa. 53 occurs as "a specifically quoted text for Christian apologetic". T. W. Manson believed that the Isaiah passage quoted here had some share in giving rise to the use of "Lamb" as a title of Christ, (On Paul and John, p. 124).

¹²⁸ Cf. Melito, Homily 10:28, see chap III, p.264; and Irenaeus, adv. haer. III. 12.8, see chap. IV. p. 347f.

unmistakable.¹²⁹ However, of all the places in the Pauline corpus where the prophet's portrayal of the Servant can be traced, the most impressive is in the Hymn of Kenosis of Philippians 2:6-11.¹³⁰ If the hymn was earlier than Paul's writing, there can be little doubt that it was incorporated into his argument, and it is interesting that those who attribute the hymn to a prior source also find Paul's use of the Servant language to derive from more primitive tradition.¹³¹ Attempts by some to sever the relationship of the hymn from Deutero-Isaiah's Servant based on word choice are scarcely successful.¹³² Most striking is the use of $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, where one would expect to find $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. There is, however, a very good reason for the choice of $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ on account of its implicit

¹²⁹ See F. F. Bruce's study in Promise and Fulfillment, essays presented to S. H. Hooke, ed. F. F. Bruce, 1963: "Promise and Fulfillment in Paul's Presentation of Jesus", espec. pp. 42-44. Bruce cites among others: Rom. 5:19, 10:16, 15:21; I Cor. 15:3; and Phil. 2:6-11, acknowledging that if the hymn of the latter preceded Paul, he certainly has incorporated it into his argument.

¹³⁰ F. F. Bruce, p. 44-5; cf. R. P. Martin, An Early Christian Confession, 1960, pp. 26 ff.

¹³¹ See my chap. IV, n. 70, 71, and 74.

¹³² M. Hooker, p. 120 f.. The restrictions she imposes on the interpretations of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (Loc. cit.) are not justified etymologically. Cf. above, pp. 17ff.

antithesis with κύριος, as Lucien Cerfaux has shown.¹³³

The fact is that as Christological reflection developed after the resurrection, the emphasis was placed on Christ as the κύριος of His Church, which is biblical. However, both the Lord and His Church were exalted beyond the human, as well as the historic reality. His vocation as God's Servant during His earthly ministry soon receded into the background, and the Church, too, risks losing this sense of its vocation.¹³⁴ But in all probability the Servant Christology was the first theology of the cross, as O. Sydney Barr has put it:

... /The Cross/ was Jesus' self-abnegation which had been witnessed and which had re-created the witnesses. To know him as Servant of others was to know that self-sacrificing love is the power of God Himself, and the seemingly futile cross as mediating that power. (I Cor. 1:18-25). 135

¹³³ L. Cerfaux, Recueil Lucien Cerfaux, Vol. II, 1954, p. 428; and cf. O. Cullmann, Christology of the New Testament, p. 77 f., and C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 118, f.n. 1. I have shown above that this antithesis had a precedent in the literature of the period, see pp. 18ff.

¹³⁴ Paul E. Davies has remarked on the tendency since the apostolic age towards excessive emphasis on identity of the Church with the exalted body of Christ. But there are those N.T. references that show that in "the expansion of its faith into the heavenly order the church was held down to the sharp realities of this ministry of God's Servant in the orders of life and ministry," ("Experience and Memory", Interpretation xvi:2 (1962), p. 190). Thus the N.T. offered its own corrective, but the tendency towards exaltation may have begun early.

¹³⁵ O. Sydney Barr, From the Apostles' Faith to the Apostles' Creed, 1964, p. 123.

There is scant evidence that Jesus was concerned with titles as applied to Himself.¹³⁶ On the other hand, there is throughout the pages of the New Testament the overwhelming consciousness of vocation: His own and that which is continued through His Church. Integral to the performance of this vocation was His own act of self-abasement, without emphasis on who He was, but rather stressing what He must do. The evidence set forth thus far indicates that in the heritage of His teaching from the most primitive period to which we have access, the figure of Isaiah's Servant was regarded as a graphic portrayal of this vocation. The passages cited preserved the sense of many of the themes found in the original, and differences in wording, where they occur, have not altered this effect. It now becomes our principal task to discover what usage is made of the Servant texts in the post-apostolic period. Where it is found to be relevant, the usages of the texts will be compared with the contexts in which they were employed in the New Testament, citing harmonies or divergencies as they may appear.

¹³⁶ See n. 94 above.

CHAPTER I

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

A. General Remarks :

Characteristics of the Sub-Apostolic Literature

The term "Apostolic Fathers" apparently was first used by Severus of Antioch, the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria in the sixth century, who manifested great enthusiasm for early Christian literature.¹ The word 'apostolic' applied not to those who were apostles, but who were disciples of the apostles, and the works as defined by Severus referred to literature prior to the time of Irenaeus. Properly, the five sub-apostolic writers, Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius and Polycarp, have been grouped together since the seventeenth century,² but with them it is appropriate to study the Didache. Within this group, since Clement and the Didache belong to the earliest period, and since the

¹ Robert M. Grant, The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. I, 1964, p.v.

² In the famous edition appearing in 1672, J. B. Cotelier described those named as the Fathers "qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt", (cf. F. L. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers, 1960, p. 7).

Shepherd of Hermas is generally regarded as a witness to "Jewish Christianity" of the era,³ it will be convenient to begin our inquiry with these three. Following the examination of the others, we will deal with the Epistle of Diognetus, which really belongs to the apologetic literature of the second century, and logically leads into the discussion of Justin Martyr in the next chapter.

Besides their early date, the writings have several characteristics in common. They are relatively short, and they tend to raise similar problems, belonging to a period in the life of the Church when records are very scarce. Further, as Professor R. M. Grant observes, they wrote "not for outsiders but for those within the community of the Church",⁴ and he adds:

They are not concerned with speculative theology ... They are concerned with it only at the point where it influences the life of Christians within the community ... None of them betrays more than a trace of acquaintance with Greek poetry or philosophy. Of history they know equally little, and they think about it even less. ⁵

³ R. M. Grant, "The Study of the Early Fathers Today", Anglican Theological Review (July, 1962), p. 10, places all three works in the category of witnesses to Jewish Christianity, cf. A. Harnack, DG I Eng. tr., pp. 287-298.

⁴ R. M. Grant, The Apostolic Fathers Vol. I, p. vi.

⁵ Ibid; Grant adds that the only possible exception is I Clem.. Cf. J. Quasten, Patrology Vol. I, 1962, p. 41.

However, in spite of what some may consider to be the theological limitations of these writers, Grant is concerned to correct scholarly prejudice against them. Opposing those who limit their value solely to providing evidence of a transition from the New Testament period, he asserts their importance as giving evidence of some of the earliest ways in which the Bible and tradition were understood.⁶ Also, it is noteworthy that they contain some of the most primitive reflections of Christian life outside the New Testament.⁷ In view of the fact that some of the more important early manuscripts include several of the writings, it would seem that many early Christians regarded them as canonical.⁸

It is to this group of Christians concerned with practical problems of Church life, and entrusted with the task of

⁶ R. M. Grant, pp. 9,12. Against those who believe Ignatius was influenced by gnosticism, Grant points out that a writer may share an opponent's terminology while not necessarily being influenced by it, and further there is no certainty that in the early 2nd century terms used by later Gnostics had a technical sense (p. 11).

⁷ R. M. Grant, p. 30: "They are primary witnesses to the continuity of Christian tradition and to the diversity present within it."

⁸ E.G.: Cod. A (5th Cent.) including I Clem., and Cod. N (4th Cent.) containing Barn. and Hermas. *l.c./*

ministering to congregations which the apostles had founded, that we now direct our inquiry on the interpretation of the $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. We should not expect to find more than the rudimentary elements of a formulated Christology at this stage, and even less answers to the questions posed by the Incarnation.⁹ The opposing factors of Ebionism and Docetism were exerting their influences,¹⁰ and attempts to meet these distortions may in themselves have resulted in exaggerated emphases of one form or another. Since the fact that Jesus is $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, important to Jewish Christians, would scarcely be understood by the Gentile Christian community, other descriptions specifying His uniqueness were needed; among the most important which was being wrought out was $\acute{o}\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$.¹¹ In place of the paradox which the New Testament asserts regarding Jesus' two natures, the tendency was to grasp at

⁹ See H. R. Mackintosh, The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ, p. 123. Cf. R. M. Grant, commenting on the use of pre-Socratic philosophy by early Christian writers up to the time of Irenaeus, observed, "no early writer was a strictly biblical theologian, in spite of the claims made by some of them". (Anglican Theol.Rev., (July, 1962), p. 9.).

¹⁰ Cf. J. M. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, pp. 139-141. ^{N/}

¹¹ A. Harnack, DG I, Eng. tr., pp. 184 ff., but see also Justin's use of $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, Add'l Note II.1; and cf. the tension found in Origen between a Christology in which the exalted Logos was regulative as opposed to the Divine Son, pp. 453ff.

an understanding of one, while neglecting the other. The perception that the divinity and humanity are equally essential and important for the personality of the Redeemer Christ was a depth of insight that this early period did not possess.¹² It is not surprising that the predication of Jesus as true man is rarely encountered in sub-apostolic literature.¹³

On the other hand, a development is noticed which bears an interesting comparison to the New Testament. There, the teaching of Christ as God, definitively, is not found.¹⁴ In the first three writings which we will consider, there is

¹² A. Harnack, p. 195, f.n. 2; and it should be pointed out that I Clem. 32.2 really shows little evidence of a theological comprehension of the two natures. It was Irenaeus late in the 2nd century who did much to recover the biblical emphasis that asserts humanity as well as divinity, see Add'l Note IV.1.

¹³ A. Harnack, p. 196, f.n. 1: the expression *ἄνθρωπος* for Christ appears but twice in the Ignatian epistles.

¹⁴ Rom. 9:5 is often in this respect a subject for discussion, but it may be punctuated in several ways. Christ may be 'Power of God' (I Cor. 1:24), He received all "authority" (Mt. 28:18, et passim), He is the presence of God's glory tabernacled among us as the divine Word (Jn. 1:14, etc.); He represents in His person God's truth, holiness and goodness as Light (O.T.sense) of the world (Jn. 1:9, 9:5, etc.); those who have 'seen' Him have seen the Father (Jn. 14:9), and knowledge of the Father is only through Him (Add'l Note IV.3); cf. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, 1961, pp. 63 ff.. But unity between Christ and the Father is asserted (Jn. 10:30).

likewise no such statement, although it is inferred in I Clem. 2. It is remarkable that some of the writers of the second century refer to Christ as God (normally $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, but rarely $\acute{o}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ¹⁵). Ignatius, the homily known as II Clement, as well as Justin (who calls Christ $\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$), and especially Melito, among others, speak of Christ as God.¹⁶ In Melito this is carried to unusual extremes, as we shall see in Chapter III. In Irenaeus, there are many examples where Christ is spoken of as God, but theologically, the sense is more the assertion of unity in the Godhead, which conforms to the New Testament point of view.

It is costly to obscure the fact that in Christ is found not only the exceptionality of the divine but also of the human. Christ entered the world to effect atonement not by being divine, but by being human. In that this truth of the necessity of the incarnation is well expressed in terms of the Servant, it will repay us to make closer inquiry of these writers to determine if the Servant Christology occupied a place in their thought.

¹⁵ There are three cases in Ignatius where Christ appears to be considered as $\acute{o}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, or which link Christ and God to form a single name, similar to the usage $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ (Smyrn. 6.1; Tral. 7.1; Smyrn. 10.1), but the textual support is disputed. See Virginia Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch, 1960, pp. 131 ff.).

¹⁶ See R. M. Grant, (Anglican Theol.Rev. July, 1962), p. 9 f.

B. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians

Authorship and Date

I Clement was known apparently to both Ignatius and Polycarp and probably was used as a liturgical reading throughout much of the second century.¹⁷ For Jerome, Clement was the most important of the Apostolic Fathers.¹⁸ Irenaeus believed that Clement was acquainted with both Peter and Paul, but the opinion that Clement is to be identified with the collaborator whom Paul praises in the letter to the Philippians lacks corroboration.¹⁹

As to the date of the epistle, the limits are established by its use of such New Testament documents as Hebrews and Ephesians, giving the terminus post quem. The latest date is fixed by evidence of its influence in Polycarp's epistle to

¹⁷ See Eusebius, H.E. IV. 23.11, cited by R. M. Grant, "The Apostolic Fathers' First Thousand Years", CH xxxi:4, (1962), p. 422, who adds that such liturgical usage would not be allowed for such clearly personal letters as those of Ignatius, and probably accounts for I Clem. being treated as 'scripture'.

¹⁸ R. M. Grant, p. 426.

¹⁹ See Eusebius H.E. VI. 3.15 and cf. Origen, comm. in Joh. 6.36; the ref. is to Phil. 4:3. Tradition also has identified him with the Clement spoken of by Hermas, Vis. II. 4.3.

the Philippians.²⁰ Reference to a recent persecution at Rome²¹ has persuaded the majority of critics that I Clement was composed in 95 or 96 A.D.,²² and we accept this approximation.

The Use of the Title Παῖς

Παῖς as a Christological title outside of quotation occurs only in the great concluding prayer in Clement's letter.²³ Harnack was probably right in his opinion that the prayer is not an original creation of Clement, but a variant of the Roman Church's prayer, that goes back to the form of the synagogue prayers.²⁴ The expressions used of Jesus are

²⁰ M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Clement, Epistles of", IDB I, p. 649.

²¹ I Clem. 1.1.

²² See A. Harnack, Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Euseb I, p. 255, (this work is cited hereafter as Harnack, Chronologie). Cf. G. Krüger, History of Early Christian Literature in the first three centuries, Eng. tr., C. R. Gillett, p. 24; B. H. Streeter, The Primitive Church, p. 200 f., and R. M. Grant, The Apostolic Fathers I, p. 38. For the history of the text, see J. Quasten, p. 51.

²³ I Clem. 59.2 ff..

²⁴ A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'...", SAB xxviii, p. 220 f.

worthy of consideration:

59.2 ... διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ
'Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ , 25

(through his beloved child/servant Jesus Christ).²⁶

J. B. Lightfoot remarked on the similarity of the predicates used of Christ to those occurring in prayers of other works of this period.²⁷ He postulated the theory that the higher sense of *διὸς* was imported into the *παῖς* terminology and that this was the sense in which Clement used it here.²⁸

Harnack took a slightly different approach. He believed that expressions such as we have cited above remind us of the old stratum of liturgical types, but that in many respects the conclusive prayer of Clement manifests

²⁵ O. Gebhardt, A. Harnack, T. Zahn, Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, 1871, Fasc. I, Pt. 1, p. 98, cf. J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, 1889, I.1, p. 171.

²⁶ Gebhardt and Harnack, I.1, p. 99, offer "*per dilectum puerum suum ...*" (italics mine).

²⁷ Lightfoot (loc. cit.) cited Ap. Const. 8.5, 14, 39, 40, 41, Diog. 8 and Mart. Pol. 14. However, on the date of the Ap. Const. see below, n. 29.

²⁸ J. B. Lightfoot, (loc. cit.); the quotation is cited in my introduction, n. 18. Cf. Harnack (SAB xxviii, p. 221) who believed this question was not answerable at this stage and that Clement has simply inherited the formula, possibly adding 'the beloved', but that the designation fails to reveal how the Messiah is to be thought of. Yet Harnack admits that the Vetus Latina gives Filius for the passages.

characteristics of later liturgy, which is suggested by comparisons with the Apostolic Constitutions.²⁹ What is certain is that to a large extent the terminology derives from the prayer forms.

Christ is similarly designated as the 'beloved παῖς' in a reference which follows,³⁰ and his mediatorial function is cited as being the One through whom believers are edified, sanctified and honored. In the third occurrence, the statement is a simple and direct affirmation to the Gentiles voiced in the prayer:

59.4 γνώτωσαν ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός,
μόνος καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ παῖς σου ... 31

(Let all the heathen know that you are the
only God and Jesus Christ /is/ your child ...)

It would be most awkward to read "servant" in this context.

This is particularly true since in the trinitarian formula of the preceding chapter Jesus Christ is designated κύριος.³²

²⁹ A. Harnack, DG I, Eng. tr., pp. 333-4. Modern dating puts the Ap. Const. as late as the latter half of the 4th cent., ca. 380, cf. M. S. Enslin, IDB I, p. 173 f.

³⁰ I Clem. 59.3. Gebhardt, Harnack, I.1, p. 101, translate: "per Jesum Christum dilectum puerum tuum".

³¹ Gebhardt, Harnack, I.1, p. 100.

³² I Clem. 58.2, interestingly, not υἱός, at this point, but the genuineness of the wording in ch. 58 is questioned by many although accepted by Lightfoot (I:1, p. 399).

Following Harnack, the only usage of υἱός (36.4) seems

At another point he is called "high priest", which gives evidence of a debt to the Epistle to the Hebrews.³³

Whatever conclusions we may draw from these other designations, it is clear that the citations in chapter 59 belong to liturgical usage, and that we have to do here with a very old source. When it is taken into account that Clement employs not *παῖς*, but a different term when he describes figures such as Moses, who are called servants in the house of the Lord,³⁴ It is clear that *παῖς* would not be his normal choice to mean 'servant'.

Use of the Servant Texts and Clement's Christology

Unique in the literature of this period is a quotation of the Fourth Servant Song in a context that speaks of the example of Christ's humility. The quotation follows basically the Septuagint, which is true also as it occurs

32 (con't)
to derive from Hebrews (SAB xxviii, p. 220). For other uses of *κύριος* unmistakably applied to Jesus, see I Clem. 21.6, 24.1, 32.2, 42.1, etc.

33 Clement and Barnabas were the first among the fathers to afford a marked trace of Hebrews; see the Table of Results published by the Oxford Society, The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, 1905.

34 Employing *θεράπων*; cf. I Clem. 4.12, 43.1, 51.3, etc.

in Justin's Dialogue. The opening words and the identity they ascribe to Christ are important:

16.1: ταπεινοφρονούντων γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός, . . .

16.2: τὸ σκήπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ
ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 35

(For Christ is of the humble-minded ones, . . .
The sceptre of the majesty of God, the Lord
Jesus Christ . . .)

Clement adds that Christ did not come in the pomp of pride and arrogance, but modestly, unassumingly, as the Holy Spirit declared concerning him. At this point, he cites Isaiah 53. This might seem to infer that our author was giving evidence of a Servant Christology, but there are some important distinctions. First, although he has said that Christ was of the humble-minded, he nevertheless identifies him as the "sceptre of the majesty of God". Second, and perhaps more important, the reference is cited as a practical example to the faithful of humility in daily living,³⁶ and there is no theological connection to the atoning work of the Great Servant, nor an apprehension of how He fulfilled His task and its benefits for man. Such a connection is made when

³⁵ Gebhardt and Harnack, I. 1, p. 30.

³⁶ I Clem. 16.17; cf. chs. 17, 18, 19 which are filled with more practical exhortations, using David, also, as an example. Cf. O. Cullmann, Christology of the New Testament, p. 78.

reference to the Servant's redeeming act is made in I Peter,³⁷ and it is the basis for Paul's exposition in I Corinthians 15:3. Further there is a nuance in the language of the Septuagint that permits an understanding of the passage so that the sin offering can refer to their propitiatory sacrifice, and not the Servant's.³⁸ But Christ is not just an example or type of sacrifice, He is The Sacrifice, par excellence, and it was the Lord's will that He makes Himself an offering, to bear the sin of many as is described of the Servant.³⁹ If He is but our great example, it follows that the concept of the means of redemption will be distorted. Thus Clement's soteriology and the role of Christ in the atonement are incomplete, as Professor Thomas F. Torrance has put it,

in the last resort, therefore, Clement is unable to ascribe saving significance to Christ Himself. ⁴⁰

³⁷ I Pet. 2:24.

³⁸ I Clem. 16.11 citing Isa. 53:10b: ἐὰν δώτε περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας... (if you give /an offering/ for sins...). Cf. the use in Justin, ch. II, n. 86. The later Jewish translators, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion follow the sense of the original at this point.

³⁹ See Isa. 53:10-12.

⁴⁰ T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers, 1948, p. 47. Torrance believes Clement by-passes the person of Christ and links salvation directly with the Father and Creator, cf. I Clem. 36.2, Did. 9.3; 10.2, etc. (p. 48).

When compared with other indications of Clement's exalted Christology, this evaluation is substantiated.

The most striking example is in the second chapter, where the writer speaks in a language that is almost patripassian.⁴¹ Due to the corruptions in the text, it is difficult to follow the writer's exact intention at this point, but the reference to 'God who suffers' is indicative of Clement's high Christology, and a lack of distinction in persons within the Godhead. Elsewhere, as we have mentioned, Christ is regarded as High Priest in language reminiscent of Hebrews, which is also indicated by the numerous references to the "blood of Christ".⁴² It is clear that liturgical forms are dominant in our author's conception, and that the Christology, where it is manifest, witnesses to Christ's divinity. Although sacrificial terminology is employed, there is lacking a theological appreciation of its benefits.⁴³

⁴¹ Cf. Lightfoot, I.1, p. 399. There is the possibility of an important emendation which Lightfoot has commented upon, I.2, p. 16 f. Recent authorities substitute τῷ Χριστῷ as the Person to whom the sufferings refer, which attempts at revision for the sake of orthodoxy tend all the more to single out the deviations of the original.

⁴² I Clem. 7,12, 21, et passim. Cf. Lightfoot I.1, p. 398.

⁴³ It is similar in Justin, although the apologist explored the subject with more thoroughness, see pp. 163 ff.

In Clement, we had the quotation of Isaiah 53, and also the usage of the title $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. Neither of these, however, gave indication of the Christology of the "Ebed". The citation of the Fourth Servant Song is interesting, but instead of providing a theological understanding of Christ's death and passion, it was simply a proof-text for humility, and was cited in a practical exhortation to believers. Moreover, the usage of the title $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ gave no indication that it implied the meaning of servant. Rather, it was part of the prayer formula and it is most unlikely that it carried an inferior connotation. What could be determined of Clement's soteriology seemed meagre in comprehension with the fullness of this doctrine in the New Testament. If Professor Torrance is correct in his estimate, the linking of salvation to God and Creator which essentially by-passes the person of Christ⁴⁴ manifests an early deviation towards cosmology, which obscures the personal element in the incarnation.

C. The Didache

Date and Characteristics

One of the most important discoveries in the second half of

⁴⁴ T. F. Torrance, pp. 48, 52.

the nineteenth century was the finding by Bryennios of the document later known as Codex Hieroselymitanus in the library of the Hospice of the Holy Sepulchre Church at Constantinople. The main question of its content centers on how far it represents the original "Teaching".⁴⁵ Relationships with other early documents are not clear, and it is quite evident that the Didache itself is a composite document.⁴⁶ Comparison with the form found in the Apostolic Constitutions VII with the extant fragments of the Latin version suggests it is a recension of an earlier document, while the terms of address offer the possibility of the hand of a redactor.⁴⁷ Accordingly, there is ambiguity as to the date of the compilation. Some scholars hold that it is a Montanist or anti-Montanist production of the late second century,⁴⁸ but this is not convincing. R. M. Grant agrees with those

⁴⁵ Kirsopp Lake, The Apostolic Fathers I (Loeb), p. 305.

⁴⁶ J. Quasten, Patrology I, p. 36.

⁴⁷ T. F. Torrance, p. 36.

⁴⁸ E.g., F. E. Vokes, The Riddle of the Didache, 1938, p. 171.

who see it as a production of Syrian Christianity, although probably not from Antioch.⁴⁹ While Harnack and others would place the date in the first half of the second century,⁵⁰ there is the strong possibility that the first part, known as the "Two Ways",⁵¹ may belong to the first century.⁵² This section bears a strong similarity to the latter part of the Epistle of Barnabas, and he may have used it, or vice versa, or ~~that~~ the two are dependent on a common *else/* source. It is likely that this statement of principles on Church conduct (the "Way of Life" and the "Way of Death") is based on a pre-Christian Jewish document.⁵³

The second part contains instructions in the practice of Christian worship, including baptism, fasting, the

⁴⁹ R. M. Grant, The Apostolic Fathers I, pp. 75-6.

⁵⁰ A. Harnack, Chronologie, p. 438, who dates it between 131 and 160 A.D.; cf. Dibelius in RGG Bd. I, p. 442, who assigns it to a period between the end of the 1st cent. and middle of the 2nd. If the version as we know it represents a recension of an earlier document, B. H. Streeter would put it as early as 90 - 100 A.D., (The Primitive Church, p. 279 f.).

⁵¹ Did. 1 - 6.

⁵² K. Lake, p. 306.

⁵³ T. F. Torrance, loc. cit.

eucharist and the like, and the last section gives an eschatological statement for the exhortation of believers. As such, the Teaching can hardly be regarded as a manual of doctrine, and there is surprisingly little in its content of the main assertions of the Christian faith.⁵⁴ The submergence of the Gospel in a legalistic system established in terms of law and obedience, reward and punishment indicates that we have to do with a document strongly affected by Jewish influence. Significant for our interest is Torrance's statement,

If it were not for the fact that the Lordship is accorded to Jesus, the Didache might well be a Jewish document, perhaps Ebionite ... 55

Paradoxically, and as is frequently the case with Christian literature of the period, the document witnesses to a revolt against Judaism. Yet it is not at odds so much with the spirit of Judaism as with the practice of its institutions.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ T. F. Torrance, pp. 36-9; cf. E. Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church, pp. 159, 336, who says there can be no Christian explanation of the unevangelical nomism running through the entire writing.

⁵⁵ T. F. Torrance, p. 39.

⁵⁶ T. F. Torrance, p. 37. Cf. P. Schaff, The Oldest Church Manual called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 1806, p. 25.

The Occurrence of *παῖς* in the Prayers;
and Theological Limitations of the Didache

In the communion prayers in chapters 9 and 10 the formula *διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου* (through Jesus your child/servant) occurs.⁵⁷ The expression is stereotyped; only once is the name of Jesus lacking.⁵⁸ But as H. W. Wolff has observed,

Es kann nicht belegt werden, dass mit dieser formelhaften Erwähnung des 'Knechtes' eine lebendige Erinnerung an Jes. 53 verbunden ist.⁵⁹

The author of the Didache uses for the most part the title "Lord", seldom "Son",⁶⁰ or "Jesus Christ". It seems right to conclude that the formula containing *παῖς* goes back to a very old custom, as used in the prayers. We may cite an example:

9.2: *Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.* 61
(We give Thee thanks, our Father, for the holy vine of David, Thy child/servant, which Thou didst make known to us through Jesus Thy child/servant; to Thee be glory for ever.)

⁵⁷ Did. 9.2, 3; 10.2, 3.

⁵⁸ Did. 10.3.

⁵⁹ H. W. Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum, p. 113, since the prophecy is not otherwise found in the Didache.

⁶⁰ Did. 7.1: "... in the name of the Father, and of the Son (*υἱός*) and of the Holy Spirit".

⁶¹ Did. 9.2. (K. Lake, p. 322).

As Ernst Haenchen concludes, in agreement with Harnack, the expression goes back to the liturgical formula of late Judaism.⁶² It is extremely doubtful that the formula, as it occurs here, has a theological connection with the suffering Servant,⁶³ but there may have been a connection, through liturgical usage to the Acts passages.⁶⁴ This is an important illustration of how the title was taken over into the prayer formula in the sub-apostolic period, when the original meaning of "servant" no longer applied. The great age of the expression is attested to by Harnack,⁶⁵ but from what we can deduce from the

⁶² E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 4; cf. A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' ...", SAB xxviii, p. 219.

⁶³ Haenchen is probably right when he says, "mit dem Gedanken des leidenden Messias hat die Formel "durch Jesus, Deinen knecht" in der Didache nichts zu tun", (p. 4), but there is uncertainty as to what period he refers in speaking of the "suffering Messiah", (see my Add'l Note II.2). He is likewise correct in finding it unrelated to the thought of II-Isaiah's suffering Servant figure, but by way of Acts 3 and 4 it may have had a connection through the customary usage of the prayer forms.

⁶⁴ See the Introduction, pp. 47ff. The liturgical usage tends to 'consecrate' formulae such as "in the name of Jesus", cf. L. Cerfaux, Recueil Lucien Cerfaux, 1954, p. 436 f.

⁶⁵ Harnack, pp. 219-20.

theological content of the Didache, there is no thought of Christ as the Servant.

We have already mentioned that the principal designation for Christ is 'Lord', but it would be wrong to conclude from this that the writer evinces a *κύριος* Christology. While there is little doubt that deity is ascribed to Christ, the person of Christ is not central to the thought of the Didache, and where He is mentioned the context gives more the thought of Yahweh in the Old Testament, than the redeemer of the Gospels.⁶⁶

Correspondingly, the Didache is weak in its soteriology, but as already mentioned, its purpose was not to set forth a system of dogma. As Harnack suggested, the majority of people of this era may never have raised the question of how Jesus procured salvation, being satisfied that it was mediated through Him along with knowledge and faith.⁶⁷ Without a theological apprehension of the Servant figure, and with little or no use of the Old Testament prophecy, it is not surprising that the Didache fails to mention

⁶⁶ T. F. Torrance, p. 39 f.; cf. Schaff (loc. cit.), He may be God's Son, but He is called David's God (Did. 10.6); and in Did. 16.7 He is called the Lord who comes on the clouds (cf. Dan. 7 for the Son of Man).

⁶⁷ A. Harnack, DG I, p. 200 f., n. 2.

the saving work of Christ,⁶⁸ except as it occurs by rote in the liturgy. Similarly, although there is instruction regarding the sacrament, it does not appear to be related to the death of Christ. The theology which is manifested in the document as available to us is therefore meagre at best. Above all, the usages of *παῖς* show no indication of the Servant doctrine. When the writer mentions "servants" or "slaves", the choice of terms is usually *δούλος*,⁶⁹ and this word is not applied to Christ.

The Didache provides important witness to early catechetical instruction. It bears traces of the struggle against Judaism in the primitive period, but its spirit is hardly opposed to Jewish tendencies. It has provided no evidence that Christ was thought of in terms of Second Isaiah's Servant, and theologically it has failed to present the core of the primitive Kerygma: that in the Cross of Christ is found the atonement for the sin of man.

D. The Shepherd of Hermas

Date, Authorship and General Characteristics

Written in the form of an apocalypse, The Shepherd was

⁶⁸ Harnack, loc. cit.; cf. T. F. Torrance, p. 40.

⁶⁹ Did. 4.10; 4.11.

occasioned chiefly by the theological problem of sin after baptism, and a large part of the book is taken up with the subject of forgiveness and repentance which is entrusted to an angel whose name the book bears.⁷⁰ Some have held that much of the theology of Hermas is drawn from Jewish apocalyptic, especially referring to pseudo-Enoch and pseudo-Esdras.⁷¹ In terms of form, this is probably correct, but although the words of Christ are nowhere quoted, we observe in the writing traces of the "Two Ways", suggesting that the author, or authors, borrowed from Barnabas or the Didache, besides making reference to the New Testament,⁷² and the work may best be classified as Jewish-Christian in content.⁷³ There is no attempt to

⁷⁰ K. Lake, The Apostolic Fathers II, p. 2 f.; cf. G. Krüger, p. 41 f. Cf. Mand. IV. 3.1-6.

⁷¹ P. Schaff, History of the Christian Church II, 1910, p. 685; and see Krüger (p. 42).

⁷² In the essays published by the Oxford Society, The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, p. 105, Principal J. Drummond found that although the author nowhere supplies us with direct quotations from O.T. or N.T., he sometimes appears to borrow consciously ideas from the N.T., where the reference is veiled by intentional change of words.

⁷³ P. Schaff, loc. cit., cf. J. Armitage Robinson, Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache, 1920. If we accept Robinson's view, the theory of a Jewish manual disappears.

systematize beliefs; the Angel of Repentance (the "Shepherd") is the center of attention and the writer develops a kind of theology of his own.⁷⁴

At one time, it was widely held that Hermas was the one mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans,⁷⁵ but even patristic sources disputed this,⁷⁶ and quite likely it could be that the name Hermas is entirely fictional.⁷⁷ Other opinions differed widely, offering possibilities from a contemporary of Clement, and a presbyter at Rome, to the brother of the Bishop in Rome, Pius I, (ca. 140 A.D.)⁷⁸ It is much more likely a composite work of several authors, with the frequent Hebraisms indicating that if they were not all Jewish, there had been considerable influence of

⁷⁴ See W. J. Wilson, "The Career of the Prophet Hermas" HTR xx:1 (Jan. 1927), p. 43. On Reitzenstein's theory that Hermas borrowed his "Shepherd" from Poimandres, see R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 1904, pp. 11 ff., 33 ff.

⁷⁵ Rom. 16:14, see Origen, comm. in Rom. 16.14, and Eusebius, H.E. III.3, but cf. B. F. Westcott, On the Canon of the New Testament, p. 219 f.. W. J. Wilson (p. 33, n. 7) concludes it is fictional.

⁷⁶ Tertullian, de pudicitia 20.

⁷⁷ Cf. Sim. V. 5, 6.

⁷⁸ P. Schaff, p. 687 f., making reference to the suggestion in the Muratorian Fragment. Hence, mention of Pope Clement in Vis. II indicates the book was compiled in stages.

Jewish education and culture.⁷⁹

The date of composition can not be fixed with certainty. Obviously, being a composite work, it probably spanned a period of years. Earlier estimates argued for a date as early as 95 to 100 A.D.⁸⁰ On the other hand, references to persecution suggest a situation such as prevailed under Trajan, giving a date around 111, or later.⁸¹ A recent study suggesting three authors for the Shepherd puts the terminus of the writing as late as 170.⁸² R. M. Grant disputes this, believing the work to be not later than 140, as the references in the Muratorian Fragment would suggest.⁸³ We accept an approximation of from 110 to 140, allowing for composition in stages by one or several authors.

⁷⁹ G. Krüger, p. 42; cf. J. Quasten, I, pp. 92-3. On the influence of Jewish scriptures, see Harnack DG I, p. 175.

⁸⁰ On the strength of ref. to Clement in Vis. II. 4.3, Zahn, Salmon and Bigg argued for the earlier date (W. J. Wilson, p. 27). B. W. Streeter, The Four Gospels, 1924, p. 528, dates it at 100.

G./S/
H./

⁸¹ The persecution is cited in Sim. IX.28. A. Harnack, Chronologie, p. 266 f. indicated 110 to 140, and suggested that it was composed at intervals during this period; so also is the opinion of T. Zahn, Der Hirt des Hermas.

⁸² Stanislas Giet, Herma et les Pasteurs, 1963.

⁸³ R. M. Grant, p. 85. Grant agrees with G. Krüger (p. 45) on a single authorship, but allows that it may have been written in stages. Krüger disputes the witness in the Muratorian Frag. V. 73 f. (p. 44).

The Discussion of the "Slave"
and Remarks on Hermas' Christology

Of great interest for our study is the parable of the slave in the vineyard in Similitude V. As Harnack surmised,⁸⁴ the parable does not bear the marks of Hermas' own creation, but instead it appears that it was handed down to him and he was compelled to resolve what he regarded as a paradox⁸⁵ which it contained in reference to the Son of God. It will be helpful to cite those passages that have significance for the interpretation.

The parable treats of a certain man who had many slaves (δούλοι); he selected one who was much valued and commanded him to fence the vineyard which he had planted. The slave discharged his duties so well that, when the master returned, his pleasure was manifested in gratitude to the slave, whom he made co-heir with his son.⁸⁶ In discussing the interpretation of the parable, the writer

⁸⁴ A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als Knecht Gottes ...", SAB xxviii, p. 224.

⁸⁵ Sim. V. 5.5.

⁸⁶ Sim. V. 2.2-8.

comments:

Sim. V. 4.3: ὅς ἄν δούλος ᾦν, φησίν, τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ ἔχη τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ. . . . 87

(Everyone who was a slave/servant of God, he said, and has his Lord in his heart . . .)

can ask the Lord for understanding and receive it, being able to interpret whatever parable he encounters. This part of the discussion is of interest since it confirms that the believers are also classed as the Lord's δούλοι.

The listener, however, seeks further explanation, and receives it. Within this explanation are several very important points pertaining to Christology, and the identity of the slave, where δούλος now refers to an individual:

Sim. V. 5.2 f.: ὁ ἀγρός ὁ κόσμος οὗτος ἐστίν.
ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα
καὶ ἀπαρτίσας αὐτὰ καὶ δυναμύσας. 88

[ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐστίν.]

ὁ δὲ δούλος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν. 89

87 Our primary source is Molly Whittaker's text in GCS, Die apostolischen Väter I - Der Hirt des Hermas, 1956, p. 56, ln. 1-2.

88 This clause is disputed, occurring only in Vatican L¹ (the Old Latin Vulgate); it is omitted in A (Cod. Athous), L² (the Palestinian Latin) and E (Ethiopic).

89 Sim. V. 6.5-7; cf. A. Harnack, DG I, Eng. tr., p. 191.

(The field is this world; and the Lord of the field is the Creator of all things and he who perfected and strengthened them. /and the Son is the Holy Spirit;/ and the slave is the Son of God;)

The affirmation of the identity of the *δοῦλος* as the Son of God is unique in literature of this period. It is not made again in this writing and it is notable that he follows with other statements telling of the Owner of the vineyard elevating the Son and the angels to His presence, which runs close to adoptionism.⁹⁰ However, the statement cannot be minimized; it is the only occasion where an attempt to reckon with the paradox of Christ being called God's Slave or Servant is clearly evident, until the writings of Origen.⁹¹ In the thought of the third century exegete, the problem is met with the process of logic, but Hermas, a visionary, makes no such attempt. It is clear from the context, however, that the idea of Christ as a slave was questionable if not abhorrent to his way of thinking, and he immediately cancels the effect of the statement by asserting the authority and dominion of the Son.⁹²

⁹⁰ Sim. V. 6.5-7; cf. A. Harnack, DG I Eng. tr., p. 191.

⁹¹ See c. Cels. VII. 15 ff., which we discuss below, pp. 443ff.

⁹² Cf. Sim. V. 6.1: "... the Son of God is not given a guise of a slave, but behold, he is given great authority and dominion", (M. Whittaker, p. 57, ln. 5), and see Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als Knecht Gottes...", SAB xxviii, p. 224.

Noteworthy also in this quotation is the disputed reference identifying the Son with the Holy Spirit. Since the authority for this is questionable we can not press the meaning, but it is significant, when evaluated with a subsequent reference to the Spirit in the same parable. There the thinking has a strong adoptionist flavor. It reads:

... the holy pre-existent Spirit, which fashioned all creation, God made to live in such flesh as He pleased. 93

We may observe an interesting point of contrast with the thinking found later in a sermon by Melito of Sardis. Melito, writing near the end of the second century, drops the emphasis on God who, as sovereign, "made the Spirit to become flesh", instead stating that

he who made heaven and earth, who in the beginning created man, ... who was made flesh in a virgin, who was hanged upon a tree ... 94

In Hermas' period, the second Person in the Godhead is clearly distinguishable, whereas Melito's language betrays a confused theology that runs close to patripassianism.

93 Sim. V. 6.5.

94 Homily on the Passion 17.30 ff., cf. 13.27 ff., 14.1 ff., etc.

In concluding our remarks on Hermas, we may give brief attention to his 'Christology' in order to further clarify the context in which the naming of the Son as God's slave occurred. We can affirm that the apocalyptic writing betrays few of the normative elements of Christology found in the New Testament. He never uses the appellation Jesus Christ, nor does he apply the term Logos to Jesus Christ. We have commented on the tendency towards adoptionism, and from the passage cited above, it appears that the Godhead consists of a two-fold distinction of persons: God the Father, and the pre-existent Spirit, who is identified with the Son.⁹⁵ The flesh, who was Jesus, was so indwelt by the Spirit that he was elevated to become the companion of God and His Spirit as a result of his merits.⁹⁶ This does violence to New Testament assertions of the greatness of the divine act in the incarnation, and it is a shallow regard for the necessity of both the truly divine and truly human in the atonement of mankind.

⁹⁵ Sim. V. 6.5 ff., but cf. C. Taylor, The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels, 1892, p. 87 f., who believed that due allowance must be made for the incompleteness of the parable, and that the writer was concerned to represent the Spirit in bodily, human shape.

⁹⁶ B. J. Kidd, A History of the Church, To A.D. 461, Vol. I (to A.D. 313), 1922, p. 148.

Torrance observed that redemption in the Shepherd is not effected through the death of Christ, but that it is connected with His Person.⁹⁷ Similarly, and going hand in hand with the weakness of the writer's thought on the incarnation, divine revelation is not made through Christ, throwing doubt on his true position as Mediator.⁹⁸ It is all the more remarkable that there are various passages that speak of revelation through angels and the Church,⁹⁹ a tendency which may have bequeathed an importance legacy, and obscured the uniqueness of Christ on Calvary as the sole necessity of man's salvation.

The occurrence of a reference to the Son as God's slave has been considered, and with the immediate and positive affirmation of the Son's dominion and majesty it was seen to give no indication of the Servant Christology. It is important that Hermas had quite evidently felt the necessity of mentioning this subject which gives evidence

⁹⁷ T. F. Torrance, p. 113, cf. p. 115.

⁹⁸ Torrance, loc. cit. n. 4.

⁹⁹ Vis. II. 4.1 citing the Church as the old lady, created first of all things; cf. III. 3.31 and Sim. VIII. 13.1.

that it belonged to an earlier tradition, but was now denied. Of interest also, was the fact that the Shepherd shows a weakness in soteriology, and that mediation through Christ is submerged in emphasis on mediation through the Church and the angels. But the Servant prophecy as applied to Christ and His Church provides its own corrective to such misplaced emphasis, for it makes no assumption of cosmic proportions relating to the Church. Rather it defines the Church's task collectively as the continuation of the work of the Great Servant, who came not to be ministered unto, but to serve, and to bear the sin of many. If the Church would be the true Body of Christ, it may find this identity by emulating the Servant's vocation, and carry the world's sorrow to fulfill its destiny.

E. The Epistle of Barnabas

Characteristics and Date

Although the letter originally enjoyed acceptance as part of the canon, it was not long before this was disputed, as we may deduce from other sources, and it clearly does not give evidence of apostolic authorship.¹⁰⁰ Basically, the epistle is divided into two parts, chapters 1 to 17 being

¹⁰⁰ In the 4th cent. Cod. α it follows the Apocalypse and is found before the Shepherd of Hermas. Origen calls it a "catholic epistle" (c. Cels. I. 63) and appeared to rank it among the holy scriptures (comm. in Rom. 1.24). Although mentioned by Hegesippus (Eusebius, H.E. III. 16; IV. 22.1),

doctrinal in character, while chapters 18 to 21 are concerned chiefly with practical questions of Christian morality. In the first section, the typological relationship between the old covenant and the New is developed, which has some significance for our interest; in the second are presented practical exhortations employing the theme of the "Two Ways", suggesting a common source with the Didache.¹⁰¹

Estimates of the date of composition range from the latter part of the first century to the middle of the second. Lightfoot believed it could be as early as 79 A.D., while Harnack put it at "130 or 131".¹⁰² From internal

100 (con't)

Barnabas is not named as the author (cf. Irenaeus, adv. haer. III. 3.3, but see also H.E. V.6.2) and Jerome included it among the apocryphal writings.

The writer's generally negative attitude towards the O.T. is the strongest internal evidence against apostolic authorship. K. Lake listed it as anonymous (Vol. I, p. 337), and P. Schaff believed the writer was a converted Jew from Alexandria (p. 677, cf. B. J. Kidd, p. 157 f.), while R. M. Grant suggests Syriac origin (p. 77).

¹⁰¹ E. J. Goodspeed, criticizing the position of F. E. Vokes (The Riddle of the Didache), believed that the document known as the Doctrina underlies both the Did. and Barn., along with others, ("The Didache, Barnabas and the Doctrina", Anglican Theol. Rev. 27 (1945) pp. 228-47).

¹⁰² Chronologie, p. 427.

evidence it appears to have been written after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, yet probably before and certainly not later than its reconstruction under Hadrian.¹⁰³ The references to persecution do not establish the time with certainty, as there were numerous such occasions during this period. Judging from its naiveté of style and strongly anti-Judaic character, the tendency is to place it early, and we would accept a dating near the end of the first century.

Quotations from the Old Testament

With nearly one-fourth of the epistle taken up with Old Testament quotations, the selection made by our writer is of interest. Some believe that the citations give support to the hypothesis of a book of Testimonia circulating in the primitive Church.¹⁰⁴ What is clear in the content of the epistle is the author's preference for the use of figures from the Old Testament as "types" of Christ. Significant in this respect are the use of the lamb¹⁰⁵ and the figure

¹⁰³ Barn. 16.

¹⁰⁴ E. Haenchen (p. 4) cites Windish, referring to passages such as Isa. 66: 1,2 (cf. Acts 7:49 f.). On the "Testimony Book" hypothesis, see ch. II, n. 62 and 63.

¹⁰⁵ Barn. 5.2 citing Isa. 53: 5,7. The figure of the scape-goat is employed in Barn. 7 as a type of Christ at the trial.

that has come to be known as the Aquedah Issac. We will find traces of the latter in Melito's Homily, but the Aquedah in Barnabas is a unique occurrence in the literature of this period, where it is theologically associated with the sacrifice of Christ.¹⁰⁶

With the writer's interest in prefigurations of Christ in the Old Testament, one might expect to find considerable reliance on the figure of Isaiah's Servant. There are several undisputed quotations, one of which we have cited above containing the Isaianic references to the πρόβατον and the ἀμνός.¹⁰⁷ It is also true that this citation is introduced with a reference to the Lord's sacrifice, which was endured that we might be cleansed of our sins. In this respect, the use recalls the New Testament treatment in I Peter where the prophecy is regarded as foreshadowing Christ's passion.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Barn. 7.3, see Add'l Note III. 2: the occurrences in Melito are questionable, while a reference in Irenaeus is unrelated as a Christological type.

¹⁰⁷ Barn. 5.2.

¹⁰⁸ I Pet. 1:10 ff.; see J. V. Bartlet's comments in the findings published by the Oxford Society (The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, p. 14 f.) We do not suggest that the author had I Pet. in mind, and Bartlet classified the reference as uncertain.

However, the New Testament use of Second Isaiah's concept proceeds from the premise that the Servant's offering was announced as the $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ that God has visited on his people, whereas in Barnabas the grace was received by the prophets enabling them to make the pronouncement.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the writer follows the citation with a discussion of Christ the Judge and Teacher of His people stating that

... ἐφάνησεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ 110

(... He manifested Himself to be a Son of God).

In the first and second chapters of Peter, man is redeemed by the shed blood of Christ. There Christ is called the chief cornerstone, and the New Testament writer emphasizes that ~~it is~~ belief in God^{is} through Christ, and that 8/11 man's duty is to fear God, that suffering does not fall outside of God's will, and that the raison d'être of the chosen nation is to praise God.¹¹¹ The emphasis then is on

109 Barn. 5.6. T. F. Torrance believes that for Barnabas the act served only to avert death and destruction, and that the basis of appeal is on what the believer does, as opposed to what has been done for him (pp. 103-4).

110 Barn. 5.9_c

111 I Pet. 2:6, cf. 1:21; 2:17; 2:9.

God's sovereignty, which is in the closest accord with the original theme of II-Isaiah. Further, the offering of the Servant's sacrifice is a fait accompli, which enables the chosen nation to live victoriously in the midst of suffering. Theologically, Barnabas falls far short of these insights. Related to our inquiry is the context surrounding the affirmation that Christ is the Son of God ¹¹², with the language recalling the Servant passages, yet the title is "Son", not "Servant". For Barnabas, the Son of God appeared in the flesh, but theologically, the Servant's sacrifice is unrelated to the self-offering of Christ incarnate.

Included in quotations are two occurrences of the word *παῖς*, referred to Christ which are important for our study. The first citation follows:

6.1_b: Τίς κρινόμενος μοι; ἀντιστήτω μοι.
ἢ τίς ὁ δικαιούμενος μοι; ἐγγισάτω τῷ
παιδί κυρίου.¹¹³

(Who is he that will contend with me? Let him confront me; or, who is he who judges me? Let him come near the Servant of the Lord.)

The citation is unparalleled in the literature of this period. It appears to be the strongest assertion of a

¹¹²Barn. 5.9, cf. 5.11.

¹¹³The text is from Gebhardt and Harnack, I.1, p. 24. Cf. Isa. 50:8.

relation between Christ and Isaiah's servant that can be found outside of the apostolic period. Interesting is the insertion of the words $\tau\omega\ \piαιδὶ\ κυρίου$, which is implied, but not explicitly stated in the Septuagint. When the reference is found in the Homily of Melito, written near the end of the second century, these words are dropped.¹¹⁴ With the ambiguity of the $\piαῖς$, one cannot be sure of the writer's intention, but it is significant that in the later occurrence of this reference we have the omission of the phrase 'the Lord's $\piαῖς$.

The second usage refers to one of the Psalms. Here Barnabas has mixed a variety of Old Testament passages and the meaning of $\piαῖς$ is doubtful.

9.20: Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θέλων ρῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα;
ἀκοῆ ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς παιδός μου.¹¹⁵

(Who is the one wishing to live forever? Let him hear the voice of my servant/child.)

There is no theological connection with the servant figure here and Barnabas has followed the citations with his

¹¹⁴ Homily 17. 9-10, see below, pp. 267ff. For Barnabas, Harnack doubted it was a Jewish interpolation, more likely it was Christian. Was it before Barnabas? (See Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'" SAB xxviii, p. 222.)

¹¹⁵ Gebhardt and Harnack I.2, p. 40. Cf. Ps. 33(34): 11 f. In Cod. \aleph , the first part is lacking.

fanciful interpretation of the number which Abraham circumcised, rendering any judgement on the writer's meaning in this section highly questionable.

There is a further usage of the term $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ in the plural,¹¹⁶ which is not a Christological reference. At this point, the context makes it difficult to tell with certainty what meaning was attached to $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, but since the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ are identified with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, it would be logical to assume that the meaning here is the distinctive title often found in the Old Testament that referred to the Lord's Servants.¹¹⁷ The title, as it is used, is not an unworthy one, but an honored designation, which is often true for the occurrence of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ in the Old Testament, but lacks the subordinate aspect which is found in the conception of Deutero-Isaiah's Servant.

From the usages found in Barnabas, it appears that at this early time there was still a degree of association of the Servant Figure with Christ. The one emended citation is extraordinary for the writings of the period, and bears a marked contrast with later usage of the text from Isaiah 50:8

¹¹⁶ Barn. 8.3, cf. 8.4.

¹¹⁷ This opposes Roberts and Donaldson's translation of "boys" in the ANF, as well as that of J. A. Kleist, S. J., in Ancient Christian Writers No. 6 (ed. J. Quasten and J. C. Plumpe, 1948), p. 48.

by Melito. However, a theological apprehension of the servant doctrine is not native to our writer's thinking and in comparison with I Peter, there is a significant divergency in the way the expressions from Isaiah are handled. The traces of reference to the servant are not convincing that in Barnabas we have a genuine Servant Christology.

F. The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch

The Date and Importance of the Writings

Eusebius in his fourth century Chronicon placed Ignatius' martyrdom in 107 or 108, but this date appears to be too early, judging from what we know from other sources. Inscriptions on coins and other early documents indicate that the emperor Trajan who sentenced Ignatius to be devoured by wild beasts, did not come to Antioch until 114 or 115 A.D. With Zahn, we would accept the date of martyrdom after this, which places the date of the epistles in the probable range of 115 to 117.^{117a}

^{117a} Trajan's reign was from 98 to 117, and he did not come to Antioch on his Parthian expedition until 114 or 115. Either Ignatius' martyrdom would follow this, or else we must suppose he did not appear before the emperor at all, but before a provincial governor, after which he

The integrity of the Ignatian epistles has been challenged by some, on various grounds, but it is generally agreed that the shorter (or, "middle") recension is genuine and comprises the closest estimate of the literary remains of Ignatius.¹¹⁸ Eusebius knew of seven Greek letters written by Ignatius and sent to the Roman province of Asia, as well as to Rome and to Polycarp.¹¹⁹

117a (cont'd)

was sent to the Roman arena, (T. Zahn, Ignatii et Polycarpi, Epistulae, Martyria, Fragmenta 1876, p. 248 f., being Fasc. II in Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, ed. Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn). Cf. A. Harnack, Chronologie, pp. 381-406, dating the letters between 110 and 117, but admitting the possibility of a later date under Hadrian, before 125; J. B. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers II.1, pp. 1 ff., preferred the period of 110 to 118, believing that "twenty years at the outside separate the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians from the letters of Ignatius."

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Professor Virginia Corwin, in her very thorough study of Ignatius' theology, points out that early Protestant critics attacked the genuineness on the grounds that the monarchical episcopate did not exist in the early years of the 2nd cent., (St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch, 1960, p. 6). G. Krüger admitted the genuineness only of the shorter recension, written from Smyrna or Troas and Naples on the journey to Rome (pp. 30-32). P. Schaff has summarized the controversy (pp. 660-64), arriving at the same conclusion (p. 664). J. B. Lightfoot listed three different forms of the appearance of the letters; in his nomenclature the "Short" recension was that which was extant only in Syriac, containing IPol., IEph. and IRom. The "Middle", published by Cureton in 1845, he listed as containing these plus ISmyr., IMag., ITral., existing in the original Greek, but also in Latin, Armenian, Syriac and Coptic, (Lightfoot, II.1, pp. 70 ff.).

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Eusebius, H.E. III. 36.

Later, probably in the fourth century, the letters were extensively interpolated in what has come to be known as the "Long Recension", which existed in Greek and Latin only. By the end of the seventeenth century, the claims for validity of this interpolation and six spurious letters had been disposed of.¹²⁰

Related to the interest of our study, the six additional letters, as well as the interpolations of the Long Recension manifest a common doctrinal bias which sought to correct what was assumed to be the deviations by the true Ignatius. Lightfoot commented on these changes which tended to soften the patripassian effect of certain statements in the original. Whereas Ignatius had spoken of "the blood of God",¹²¹ and described "our God Jesus Christ" as "conceived in the womb of Mary",¹²² the Long Recension offers "the blood of Christ" and refers

¹²⁰ This was chiefly the result of the work of Vedelius of Geneva, Ussher and Voss (see Corwin, p. 4, and cf. G. Krüger, p. 30).

¹²¹ IEph. 1. in the shorter or "middle" Recension. All citations hereafter will be to this version, unless otherwise stated.

¹²² IEph. 18.

to "the Son of God who was begotten before the ages". These changes indicate that the language of the original may have been subjected to literalism, and it is not surprising that our author became an authority for Monophysite writers, however far this may have been from his intent.¹²³ With no direct evidence of an application of the Servant doctrine in Ignatius, these tendencies towards a high ^RChristology will be worthy of consideration, as an analysis of them contributes to the completion of our estimate of the theological development of the period.

Often regarded as coming closest to the apostolic thinking as represented in the New Testament, Ignatius was among the most important of the sub-apostolic writers. The chief threat to the continuance of his popularity was probably due to the distortions appearing through invention and interpolation.¹²⁴ Witnessing to an atmosphere of thought in which the steadying influence of

¹²³ Cf. Lightfoot II.1, p. 267, remarking that the hand of the interpolator witnesses to the Arian position, but is not truly Arian nor Sabellian (p. 271).

¹²⁴ R. M. Grant, "The Apostolic Fathers' First Thousand Years" CH xxxi:4 (1962), p. 429.

Western Roman culture was diminished, Ignatius' style shows a certain fervour and precipitancy typical of the "Asiatic" rhetoric of his day.¹²⁵ It is remarkable that in his exposition of doctrine we find no allegory and practically no examples of typology.¹²⁶ Lacking quotations from the Servant Songs, his work is important to our interest chiefly for what it exhibits of Asian Christological thought. This could generally be described as a 'high' Christology, as we noted, but his work is also important for its comparison in the treatment of Christ pre-existent with the positions of Justin and Melito, in particular, for his thoughts on the relationship of Christ and the Father, and for his interest in Christ's historical life.

The ostensible basis of the letters was to bring greetings to the churches, but doctrinally it is natural to assume that Ignatius is opposing two distinct heresies,

¹²⁵ Lightfoot, II. 1, p. 1; cf. R. M. Grant, The Apostolic Fathers Vol. I, p. 49.

¹²⁶ R. P. C. Hanson, Allegory and Event, p. 101.

that of the Judaizers, as discussed in Magnesians and Philadelphians, and the tendency towards Docetism.¹²⁷

It will be well to keep these factors in mind as we evaluate his theological position as it relates to both the cosmic Christ and to Jesus' humanity.

The Divine and Human in Ignatius' Christology

Virginia Corwin declares that

Ignatius' teaching about Jesus Christ starts... with the affirmation that real incarnation means that he is God in man... 128

It is certain that our writer went far to emphasize the two natures of Christ, as Torrance puts it, if 'Son of Man' represents the union with the race of men,

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Virginia Corwin affirms that Docetic Christology was a lively issue in Antioch and was becoming a problem in the Asia-minor churches (p. 91); cf. R. M. Grant (p. 54), who cites ITral. and ISmyr. as containing the writer's polemic against Docetism.

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Ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός (Long Rec.), which Corwin, following Lightfoot, believes is justified from patristic references from the time of Athanasius on. But the Greek and Latin of the Middle Recension offer *ἐν σαρκὶ γινόμενος θεός* . . . , accepted by Zahn, Bauer, Hilgenfeld and Funk. Cf. IEph. 7:2. (Corwin, p. 92).

'Son of God' represents His relation with the Father.¹²⁹ However, it may be questioned whether Ignatius' presentation of the true humanity implies a particularly vivid sense of the reality of history. It is true that expressions that were familiar to Paul recur in Ignatius' descriptions,¹³⁰ but Paul does not, like Ignatius, apply the words *θεός* and *ὁ θεός* to Christ. Cyril C. Richardson pointed out that the use of these terms is not limited to references to the Passion, nor solely to discussions of the divinity of Christ, but Richardson believed that there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that Christ and God are never confused in Ignatius.¹³¹ We believe this to be questionable for the reasons that follow.

129 T. F. Torrance, p. 57 citing IEph. 20.2. Torrance believes that Ignatius is conscious of its significance in the N. T.; Christ was from eternity with the Father (IMag. 6.1), He is God's only Son (IRom. intro.).

130 Typical are 'born of the seed of David' (Rom. 1:3, of IEph. 18.2); 'declared to be the Son of God with power' (Rom. 1:4, cf. ISmyr. 1.2). c/

131 C. C. Richardson, The Christianity of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, 1934, Th.D. Thesis preserved at the Library, Union Theological Seminary in New York. References are to the thesis, p. 63 f., cf. pp. 66, 69. The work was published as The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch, 1935.

In eight passages Ignatius applies $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ to Jesus Christ. In five of these, the expression is qualified by the phrase 'our God'.¹³² In one case, it is 'Jesus Christ the God' who has endowed the followers with wisdom.¹³³ The three instances that apply $\acute{\omicron}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ to Christ have disputed textual support, but when the expressions are compared with other similar occurrences, it would appear that Professor Corwin is correct in surmising that

Christ seems to have been for him so fully God that there was no point at which he hesitated to call him the divine name. 134

Further, it is most striking that Ignatius only once

¹³² V. Corwin, p. 313; see, for example, IEph. intro., 18.2; IRom. intro., 3.3, etc.

¹³³ ISmyr. 1.1.

¹³⁴ Corwin, pp. 131-2. Lightfoot held that because Ignatius used the 'blood of Christ' and the 'blood of God' as convertible expressions, "it does not follow... that he would therefore speak of Christ as 'God' absolutely" (Lightfoot II. 2, pp. 29-30). Richardson (p. 67) found little, if any, distinction made between $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\acute{\omicron}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ in classical Greek literature of the 2nd cent.

used δ $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ of God the Father.¹³⁵ This is the single instance of what is a characteristic usage in Paul and the Septuagint. More often, Ignatius speaks of Him simply as $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$.

Although this exaltation of Christ may seem strange for a writer who struggled against Docetism, it is probable that Ignatius was in agreement with the docetists in holding that the deity of Christ must be strongly asserted, since by it Christ was differentiated from other redeemer figures.¹³⁶ This fact was important in an era when the middle eastern myths were being widely circulated, and it may constitute one of the basic elements at the root of the reinterpretation of the person of Christ, in which increasing emphasis on the divinity obscures genuine humanity.

As to whether there are intrusions of gnostic titles in the genuine epistles of Ignatius, this subject has been adequately discussed in other sources and there is

¹³⁵ He urges the Ephesians to live in harmony with 'the purpose of God' (η γνώμη τοῦ θεοῦ), IEph. 3.2, and follows this by identifying Jesus Christ with this 'Purpose' (or, 'Mind').

¹³⁶ V. Corwin (p. 133), who adds, "it is no accident, then, that we find the Father and Jesus Christ linked in

no need to repeat it here.¹³⁷ Significantly, however, the study by Harald Hegermann has pointed out the fact that the exalted Christology represented in the hymn in Colossians in the New Testament has been taken over in the concept of divine manifestations, and forms a center of Ignatius pre-existence Christology.¹³⁸ Further, there are other evidences of the cosmic style of our writer, as when he speaks about the church. Hegermann

136 (cont'd)

so many ways in Ignatius' thought"

Some have held that Ignatius' struggle basically was with one group of heretical teachers, see, for example, H. Schlier, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen, Beihefte zur ZNTW 8 (1929), espec. p. 109.

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See H. Hegermann, Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler in hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum, in TU Bd. 82 (1961) pp. 127 ff.; cf. H. Schlier, pp. 5-32, and H. W. Bartsch, Gnostisches Gut und Gemeindefradition bei Ignatius von Antiochien (Beitrage zur Forderung Christlicher Theologie, ed. P. Althaus, Bd. 44, 1940) who held that the idea of divine unity in Ignatius is derived from gnosis (p. 166), and the divine silence is similar gnostic cosmogony (pp. 54 ff.). Corwin cited the references to the 'new man' or the 'perfect man' and believes we cannot conclude from these that Ignatius is using gnostic designations (pp. 111-115).

138 H. Hegermann, p. 129.

points out "die Kirche ist für Ignatius eine himmlische Grosse".¹³⁹ Although the heavenly Church is not separated from the Church on earth in Ignatius' view, his mystical idea of the celestial community is strange as related to the consecration by which the bishop understands his own martyrdom. Hegermann observes that while Paul understands his own life offering as baptism in Christ's passion,¹⁴⁰ and so changes the sacramental identity into history, Ignatius changes his historic passion in his interpretation into a new consecration. History for him, then, becomes a sacrament.¹⁴¹

From these remarks on his ideas of the Church, we can see that the writer's conception of "history" may be at variance with the current understanding of this term.

¹³⁹ H. Hegermann, p. 187, cf. p. 189. See ITral. 3.1 and cf. IMag. 6.2.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Gal. 2:20.

¹⁴¹ H. Hegermann, p. 187.

There is no doubt that Ignatius wanted to give asser-
 tion to Christ's humanity.¹⁴² Those who denied the flesh
 and blood of Christ, he says, have found a stumbling
 block in the cross,¹⁴³ and the true believers are those
 united through the true passion, who take refuge in His
 flesh.¹⁴⁴ However, there are other passages that show
 the penitent sinner as striving to imitate the One True
 Passion.¹⁴⁵ This betrays a weakness on our writer's part
 in apprehending the absolute finality and benefits of
 the offering made on Calvary.

There are other titles that are employed by Ignatius
 that do not conflict with his exalted Christology.
 Christ is called High Priest,¹⁴⁶ the mind of God, as we

¹⁴² Corwin (pp. 94 ff.) lists an adequate number of
 citations recalling Jesus' birth, genealogy, his
 baptism, anointment, persecution and suffering that
 show Ignatius' interest in the life of Jesus of Nazareth.

¹⁴³ Lightfoot, II. 1, p. 373 f., citing IEph. 18,
IMag. 9, IPhil. 3 etc.

¹⁴⁴ Lightfoot loc. cit., cf. IEph. intro., IMag. 11,
ITral. 2, etc.

¹⁴⁵ IRom. 6; see Lightfoot II. 2, p. 25.

¹⁴⁶ IPhil. 9.1.

have noted,¹⁴⁷ the knowledge of God,¹⁴⁸ indirectly, the lawgiver,¹⁴⁹ and the Logos.¹⁵⁰ I cannot accept von der Golz's position that the Logos is here used by Ignatius in the same sense as it is found in the Fourth Gospel.¹⁵¹ More likely, it refers to God's spoken active Word, which is part of the New Testament concept, deriving from the Hebrew usage,¹⁵² but it lacks the equally important teaching that this Word, seen in its power and action, is now become flesh.¹⁵³ The difference is important.

¹⁴⁷ IEph. 3.2.

¹⁴⁸ IEph. 17. This may be compared to the N. T. exposition of what constitutes 'knowledge of God' in particular, the teaching of the 4th Gospel: it is never asserted that man can have it, but he only may obtain it in Christ, (see my Add'l Note IV. 3).

¹⁴⁹ IEph. 9.2, IMag. 4.1, ITral. 13.2, cf. Corwin, p. 106.

¹⁵⁰ IMag. 8.2. The idea that the Word proceeds from God's silence refers to the concept that God is unknown (cf. Corwin p. 118), or utterly transcendent.

¹⁵¹ See E. F. von der Golz "Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologie" TV xii:3 (1894-5), p. 20

¹⁵² See Add'l Note II.1.

¹⁵³ Jn 1:14 cf. I Jn 1: 1 ff.

It bore a legacy in Justin's Logos speculation, as we shall see. In effect, it tends to depersonalize the Saviour so that soteriology is swallowed up in cosmology.

It is not surprising that Ignatius uses but once the title "Son of Man" and then it is paired with "Son of God".¹⁵⁴ Once Jesus is spoken of as *ὁ Χριστός*,¹⁵⁵ but frequently He is called 'Jesus Christ'. The title *κύριος* is normally used to indicate the relation of Christ to His Church, while "saviour" certainly is found in contexts that show the author's concern for the concrete acts of redemption. Yet, Virginia Corwin has rightly observed

for all Ignatius' certainty that redemption comes only in Christ, there is in the letters no fully developed doctrine of the saving work. ¹⁵⁶

Torrance commented that it was surprising that in Ignatius, who is the most Pauline of all the Apostolic Fathers, we find so much stress on attaining to God

¹⁵⁴ IEph. 20.2.

¹⁵⁵ IEph. 18.2.

¹⁵⁶ V. Corwin, p. 163.

through a martyrdom in imitation of Christ, and a failure to see the death of Christ as the final act bringing to completion the salvation of mankind.¹⁵⁷

With the letters representing an important period in the first quarter of the second century, we have commented on the author's emphasis and chief concerns for an interpretation of the person of Christ. It is remarkable that with a polemic against the docetists, he made no use of the Servant Songs, nor did he employ the title *παῖς* in reference to Christ. The writer clearly wished to give expression to Jesus' humanity, but exalted categories of thought dominate the description, and there is a consequent weakness in his apprehension of the atonement. The need for stressing the true divinity to give assertion to Christ's uniqueness against the gnostic redeemer myths may be held partly responsible, but the writer has carried the case too far. The cosmic Christ has achieved prominence so that the truth of the incarnation is receding into the background.

¹⁵⁷ T. F. Torrance, p. 138.

G. Polycarp

The "Epistle to the Philippians"

The letters of Ignatius provide a suitable introduction to Polycarp, with one being addressed to him, and in Polycarp's epistle, Ignatius is kept constantly before us, either by mention of his name or in the use of some similar expression.¹⁵⁸ Since the publication of P. N. Harrison's study, the theory that the epistle really contains two separate letters, composed about twenty years apart, has been generally accepted. It removes one serious objection to the dating of the Ignatian epistle, with Polycarp's first letter probably being composed shortly after Ignatius left Philippi, or at the latest, not long after his martyrdom.¹⁵⁹ The second letter consisted of the first twelve chapters, and was written

¹⁵⁸ J. A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers No. 6, p. 69; following P. N. Harrison, Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians, 1936, see espec. ch. 14, pp. 163 ff.

¹⁵⁹ P. N. Harrison; the thesis of the two dates is advanced in ch. II. Harrison believed the 1st letter consisted of Pol. Phil. 13 and possibly 14, being a covering note sent by the Bishop of Smyrna who was then in his 40's (Harrison, p. 15) which would put this at about 117 A.D.

after the name of Ignatius "had become a blessed memory." The date of this second epistle would be near the end of Hadrian's reign, if not afterwards.¹⁶⁰

It is probable that the fusion into one epistle took place soon after Polycarp's death, or around 156 A.D.¹⁶¹

In contrast with the spontaneous style of Ignatius, Polycarp's writing is calm and lacking in originality or speculative interest.¹⁶² Irenaeus, as recorded by Eusebius, indicates that Polycarp sat at the feet of St. John,¹⁶³ and was appointed to the see of Smyrna by the apostles.¹⁶⁴ His life spans the period of the early

¹⁶⁰ P. N. Harrison, (p. 16 cf. 107 ff., 155 ff.). Harnack assigned the period of both Pol. Phil. and Mart. Pol. as between 110 and 154 (Chronologie, p. 388); Dibelius reckoned the epistle was composed between 110 and 120. (RGV IV, p. 1333).

Harrison reasoned that chs. 1-12 would belong at least to the third decade of the 2nd cent. when all the churches knew of Ignatius' martyrdom.

¹⁶¹ P. N. Harrison, p. 16. Cf. K. Lake, Vol. II, p. 310. The history of the MSS is referred to by G. Krüger (p. 26).

¹⁶² Cf. T. F. Torrance, pp. 90-1.

¹⁶³ Eusebius, H.E. V. 20.5.

¹⁶⁴ Irenaeus, adv. haer. II. 3.4. Lightfoot (II. 1, p. 567) called Polycarp the "most venerable of the Apostolic Fathers".

Church from the apostolic era to the time of Irenaeus.

Doctrinally, the letter is chiefly important for its repudiation of thoroughgoing docetism, the attack principally being levelled against Marcion.¹⁶⁵ It is strange, therefore, that the writer fails to develop the thoughts on the incarnation, but clearly the writer does not provide us with evidence of profundity of thinking on this subject. While he strongly maintains that whoever does not confess Christ has come in the flesh is Antichrist, he seems to regard the Lord's sacrifice as an example to be followed, rather than of itself constituting the finality of man's salvation.¹⁶⁶ This tends to support Torrance's thesis that in the final analysis, the writers of this period failed to grasp the significance of the death of Christ.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Pol. Phil. 7. That the attack is directed against Marcion is maintained by P. N. Harrison, cf. pp. 172-206. Irenaeus relates how Polycarp confronted Marcion by calling him "the first-born of Satan" (adv. haer. III. 3.4).

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Pol. Phil. 8 and 9. While the language of ch. 8 may recall that of I Peter 2:21 ff. (see P.V.M. Benecke in the Oxford Society's publication The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, p. 86 f.) there is lacking the theological association with Isa. 53:9.

¹⁶⁷ See T. F. Torrance, p. 137.

Christ is "Saviour",¹⁶⁸ "High Priest",¹⁶⁹ and "Son of God"¹⁷⁰ and is often referred to as "Lord". Significantly, in the epistle there is no mention of Christ as Servant. Generally, it may be seen that high terminology dominates the writer's language,¹⁷¹ and although it witnesses to the theology of a period before the middle of the second century, there is a complete absence of Christological reference to Isaiah's servant figure.

The "Martyrdom of Polycarp"

Through a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Christian community of Philomelium in Greater Phrygia we have an early detailed account of Polycarp's heroic martyrdom.¹⁷² The letter bears the signature of a certain Marcion, and contains its own chronological appendixes.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Pol. Phil. intro., cf. 1.3.

¹⁶⁹ Pol. Phil. 12.2. On the prayer to God the Father and Jesus Christ, the eternal High Priest, cf. Heb. 6:20; 7:3, 17.

¹⁷⁰ Pol. Phil. 12.2.

¹⁷¹ P. Schaff, p. 666.

¹⁷² J. Quasten, Vol. I, p. 77. The date of the martyrdom would be in 156, under the persecution of Antonius Pius.

¹⁷³ Mart. Pol. 21 and 22.

It is generally accepted that this is a genuine and contemporary account of Polycarp's death.¹⁷⁴

The account is important to our field of inquiry since on several occasions Christ is called the Lord's *παῖς*. It is to be noted, however, that all of the occurrences are found in the prayers, the first two being in the prayer of chapter 14, while the last is in doxology of the treatise in chapter 20. It is likewise significant that in each case, qualifying words are appended. The prayer of chapter 14 opens as follows:

14.1 κύριε ὁ θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ πατὴρ . . . 175

(Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed child/son Jesus Christ...)

The prayer continues with the assertion that through Christ has been granted the knowledge of the Father. It concludes

¹⁷⁴ Cf. K. Lake, II, p. 309.

¹⁷⁵ T. Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* II, p. 154; cf. Lightfoot II. 3, p. 387, who translates "'Thy Son', rather than 'Thy Servant'", citing his remarks on the prayer in *I Clem.* 59 (see my Intro., n. 18).

The solemn address to God is a familiar formula, cf. Rev. 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7; 21:22.

with the words of praise and exalted categories applied to Christ which provide important evidence of the writer's intentions:

14.3 . . . σὲ δοξάσω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ
 ἑπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός . . . 176
 (...I glorify Thee through the eternal and
 heavenly High Priest Jesus Christ, Thy be-
 loved child/son...)

Similarly we find the expression in the concluding doxology infers the highest possible status to the *παῖς*,

20.2... διὰ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 177
 (...through His son/child the only begotten
 Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, might and
 majesty forever.)

It is clear that our author is not thinking here of Christ as Servant. The usage of *παῖς* has been taken over from the prayer formula, and the terms used to assert Christ's majesty that are appended leave no doubt that the word no longer carries any sense of subordinate status, but is interpreted as referring to the filial relationship

176 T. Zahn, pp. 154-6; cf. Lightfoot II. 3, p. 388.

177 T. Zahn, p. 162. Zahn connects the *διὰ παιδός* with what follows, but Lightfoot (p. 399, see n. on ln. 15) regarded it as connected with the preceding words.

to God the Father. As Harnack observed,

Also ertrug man das einfache $\acute{\omicron}$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ σου Ἰησοῦς
nicht mehr, und man prazisierte es so,
dass $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ nun notwendig als 'sohn'
verstanden werden musste. 178

While Polycarp is not to be regarded as evidence of considered theological speculation, it bears importance to our study for the citations found in the prayers, and for the exalted categories used of Christ. That the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ found in the prayers of the Martyrdom of Polycarp represented a permanent reinterpretation to mean God's Son is witnessed to by substitution found in the later Greek as well as Latin manuscripts, as Harnack pointed out.¹⁷⁹ The evidence indicates that by the middle of the second century $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ was still used for Jesus, but no longer could the writers bear to think of Him as Servant.

178 A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'" ...SAB xxviii, p. 221; cf. H. W. Wolff p. 115. Remarking on the appellation of "only-begotten", Harnack believed this was a Johannine derivation, but added an important clarification: it was not the Logos, but the Logos made flesh who was God: only-begotten, by which is implied that the historical Jesus took His beginning through a unique act of God (loc. cit. n. 1).

179 A. Harnack, p. 222: the 9th cent. Codex Mosquensis reads σου υἱοῦ for the title in Mart. Pol. 14.1, while Latin MSS offer "filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi". For the citations in 14.3 and 20.2, the Latin omits or emends the reading to exclude any possibility of an inferior reference.

H. The Epistle to Diognetus

Christian Apologetic and the Date of the Epistle

Not only the works of the Apostolic Fathers, but also the apologetic literature of the second century constitutes an important phase in witnessing to the development of Christian thought in the second and third generations of the Church. In the intercommunion of Jew and Greek following the diaspora, the Jews found themselves in a new intellectual world, and some measure of accommodation was inevitable. Similarly, as Christianity began to spread, the point of contact with pagan societies would have to be maintained if evangelism was to be effective. It became the task of the apologists to establish and to maintain this bridge with the heathen world. Among the few surviving works of the apologetic age, the Epistle to Diognetus deserves an honorable place.

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A. Neander, General History of the Christian Religion and Church, Eng. tr. J. Torrey, Vol. II, p. 425. H. G. Meecham reckons that "the works of the Apostolic Fathers (c. A.D. 96-150) and the Apologists (c. A.D. 150-200) form a vital link in the continuity of New Testament teaching", (The Epistle to Diognetus, 1949, p. 1., cf. p. 3). Meecham's critical study, including the text, constitutes our primary source for this inquiry.

Addressed to a high-ranking pagan, there is a discernible similarity of content with the writings of Aristides, although direct dependency is lacking.¹⁸¹ e/

Some believed Hippolytus of Rome to be the author of chapters 11 and 12, which would place the date of that part at the beginning of the third century.¹⁸² Others have linked the epistle with the supposedly lost Apology of Quadratus,¹⁸³ and Campbell Bonner has raised the question of whether the last two chapters once belonged to Melito's Homily.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ J. Quasten, Vol. I, p. 248.

¹⁸² See L. B. Radford, The Epistle to Diognetus, 1908, p. 32 and cf. R. H. Connolly, "The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to Diognetus", JTS 36 (1935) pp. 347-53, and also in JTS 37 (1936) pp. 2 ff. Connolly (JTS 36, p. 351) believed it belonged to the age of Hippolytus, at the earliest.

¹⁸³ Following a series of studies, P. Andriessen offered a summary of his findings in "The Authorship of the Epistula ad Diognetum", Vig. Chr. 1 (1947), pp. 129-136. Andriessen pointed out that the extant fragment of Quadratus' Apology preserved in Eusebius' H.E. IV. 3 answers what should be expected between vss. 6 and 7 of Diog. 7.

¹⁸⁴ C. Bonner, The Homily on the Passion by Melito, Bishop of Sardis (Studies and Documents XII), 1940, pp. 60 ff.; although Bonner admits that conceivably Hippolytus wrote these chapters in his younger days, while still being influenced by Melito (p. 62).

From an internal standpoint, the universality of thought and tone make it difficult to fix the date. Some scholars have estimated it to be as early as 117 A.D., while others assigned it to the latter half of the second century, or even as late as the end of the third.¹⁸⁵ Clearly, there has been little accord reached in answer to this problem. H. G. Meecham has listed some general considerations in favor of an early date,¹⁸⁶ and we would accept an approximation that the bulk of the epistle belongs to the middle of the second century.

¹⁸⁵ H. G. Meecham (pp. 18-19) cites the various opinions which have been held: Westcott, as early as 117; Otto and Bunsen, ca. 135; Ewald, 120 to 130; Zahn 250 to 310; Harnack, 170 to 310; G. Krüger, before Bar Cochha (135); and A. Puech, who places it soon after Justin Martyr.

The assignment of authorship at one time to Justin may be traced to a 16th cent. copyist who placed the writing in an edition with other works ascribed to the apologist.

¹⁸⁶ Among the considerations (Meecham, pp. 19-20) are the condemnation in common of paganism and Judaism, a relatively simple Christology, much less elaborate than that of Origen, a doctrine of the Logos, but no doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and lack of speculation as well as little evidence of the philosophic difficulties involved in the incarnation of the Son of God (cf. Origen, c. Cels II. 31).

Doctrinal Teaching and the Uses of $\Pi\alpha\tau\iota$ in the Epistle

It is strange that as the writer develops his argument there is no explicit use made of the Old Testament. Often, the apologists are found quoting from the prophets to establish the truth of the Christian faith, and they frequently correlate the revelation through the Law with the new revelation in Christ.¹⁸⁷ For the author of the epistle, the proof and truth of the Christian claim lies in the purity and nobility of Christian lives.¹⁸⁸

From a doctrinal standpoint, the failure to mention the Holy Spirit seems to lend support to an early date of the epistle. There is only a general reference to the historic life of the Son, and none to His suffering, death and resurrection.¹⁸⁹ More significant for our particular interest, when he speaks of the Word's entry into human life, the titles used are those that signify

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Justin, I Apol. 30, cf. 53, and often in the Dial.; see also Athenagoras, Suppl. 9; Theophilus, and Autol. II. 9.

¹⁸⁸ See Diog. 5.4 f., 10.5 f.

¹⁸⁹ The reference in Diog. 5.12 is applied to Christian believers, but it speaks of "life" and not eternal life, and in 6.8 the reference to the immortality of the soul is vague and unrelated to Christ's resurrection.

His exalted status, and the writer gives due space to comments about his cosmic activity. He says

...(God) did not, as one might have imagined, send to men a servant (ὑπηρέτης) or angel...but He sent the Creator and Artificer of the universe (δημιουργός τῶν ὄλων)... 190

It seems that the author is struggling to assert the Son's role as revealer of God. Before the Son's coming, man was ignorant of the Knowledge of God.¹⁹¹ But he also declares that there is one God and Lord of the universe who has revealed Himself by faith.¹⁹² In context, it is the Son to whom our writer refers, whom God gave up as a ransom for sinners, but always he stresses the true divinity of His person, and shows scant awareness of the

190 Diog. 7.2 (Meecham, p. 82). Later in the same chapter the exalted, incarnate Word is described as King, as One who exercises the office of judge, as Saviour, and as God and man. Cf. the list of titles in Diog. 9.6, none of which infer any subordinate status, and among which is included the exhortation that we should consider Him as Father (πατήρ).

191 Diog. 8.1

192 Diog. 3.2, cf. 8.6.

reality of the incarnation.¹⁹³ It is not surprising that redemption is conceived basically from the point of view of 'moral influence'. It is achieved by God's love awakening its response in humanity, but there are traces of the idea of a divine transaction.¹⁹⁴

There are uses of the title *παῖς* in the letter where it clearly refers to Christ, the Son of God. A typical example may be cited:

8.9 ἐννοήσας δὲ μεγάλην καὶ ἄφραστον
 ἔννοιαν ἀνεκοινώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί . . . 195
 (and having conceived a great and unutter-
 able plan, He communicated it to His son/
 child alone.)

Other similar usages follow, all of which serve to indicate the intimacy of relationship between God the Father and His *παῖς*.¹⁹⁶ As Harnack pointed out, the inferior meaning of the word is no longer considered, and is

193 Diog. 9.2.

194 Diog. 10.3 (cf. I Jn. 4:19) and 9.2, 5 (cf. Rom. 8:32 and Mk. 10:45). See H. G. Meecham, p. 24, who also points out hints of the idea of satisfaction (9.5).

195 H. G. Meecham, p. 84.

196 Diog. 8.11, cf. 9.1.

simply used interchangeably with υἱός.¹⁹⁷ As regards the conception of God's counsel with the pre-existent Logos, the idea has been traced to Genesis 1:26, and it is reflected in other literature of this period.¹⁹⁸ If any distinction exists between the terms, it is the παῖς that reflects the usage that is exclusively divine, referring to Christ pre-existent, with whom God took counsel in planning the Creation. It is certainly far removed from παῖς that translated the Ebed of Second Isaiah.

¹⁹⁷ A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'" SAB xxviii, p. 225. Cf. Athenagoras, Suppl. 12, in a discussion of the Trinity, and Justin, II Apol. 2 where the term refers to the son of the emperor. H. G. Meecham (p.126) remarks on the opinion held by some that omissions may have occurred after the citation in Diog. 8.9. He adds that "the epithets ἀγαπητός and μονογενής (which may be virtually synonymous...) are used of παῖς (8.11) and υἱός (10.2) respectively. If we can at all refine here, Christ as παῖς shares and reveals the Father's plan of salvation (8.9, 11; 9.1); as υἱός he is 'sent' and effects it (9.2, 4; 10.2)", (loc. cit.). As to Meecham's comments (loc. cit.) that παῖς is to be understood in Did. and Barn. as 'servant', we have already disproved this.

¹⁹⁸ H. G. Meecham, p. 125, citing Hermas, Sim. IX. 12.2, and cf. Barn. 5.5, and Theophilus, ad Autol. II. 18.

There is much that is doctrinally incomplete in the Epistle to Diognetus. However, it provides a further witness to the development of thought in the middle of the second century. From the standpoint of Christology, it is manifestly evident that the Son pre-existent occupies a prominent place in the writer's conception. The practical aspects of theology, the fruits of Christian believers, are also important to the author, but he fails to link the service of Christ incarnate with these manifestations. The idea of Kenosis is non-existent in his thinking. There is, consequently, a gap between God's true revelation and the point at which it touches humanity. He has not understood Isaiah's Servant figure as related to Christ's earthly ministry, and, in fact, has avoided using prophecy at all in his exposition. It is interesting that the apprehension of the atonement is likewise limited, with the author's failure to grasp the totality of the incarnation and its effects for man's salvation.

I. Summary

In our examination of the sub-apostolic writers we have observed a propensity to a one-sided understanding of the nature of Christ. It would appear that a certain

parallel exists between this limitation and a similarly incomplete apprehension of the fathers' understanding of the spirit of divine grace, which Professor T. F. Torrance has shown to exist in this period.¹⁹⁹ Whereas Torrance believed that the early Church tended to appropriate the saving efficacy of the Cross by making its own way to martyrdom, which is really a failure to apprehend the decisiveness of Calvary, it has been similarly shown that reverence for the person of Jesus was limited to acceptance of His divinity, but neglecting the equally essential fact of His humanity. Most assuredly, this is a failure to understand the greatness of divine grace as it is manifest in the Kenosis. Kenosis in this sense does not reduce the stature of God, but is proof of His infinite love. As a result of this failure, the atonement is not grasped as fully accomplished, and the tendency is to accept personal martyrdom as part of the continuing process of sanctification of humanity. God's historical Act thereby becomes reduced in importance. This was true for Ignatius, and

¹⁹⁹ T. F. Torrance, the conclusions are enumerated, pp. 133-41, but R. M. Grant doubts this (see the art. in the Angelic Theol. Rev. (July, 1962) p. 14).

may have been to a limited extent for Polycarp. Ignatius was concerned to stress the uniqueness of Christ in the face of the growing importance of the gnostic redeemer myths, which he felt necessitated a strong assertion of Christ's true divinity. But Christ was also unique as being the True Man, man as God intended him to be-- in the image of his Creator.

None of the writers we have examined thus far is able to admit this fact. The writers used exalted terms in speaking of Christ, and where $\mu\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ occurred, it was either ^{the} ~~as a~~ result of the influence of the prayer formula, or it was understood in the sense of "Son". ^{The only reference} ~~The nearest~~ ^{suggesting a trace} ~~approximation to a semblance~~ of the Servant Christology occurred in Barnabas, but it was far from complete. In the apocalyptic writing, the Shepherd of Hermas, the writer explains away any subordinate inference from his discussion of the slave as God's Son. In the apologetic treatise, the letter to Diognetus, the writer is pre-occupied with Christ pre-existent, and there are serious limitations to the doctrinal teaching of the epistle. The implication is that we have moved away from some important truths in the New Testament, and it will be worthwhile to determine if these tendencies are carried further.

CHAPTER II

THE EXALTED CHRIST IN THE DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO

A. Prolegomena

Spheres of Influence in the Mid-Second Century

Professor W. C. Van Unnik, in his preliminary investigation of the documents found at Nag Hammadi, has called attention to the variety of "spheres of influence" in the second century of the Christian era and the complex syncretism which they produced.¹ Inter alia he cites the Iranian (ancient Persian), Babylonian, and Egyptian abstractions which helped to form the Weltanschauung of the Mediterranean peoples. Iranian dualism, Mesopotamian astrology and the

¹ W. C. Van Unnik, Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings, 1960, pp. 35 ff.; cf. R. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity Eng. tr. 1956, pp. 209 ff.. However, as R. McL. Wilson has pointed out, we cannot be content with assigning all Jewish, Christian, and gnostic borrowings under the overworked heading of 'syncretism'. (The Gnostic Problem, 1958, pp. 68 ff.). A. von Harnack believed the process of Hellenizing the Gospel began early (50-150 A.D.), DG I, Eng. tr., p. 143, f.n. 2; Cf. pp. 223 ff. on the development of Gnostic doctrines.

For a contemporary survey of studies on the Near-Eastern redeemer myths, with an evaluation of Reitzenstein's theory, see Carsten Colpe, Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule, 1961.

mystery cults² all played a part in the formation of man's view of himself in relation to the cosmos.

Into a world in which syncretism embodied the spirit of the age came the Church with its proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In obedience to the Command of the Lord to make this proclamation, the early Christians were brought into contact with these thought patterns, but in addition, and of greater significance in influencing the terms in which this proclamation was cast, were two other factors: the religious tradition of Judaism³ and the philosophy of the Hellenists.

The extent of influence of Jewish thought and imagery at the time and locale of Justin's writing was considerable. It has been pointed out by numerous writers that there can be no facile division, either geographically, or in clearly

² To Justin, the Mystery cults were evidence of the Devil's power to distort true prophecy, (Dial. 69, 70, and, especially, 78; cf. Apol.I. 62, 66). Henry Brown gave an ample discussion on the view of Satan's use of the Mysteries as a distorted imitation of the sacred rites of true religion (Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, orig. 1745, repub. 1846; for comments on Dial. 78 cf. p. 174.). See also F. J. Foakes Jackson, The History of the Christian Church, (to A.D. 461), 1909, p. 185.

³ The outstanding analysis of Talmudic Judaism is still the study by G. F. Moore, Judaism in the First Three Centuries of the Christian Era. Vols. I-III, 1927-30. A more recent treatment, covering the development of Judaism from the Patriarchal period to modern times in summary fashion, but nevertheless of value, is Isidore Epstein's Judaism, a historical presentation, 1959, (refs. to Pelican Book ed.).

defined schools of thought, between "Palestinian" and "Hellenistic" Judaism.⁴ Accordingly, while the division of Palestinian as opposed to Hellenistic Jewish thought

⁴ W. L. Knox's essay in the symposium, The Contact of Phariseeism with Other Cultures, 1937, (Vol. 2 of Judaism and Christianity, ed. by W. O. E. Oesterly), discusses the familiarity with Greek philosophy that was present in Rabbinic Judaism. The intermixture of influences is similarly pointed out in Knox's Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, 1944, see espec. p. 30. W. D. Davies Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, 2nd ed. 1955, writing to defend the conception of Paul first and foremost as a Pharisee reared in the mainstream of Rabbinic theology, still acknowledges the extent of Hellenistic influence, asserting the composite atmosphere with both Hellenistic and Jewish currents of thought even "at Jerusalem itself", (p. 12). Earlier, he observes that Judaism of the period was far more variegated than Rabbinic sources would lead us to suspect, (pp. 3, 4). MacGregor and Purdy, Jew and Greek, (1936, new ed. 1959), acknowledge the general unification of Judaism based on the Torah, but assert that within the community "a large freedom of thought and action was possible, and the sources reveal that such diversity was actual," (p. 103), cf. pp. 240, 250.

The earlier position of C. G. Montefiore in Judaism and St. Paul, pp. 26-48, which draws a clear-cut distinction between the Judaism of Palestine and that of the Diaspora, is not to be accepted. Cf. W. D. Davies, pp. 4 ff..

T. F. Glasson, Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, 1961, pp. 5, 6, cites S. Liebermann's book, Greek in Jewish Palestine, especially pp. 39, 145, illustrating Greek influence on Jewry in pre-Christian times as well as the 1st Century A.D.. Cf. the article by Liebermann and Daube in the Hebrew Union College Annual, XXII, pp. 239 ff..

To mention the diversity of influences is not to ascribe wholeheartedly conflicting beliefs to circles of Judaism. E. R. Goodenough, By Light, Light, 1935, and Politics of Philo Judaeus, 1938, goes too far in contending that Philo was actually a member of a Jewish Mystery cult. See W. F. Albright's discussion in From the Stone Age to Christianity, 2nd ed. 1946, (refs. in Doubleday Anchor Book, 1957), pp. 345-380.

patterns assumed by E. R. Goodenough⁵ presents a logical appeal, we cannot subscribe to the simplicity of his characterization. Of more interest for the suggestive contrast in Justin's Christology is Goodenough's comment that personifications of Memra, Torah, and Wisdom, like the Bath Kol and Shechina, were never conceived as minor deities in the Jewish mind. The Semite has always been a visionary who discussed abstractions in concrete language, so he considers these 'personifications' as nothing more than the Semitic imagery of literary device.⁶ While it may be maintained by some that the monotheism of Palestinian Judaism was never broken by the conception of intermediate deities, the same cannot be said for the Christian apologists in the middle of the second century. Our discussion of

⁵ E. R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr, 1923, pp. 33-35.

⁶ E. R. Goodenough, p. 34, in agreement with Schechter ("Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology", Jewish Quarterly Review VIII:9), states that although highly figurative language may have grown about the Torah, no personalization was intended by the Rabbis. See also V. Hamp on Wisdom, Der Begriff 'Wort' in dem aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen, 1938, p. 121.

However, there is a dispute among scholars as to whether the O.T. presents Memra as an independently acting subject, cf. G. Kittel, TWBNT IV, pp. 89 f.; H. Ringgren, Word and Wisdom, 1947, pp. 161 f.

Justin's speculation on the Logos will bear application in this regard. Although in Judaism 'personification' may have been limited to descriptive imagery, for a Christian apologist who had contact with Judaism, and, at the same time, with philosophical speculation which developed the notion of an imminent power, the terminology of Judaism may have had an influence in the direction of ditheism.⁷

As Justin himself asserts, his approach to Christianity has been by way of a pilgrimage through the philosophical schools.⁸ While Goodenough saw a form of Platonism reflected in Justin Martyr,⁹ it would be more accurate to trace the philosophical borrowings in Justin neither to Plato nor to contemporary Stoicism, but instead to the so-called Middle Platonist tradition, where Plato is interpreted with a religious hue, and with which Stoic

⁷ E. Hatch, Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages, pp. 261 ff., found the theory contained in Justin's Logos doctrine tending towards ditheism, cf. Dial. 61, also 56. This charge was made in the third century by Hippolytus 9.12. See also C. Semisch, Justin Martyr, Vol. I, Eng. tr., pp. 322-3, 328.

⁸ Dial. 1 - 6.

⁹ E. R. Goodenough, pp. 31-32. He adds that the popular urge to mysticism opened the door to the Eastern Mysteries, with hypostatization of the Divine $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ or $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ as the next logical step.

doctrines have been assimilated in a remodelled "immaterialized form".¹⁰ It may be, also, that Justin's immediate source for some of his appellations regarding the Logos were by way of Philo, although this debate must be excluded from our present study.¹¹ Perhaps the best summary of conditions of influence in Justin's time, and his orientation in respect to these influences, may be found in two statements by Ragnar Holte:

¹⁰ Ragnar Holte, "Logos spermatikos: Christianity and Ancient Philosophy according to St. Justin's Apologies", Studia Theologica 12 (1958), p. 115, citing Carl Andersen's article, "Justin und der mittlere Platonismus", ZNTW 44 (1952-3), pp. 157 ff.. Cf. Add'l Note II.1.

¹¹ R. Holte, pp. 117 ff.; cf. his summarizing remarks on this question that the Logos concept is often cited in evidence of the position that the apologists are regarded as transformers of the N.T. into a rationalistic-philosophical direction. To Holte, this represents a distortion: "When Justin assigns the epithets Logos, Son of God, First Born of God, Power and Apostle to Christ (Apol. I 23.2; 32.10; 63.4), he is using N.T. terminology. Philo certainly uses these epithets, but Justin's main source is to be found in St. John and St. Paul, since Justin has followed the N.T. on the point which marks the deviation from Philo: these epithets are claimed for a historical person, Jesus". But Holte adds that the predicates "Angel" and "Logos Spermatikos" come to our writer by way of Philo. With H. Hegermann, (Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum", TU Bd. 82, p. 76, cf. pp. 66-7) it is necessary to distinguish between Philo and sources lying behind Philo, which bear traces in Justin. Otto Piper opposes those who frequently trace Justin's Logos to borrowings from Philo or Stoicism, "at the best he might have received from these philosophies the stimulus for the use of that term", "The Nature of the Gospel According to Justin Martyr", JR 41:3 (1961), p. 156.

By the middle of the second century A.D., Christianity had expanded to such an extent over the ancient world, that a theological confrontation with the contemporary heathen culture and learning was absolutely necessary ... (Justin) clearly takes a traditionalist position towards the Christian doctrinal tradition and an eclectic position to the philosophical tradition. 12

Text, Authorship and Date

The text of the three extant editions of Justin's works is based almost entirely on a single manuscript, Codex Regius Parisinus CDL, formerly numbered 1428, later 2270, but now known as Paris 450, which dates from 1364.¹³

While the manuscript includes other works formerly assigned to Justin, there is general agreement among patristic

¹² R. Holte, pp. 109, 117. See W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, 1939, p. ix, who observes that Hellenistic man's aim was to find a philosophical basis that would justify his continuing the practice of religion which had attracted him and which he had inherited, and cf. O. Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity IV, 1911, Eng. tr., p. 432.

¹³ J. C. T. Otto, S. Iustini Philosophi et Martyri Opera Tom. I, 1847, prol: xix; J. Donaldson, History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, 1866, pp. 144-145; A. Von Harnack, TU I:1 (1883) p. 77; E. R. Goodenough, p. 80; A. Lukyn Williams, Justin Martyr the Dialogue with Trypho, 1930, p. xvi. As Lukyn Williams has pointed out, it is reasonable to assume that MS Cheltenham, dtd. 1541, is a copy of C (Paris, 1364). The text of Otto, is the best available based on Paris 450, and is used in this study. It includes the Greek text and Otto's translation in Latin. Henceforth it is cited as "Otto".

scholars to-day that the only surviving works of genuine Justinian authorship are the two apologies (which are really one) and the Dialogue with Trypho.¹⁴ Charles Semisch, in an ample comparison of the Dialogue with Justin's Apology,¹⁵ concluded beyond doubt that the authorship was genuine,¹⁶ and we accept this position.

The date of the writing may be fixed with reasonable precision. From the dates of Justin's birth (ca. 100 A.D.)¹⁷

¹⁴ F. L. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers, 1960, p. 52, following B. F. Westcott, On the Canon of the New Testament, 1875, p. 97. Among others in agreement are: M. Dods, G. Reith and B. P. Pratten, Justin Martyr and Athenagoras, 1867, in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library Vol. II, ed. by Roberts and Donaldson, p. 4; and A. H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, (2nd rev. ed. by C. S. C. Williams, 1953), p. 318, cf. E. Goodspeed, Die ältesten Apologeten, 1914, pp. 24 ff., on the view that the 1st and 2nd Apologies form an essentially unified argument.

¹⁵ C. Semisch, Vol. I, pp. 82-112.

¹⁶ Semisch, p. 112. A. L. Williams summarizes a number of articles discussing Justin's authorship of the Dialogue pp. xii - xiv.

¹⁷ A Greek Samaritan, Justin's birthplace was the town of Flavia Neapolis (Shechem), Apol. I. 1. The date of 100 A.D. is accepted by A. L. Williams, p. ix, and B. F. Westcott, p. 95 ("the close of the first century"): F. L. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers, 1960, p. 48, generalizes with "the first decade of the 2nd century", and Dods, Reith and Pratten, p. 3, fix it at 114 A.D..

and martyrdom (ca. 165 A.D.)¹⁸ we narrow the limits of possibility by noting that his conversion to Christianity took place apparently not later than the Bar Cochba revolt (the "Jewish War" referred to in Dial. 1 and 9).¹⁹ Tatian (A.D. 120-185), a disciple of Justin, has a passage in his Discourse to the Greeks, V, that bears a resemblance to Dial. 61.2. Tertullian (160-245 A.D.) and Irenaeus (135-202 A.D.) both use thoughts and arguments that are found in the Dialogue.²⁰ The most precise evidence for dating the Dialogue comes from Eusebius. In the Ecclesiastical History IV. 18.6, he mentions Justin's composition of a Dialogue held at the city of Ephesus with Trypho, a

¹⁸ There is general agreement that Justin lived during the reign of Antonius Pius, and Eusebius' testimony (H.E. IV. 18) informs that he suffered martyrdom at the hands of Marcus Aurelius. The Chronicon Paschale gives the date as 165 A.D. (Dods, Reith and Pratten, p. 3), so A. H. McNeile, loc. cit., A. L. Williams, p. x, F. L. Cross, p. 49.

¹⁹ F. L. Cross, loc. cit.. H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton (transl.) Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine II, 1928, p. 139, comment that such a colloquy as Justin describes could hardly have taken place after the rebellion of Bar Cochba (135) had issued "in the final and bitter estrangement between Jews and Christians". But Hadrian's decree of banishment is mentioned (Dial. 16, 92), and Trypho is represented as a fugitive from the War who had already visited Corinth (Dial. 1). This allows the possibility for the occurrence of the colloquy at a somewhat later time.

²⁰ A. L. Williams, p. xiv. Justin's treatise against Marcion is quoted in adv. haer. IV. 6.2.

distinguished Jew.²¹ In this chapter, it is shown to be later than Apology I and before 161. If we date the "2nd" Apology in 153 or 154, with the 1st Apology at approximately 152,²² the inclusive dates for the Dialogue are between 153 and 160 A.D., with the probability that it falls nearer the latter date.²³

²¹ H. J. Lawlor, Vol. I. 1927, p. 127.

²² H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, Vol. II, p. 140, give the dates based on the reference to Felix in Apol. I. 29, assuming this was L. Munatius Felix, prefect of Egypt until 151-154 A.D., (Oxyr. Pap. pt. ii, no. 237: col. 8, 18-27). The so-called Apol. II was written in the reign of Antonius Pius, and while Q. Lollius Urbicus was prefect, or 150-160 A.D.

²³ F. L. Cross, p. 51; cf. A. Jülicher, An Introduction to the New Testament, Eng. tr., 1904, p. 483: the writings of Justin "can be dated with tolerable certainty". Jülicher affirms he died at Rome in 165 A.D., and ca. 150 he wrote his two Apologies, and "somewhat later the Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon". See C. Semisch, Vol. I, p. 115 f.

A. Ehrhardt, "Justin Martyr's Two Apologies", JRH IV:1 (1953), pp. 1-12, dates Apol. I ca. 155 (p. 8) and believes there is a possibility that Apol. II may have been a later work (p. 3 f.). He questions whether the apologies take their origin from the same writing (p. 4 f.). But Ehrhardt is unduly skeptical, for a continuous line of argument binds the apologies, cf. R. Holte, p. 110, citing E. Goodspeed, pp. 24 ff..

Structure of the Dialogue and Occasion of the Writing

The Dialogue is too discursive to present an organized structural breakdown. However, a general outline of subjects into three main divisions provides some idea of the pattern of Justin's argument.

Following a prologue, in which is presented a somewhat idealized account of Justin's conversion,²⁴ the first main section deals with the Old Covenant and the question of the permanence of the Law, (chapters 10-47). Within this section we find a discussion of the promises heralding Christ, and an exposition dealing with his second coming. The second part describes the identity of Jesus (the Divine Logos) with the promised Messiah of Jewish hopes, based on proof-texts in the Old Testaments, (chapters 48-108). In the last section, the attention is centered on Christian beliefs and the vocation of the Gentiles as the true Israel in the world (chapters 109-136). There is an epilogue which contains Justin's

²⁴ Justin's conversion is acknowledged in Dial. 8.4, following his account of his pilgrimage through the philosophical schools (Dial. 2-7). Remarking on Justin's formula for Jewish conversion, "if the Jews do all things written in the Law they may find mercy from God" (Dial. 8.3), W. L. Knox observes "it is at least possible that the hermetic phrase is taken from a Jewish or Christian formula summarizing the demands imposed on the prospective convert and the benefits he may hope for" (Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, p. 93).

appeal to the inquirers, but falls far short of being a summary of his argument.²⁵

It is true that this is a general grouping, and no hard and fast line can be determined according to specific subjects. For example, the various ordinances of the Law are dealt with not only in chapters 40 to 46, but in chapters 92 to 94 as well, where the surrounding context is devoted to Jesus' life on earth, his baptism, crucifixion and resurrection. The discussion of Christ's Two Advents spans all three divisions, appearing in the first section (chapters 31-34), again in Dialogue 52, 53, and later in Dialogue 110, 111, 126, and others. It may be that the lack of unity in the argument is to be attributed to the fact that it represents a series of actual discussions with Jewish inquirers or at least reflections on their views. We will return to this question of the character of the Dialogue in our discussion below. For our particular

²⁵ In general agreement with this division of the predominant subjects in the Dialogue are ODCC, pp. 756-7; A. Lukyn Williams, pp. xxxv-xxvii; J. Quasten, Patrology, Vol. I, pp. 203-219; and F. L. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers, 1960, p. 52. These follow approximately Otto's division in the prolegomena of our text, pp. xlix-liv, and the English translation by Henry Brown, p. 14. E. R. Goodenough, p. 89 f., agrees with the subject grouping, but views the second division, concerned with the nature, history and significance of Jesus, as inclusive of chaps. 32-110.

interest in the interpretation of the $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$, it should be pointed out that Justin's exposition of the prophecies of Christ's advent in the first part are really interrupted by the insertion of the discussion of Jesus' identity as the promised heavenly Messiah, giving stress to His unity with the Divine Logos.

As to the manner of presentation, it is true that Justin's occasional fanciful interpretations restrict the setting forth of an organized formal argument, though not to the degree that Lamson suggests.²⁶ Justin, without the historical sense which largely governs interpretation of scripture to-day, attributed the forecast of Christ in the Old Testament to the workings of Divine inspiration. Although we may question his exegesis, we cannot underestimate the piety of his time, which attributed that part of God's preparation of His people for the coming of the Messiah to the workings of His Spirit, forming in men's articulate expressions the hope of this Advent, and grounded in His acts of deliverance in the past.

The history of the study of Justin's writings has been marked by the debate over whether the Dialogue represents an actual colloquy which took place, according to Eusebius,

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A. Lamson, p. 49.

at Ephesus,²⁷ or whether the form is merely a stylistic device in which the apologist sets forth the claims of Christianity for Jewish inquirers. Several centuries ago, in the earliest English translation of the Dialogue, Henry Brown found it "abundantly evident" on internal grounds, in addition to Eusebius' testimony, that the work represented the record of a real discussion.²⁸ Others have followed Charles Semisch in the belief that the "Dialogue" is but a stylistic form in imitation of the Greek classicists, chiefly Plato and Cicero.²⁹ They see "Trypho" as a straw man, who says the right thing at the right place, giving his adversary the proper openings to make good his case in the cause of Christianity.³⁰

It is doubtful that Trypho should be identified as the

²⁷ Eusebius, H.E. IV. 18.6.

²⁸ H. Brown, p. 5, opposing Jean LeClerc. F. L. Cross, p. 52, finds it probable that the Dial. was based on actual discussions, although doubtless they were adapted for publication; cf. A. L. Williams, p. xxiv.

²⁹ C. Semisch, Vol. I, pp. 112-113, who provides a list of those taking part in this debate. Cf., also, J. Donaldson, History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, 1866, p. 88; A. Lawson, p. 49; E. R. Goodenough, p. 90; and, more recently, Werner Jaeger, Early Christianity and Greek Paideia, p. 27.

³⁰ So Goodenough, loc. cit.

Rabbi Tarphon who was one of the most bitter and violent anti-Christian Rabbis.³¹ On the other hand, Trypho may well represent the attitude of Jews whose exposure to Hellenism had aroused in them curiosity in matters of faith and philosophy.³² Theodore Zahn, in a study of Trypho's character, concluded he was a Hellenistic Jew with an erudite philosophical background.³³ Our position is that there is sufficient internal evidence to justify the position that the Dialogue represents a collection of diverse views either from an actual colloquy, or representing a series of discussions with Jewish inquirers. This is based on the repetitive character of the Dialogue, and the interrupted

³¹ G. F. Moore, "The definition of the Jewish Canon" in C. A. Briggs (ed.) Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects, 1911, p. 102; cf. A. L. Williams, p. xxv, and W. D. Davies, pp. 280 ff..

J. Klausner asserted positively that R. Tarphon and Justin's Trypho were not identical (The Messianic Idea in Israel, p. 407), following Z. Frankel, Darkhe ha-Mishnah 2nd ed. 1923, p. 112.

³² With reference to the argument that Justin would not have been able to participate in disputes between Jewish Rabbis due to his probable ignorance of Hebrew, it is to be noted that our writer does not profess to have had conversations with the Jews in Hebrew (cf. A. L. Williams, pp. xxxi ff.). It is significant that Justin's approach to the O.T. is by way of the Hellenistic Jewish interpretation.

³³ T. Zahn, "Studien zu Justin", ZKG viii (1886), pp. 54 ff..

train of thought to Justin's occasional embarrassment.³⁴

But by no means should it be considered a stenographic report of a real disputation.³⁵

It will be well to keep in mind this characteristic of being a loosely organized argument as we inquire into Justin's interpretation of $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, since his exposition of a given passage will not always be consistent, but may be turned on different occasions to meet a new attack with a different emphasis on the same scriptural passage.

Having searched the philosophers for ultimate truth,³⁶ Justin was concerned to construct a theology that could be defended rationally in combining the elements of Biblical faith with the higher aspirations of Gentile philosophy.³⁷

³⁴ See, in particular, Dial. 66, 67.

³⁵ J. Quasten, Vol. I, p. 203.

³⁶ On the validity of Justin's claim of familiarity with the philosophical schools (Dial. 2-7), see A. Neander, General History of the Christian Religion and Church Vol. II, Eng. tr. 1847, pp. 445-6, and H. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal, Eng. tr. 1938, p. 235. K. Lake would hardly accept the description of 'philosopher' in the technical sense as applicable to Justin, (Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity, 1920, p. 126).

³⁷ Cf. F. J. A. Hort, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, pp. 65-6; C. Semisch, Vol. I, pp. 209 ff.; and A. W. F. Blunt, The Apologies of Justin Martyr, pp. xii ff..

In the apologists' day, there was increasing interest in finding some common ground between Christian believers and serious inquirers. The apologists were compelled to take a more rational approach that would encourage the seekers to enter into real dialogue.³⁸ It was in the atmosphere of intellectual Greek culture that early attempts were made to reconcile the claims of faith and reason, and Justin was among the first to make this attempt.³⁹ While trying to harmonize scripture with philosophy, Justin nevertheless strongly asserted his dissatisfaction with philosophy as providing ultimate truth for man.⁴⁰ Accordingly, while he seeks to deal rationally with the arguments of the opposition, in the final analysis he resorts to scripture as unquestionably valid in containing absolute truth.

In the Apology, Justin defended Christianity before the

³⁸ Werner Jaeger, loc. cit., regards the Dialogue as a classic example of this approach.

³⁹ ODCC p. 757; A. W. F. Blunt, loc. cit.

⁴⁰ Dial. 2.7 (cf. Apol. II 10), see also H. A. Wolfson, The Philosophy of the Church Fathers, 1956, pp. 15 ff..

Roman government and cultured heathen society; in the Dialogue he at least ostensibly undertakes to defend it before Judaism.⁴¹ However, the Dialogue also shows an effort to meet the double challenge of pagan philosophy and the general outlook which it engendered while dealing with the specifically religious objections of orthodox Jewry. Thus we find in it the curious amalgam of a reasoned exposition of the proof of Jesus as the expected Messiah with an almost mystical reliance on Scripture as though repetition of the Words themselves could perform the apologist's task.⁴² Whenever the argument moves into uncertain territory, Justin can be found returning to a favorite passage from the Psalms or the Prophets, abandoning systematic exposition in favor of simply quoting the passage. Thus, in what amounts to practically a mechanical reliance on texts from the Old Testament, Justin sets out to prove that the Messiahship of Jesus was always the literal fulfilment of scripture.

⁴¹ Cf. O. Pfliegerer, Primitive Christianity, p. 423.

⁴² Justin's argument from prophecy was dependent on acceptance of the doctrine of divine inspiration of the O.T., (Donaldson, p. 174).

Method of Interpretation

Before we begin the detailed study of the Christology of the Dialogue in respect to the $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, a few remarks on the writer's method of interpretation will provide a further introduction to our subject. When we examine the position of the Church in the second century from the standpoint of its apologetic mission,⁴³ we see how Justin's purpose fitted into a certain stage in the history of the interpretation of revelatory events. Harnack had distinguished three "stages" in mission-preaching to the Jews, the third being marked by the view of the Old Testament as a whole being fulfilled in Jesus Christ.⁴⁴ The Christian preacher of the early period must show that the truth of his message could be proved out of sacred books recognized as authoritative. If the preaching was to show the historical fulfilment of Old Testament types and prophecies, this typological exegesis

⁴³ An outline of the trends of the early Church in the fulfilment of its apologetic task is provided by B. Lindars in his New Testament Apologetic, 1961. For reference to the interpretation of the events of Jesus' life as an issue with the Jews, see espec. pp. 32-3.

⁴⁴ A. Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity Eng. tr. 1908, pp. 87-8, who saw the first represented in the proclamation of the imminence of God's kingdom and the call to repentance, and the second by the announcement that the resurrected Christ is the Messiah.

cannot be dismissed out of hand, however far-fetched it may have become on occasions.⁴⁵ In Justin's combination of the curse of Deuteronomy 21:23 with the brazen serpent of Numbers 21:9,⁴⁶ the method bears some reflections of the initial stage of the primitive Church's interpretation, in which the curse is treated as one aspect of the general position of the Passion apologetic.⁴⁷ In addition it has been maintained by scholars that the association of Exodus 17:9-14 with Numbers 21:9 was made at an early period, and it became common during the patristic period to see both as types of Christ crucified.⁴⁸ Some of the Old Testament

⁴⁵ See G. W. H. Lampe's essay "The Reasonableness of Typology" (Essays on Typology, Lampe and Woollcombe, 1957), espec. pp. 22-3.

For extreme examples in the Dial., cf. the interpretation of the wooden saw used in Isaiah's martyrdom as a type of Christ (Dial. 120); Moses extending his arms in the victory over the Amalekites as a type of the Cross (Dial. 90.4); and the Jesus-Joshua typology in Dial. 132. Cf. T. F. Glasson, The Second Advent, p. 203, and R. P. C. Hanson, Allegory and Event, pp. 106-8

⁴⁶ Dial. 94.5; 96.1 (cf. 89.2); and 94.1 (cf. Barn. 12.5 ff., where the brazen serpent is listed in a series of types of the Passion.)

⁴⁷ B. Lindars, p. 237.

⁴⁸ K. J. Woollcombe, Essays on Typology, p. 46, following T. W. Manson "The Argument from Prophecy" JTS xlvi (1945), p. 131. In addition to the two examples given, Manson cites the connection of the Passover Lamb and Rahab's scarlet thread as signifying Christ and His shed blood (Dial. 111).

passages claimed by Christian authors to be types of Christ and His passion are treated in Rabbinic literature, but there they are deliberately given another meaning.⁴⁹ In the light of Justin's use of these texts, it may be seen that the method illustrated here evidences an evolving tradition of apologetic, while at the same time, by inference, it exhibits the actual Jewish objections raised during this period.⁵⁰ Indeed, examples are not lacking to show that the connection of the brazen serpent to the Crucifixion may have been rebutted in Rabbinic exegesis before the end of the first century.⁵¹

To answer the Jewish objection that Christ could not be the Messiah because He had not fulfilled the Old Testament predictions about a glorious King whose reign would be established among the peoples, the Christians replied in two ways: first, they pointed out that the Old Testament foreshadowed His

⁴⁹ T. W. Manson, loc. cit.

⁵⁰ See B. Lindars, p. 237, R. P. C. Hanson, p. 154-5. Evidence found in the Dial. illustrates a variety of Jewish interpretations: the reference of Ps. 109 (110) to Hezekiah (Dial. 33), Ps. 23 (24) to Solomon (Dial. 36:2-5), and Isa. 8:4 a reference to Hezekiah (Dial. 77.2-4). T. F. Glasson feels that on the whole the Dial. represents accurately by inference some of the Jewish views of the period, (p. 215).

⁵¹ So Woollcombe, Essays on Typology, p. 46, citing from the Mishnah, Rosh Hashanah 3.8.

sufferings (using Isaiah 53 and Psalm 21 (22) extensively), and second, they maintained that the reign of glory would be manifested in His Second Advent.⁵² This is the method represented in the Dialogue, but it must be asserted at once that while Justin used Isaiah 53 to give scriptural warrant to Christ's suffering, he could not and did not resolve the evident paradox which resulted from the aspect of suffering and death and his fundamental view of the Lord's exalted status. Unlike Origen who, as we shall see, struggled with this problem,⁵³ Justin, like Ignatius, found the cross (the death) of Christ to be the greatest mystery. As will become clear in our more detailed examination of his Christology, he did not find in a doctrine of the Servant's vicarious suffering a clue to an understanding of the Atonement. As Harnack observed,

Justin ... knows, as a man acquainted with the Old Testament, how to borrow from it very many points of view for the significance of Christ's death (Christ as the sacrifice, the Paschal lamb; ... the means of redeeming men; ... the enduring of the curse for us; ... victory over the devil (Dial. 44, 90, 91, 111, 134). But in the discussions

⁵² See T. F. Glasson, p. 203.

⁵³ Cf. Origen, c.Cels. I. 54, II. 64 (cf. VI. 77) and IV. 15. Nevertheless, even for Origen, it is the qualities of purity and voluntariness of Him who makes the sacrifice that are of importance (c.Cels. I. 31).

which set forth in a more intelligible way the significance of Christ, ... Justin nowhere gives any indication of seeing in the death of Christ more than the mystery of the Old Testament, and the confirmation of its trustworthiness. 54

Justin in his method of approach to the interpretation of scripture gives evidence for the continuation of an earlier apologetic tradition. In the Dialogue, we are provided with the classic position of the Passion apologetic of the period: the scriptural proof of the theoretical point that the Messiah should suffer, appearing in anti-Judaic literature.⁵⁵ But are we not in touch with a reversal of the emphasis from the earliest tradition? Professor Barnabas Lindars remarked that

the original position, closely connected with the rudimentary Atonement doctrine, had been that Jesus, who is the Messiah, had in his atoning death fulfilled the mission of the Servant of the Lord. The later position shows a greater Christological interest, that Jesus is the Christ because it was prophesied that the Messiah should suffer; ... 56

This statement will be borne out by our subsequent analysis

⁵⁴ A. Harnack, DG I Eng. tr. p. 203: ref. to f.n.2, p. 200.

⁵⁵ B. Lindars, p. 80. Cf. Tertullian, adv. Jud. 10; Cyprian ad Quirinum; test. adv. Jud. II. 15; Lactantius inst. IV. 16. The question of whether pre-Christian Judaism knew of a Suffering Messiah is discussed in Add'l Note II. 2.

⁵⁶ B. Lindars, loc. cit., Remarking on subjects of great importance to the early polemicists, Marcel Simon observes: "De sa carrière terrestre c'est la fin que l'on retient surtout: la Passion du Christ et sa mort, la scandale de la Croix (cf. Dial. 32.1, 89.2, 96.1, etc.) et l'idée du Messie souffrant ..." Verus Israel, 1964, p. 190.

although perhaps with an added significance not intended by Professor Lindars. The fact is that the text from Isaiah 53 helped to explain the death of Jesus to believers in the New Testament.⁵⁷ By Justin's time, the scripture is cited to meet the attack which disputed His identity as the divinely appointed Messiah, instead of providing an understanding to His redeeming work.

Justin's approach to the Old Testament is presupposed by a literal acceptance of the scriptures as authoritative, and by a view of the typological relationship between the testimony found in these scriptures and the events in the life and work of Jesus of Nazareth. At times, this typological exegesis is carried to absurd extremes, but this was part of the writer's apologetic method, which typifies the primitive approach to scripture before the development of more scientific methods by advanced thinkers such as Origen. Where Justin requires justification in his argument, we will find a tendency to use proof texts more or less mechanically, without theological reflection on

⁵⁷ The Marcan predictions of the suffering of the Son of Man, admittedly are late, but the tradition of suffering and rejection is ancient and authentic teaching of Jesus, (M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate", BJRL 45:2 (1963), p. 308). Cf. Mk. 8:34 and parallels, and Mk. 10:32 ff. (T. W. Manson; The Teachings of Jesus, 2nd ed. p. 231). On the subject of a suffering Messiah and the use of this concept by Justin's time, cf. Add'l Note II.2.

the content of the passage as it relates to the subject under discussion, and in general lacking due regard for the historical context involved.

The Use of Texts

In the light of the writer's regard for the Old Testament as a valid source of truth, several questions follow that require brief comment before we begin our detailed analysis of the Christology of the Dialogue. In the first place, is there evidence that Justin was consistent in using a translation that can be identified with that employed by Symmachus or Theodotion, or can it be found to have similarity to the text later adopted by Origen? The Fathers were accustomed to cite certain passages from memory, and in Justin's case more than a third of the references to the Old Testament are made without defining the source.⁵⁸ In addition, there is a tendency to select or mingle phrases that would best suit the writer's apologetic purpose. For example, in Dialogue 31, there is a mixed reference to

⁵⁸ B. F. Westcott, On the Canon of the New Testament, pp. 119-121. For both the Dial. and the Apol., Westcott calculated 117 references fail to name the source, while 197 citations include it, although sometimes erroneously, e.g., Dial. 12; 49.2; 116.3.

B. Lindars (p. 26) cites examples from the Apol. and the Dial. that appear to be quotations from memory.

Daniel 7:9-28. For verse 10, Justin's quotation is similar to the text employed by Theodotion, while verse 27 follows a version that would conform to the text later adopted by Origen.⁵⁹ Apparently, Justin was familiar with several texts of the Septuagint, and shifts abruptly from one to the other in a manner that displays little degree of consistency.⁶⁰

P. Katz has offered the interesting observation that some of the longer quotations (mostly from the Psalms) originally contained Christian interpolations, on which Justin's argument rests; but these emendations have disappeared, with the result that the peculiar points on which the writer's position depends is left unsupported.⁶¹ It is clear that we

⁵⁹ In reference to Dan. 7:27 the affirmation on the subjection of the dominions to the kingdom of the saints of the Most High is expressed by the verb *ὑποτάσσω* (Origen), an interesting departure from *δουλεύω* (Θ). This usage is reflected in similar context in other patristic literature, cf. I Clem. 1.3, 47; 2.1; 20.1; Ignatius: IPol. 6.1; IEph. 2.2; as well as Diog. 7.2.

⁶⁰ Cf. A. Rahlfs, who has made a study of possible parallels to Aq. in Justin's ref. to Mic. 4:1 in Dial. 109.2, ("Über Theodotion-Lesarten im N.T. und Aquila-Lesarten bei Justin". ZNTW 20 (1921), pp. 194 ff.).

⁶¹ P. Katz "Justin's O.T. Quotations and the Greek Dodekapropheton Scroll" in Studia Patristica I (TU 63 /1957/, p. 344). Katz distinguishes these from a second group of quotations of a different character, which bear similarity to texts which may have provided a basis for the versions of Aq. and Sym. (p. 345).

must be careful to distinguish the context of a quotation in the Dialogue from its occurrence in the original source.

A second question that presents itself is related to the choice of scriptural references found in the Dialogue. We are led to ask whether the blocks of material that appear as predominantly important to our writer provide evidence in support of the much-discussed theory of a 'Testimony Book' circulating in the early Church.⁶² Space does not permit our entering the debate of the existence of such a

⁶² The best known evidence from the early period is the Testimonia adversus Judaeos (Book II in Cyprian, ad Quirinum). Melito, also, was said to have made such a collection, (Eusebius, H.E. IV. 26.12 f.). E. Hatch suggested tracing Rom. 3:10 ff. to a selected composition from the psalms (Essays in Biblical Greek, pp. 203 ff.). The most extreme position was advanced by J. Rendel Harris, citing evidence which later proved to be spurious, (Testimonies 2 vols., 1916-20). C. H. Dodd (According to the Scriptures, 1952), analyzed the most important O.T. quotations found in the N.T. and concluded that these were not to be accounted for by a "primitive anthology of isolated proof texts" (p. 126) and further that the N.T. writers paid due regard to the whole context. K. Stendahl (The School of Saint Matthew, 1954), held that the Matthean form of quotations gives evidence of deliberate interpretative selection, excluding the possibility of a Testimonia as a primary source in the Gospel. Earle Ellis made a study of Paul's quotations and arrived at a similar conclusion for the Epistles (Paul's Use of the Old Testament, 1957). We have cited Prof. Barnabas Lindars' New Testament Apologetic, which allows for the possibility of variations in the quotations taking place in the early period out of regard for an apologetic aim (see esp. c. Lindars, chap. VII). By the time Justin wrote the Dial., Lindars believes the "foundation stones" of the Passion apologetic were already laid, (p. 256).

collection, but it will be seen that the Dialogue contains clusters of Christological testimonies which have interesting comparisons to quotations found in the New Testament. In our subsequent analysis, this relationship will be dealt with, but it serves to indicate that the question of a primitive Testimonia is by no means closed.⁶³

Related to this question of Testimonia, we must ask what value Justin places on the writings which would soon be incorporated into the New Testament canon, and whether he includes any citations from these scriptures which are important for the Servant doctrine. In places, Justin refers to the Gospels as "Memoirs", with the mention of apostolic authorship adding weight to the authority.⁶⁴ There is also evidence in the Apology that Christian writings were read as part of the liturgy for weekly

⁶³ See the recent article by B. Lindars, "Second Thoughts - Books of Testimonies", ET LXXV:6 (1964), espec. pp. 174-5; and cf. J. Daniélou, Message Evangelique et Culture Hellénistique, 1961, pp. 196-7.

⁶⁴ E.G., Dial. 103, 106. For Dial. 106, A. H. McNeile (An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, rev. ed., 1935) considered the reference to "his Memoirs ... can refer only to Mark", (p. 319), cf. B. H. Streeter The Four Gospels, rev. ed. 1930, p. 442. M. Dibelius regarded "Memoirs" not as a literary description, but held that the term was used to give a graphic description of the content and significance of the citations (A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature, 1937, p. 57); cf. W. Sanday, Inspiration, p. 303, F. C. Burkitt, The Gospel History and Its Transmission, 1906, p. 257, cf. p. 278.

worship.⁶⁵ Some years ago, B. H. Streeter pointed out that conservatism in the Roman Church would have justified Justin's apparent hesitancy to use the Fourth Gospel, even though logically it would have been the likely choice for testimony in support of Christ's pre-existence and the Logos doctrine.⁶⁶ There are at least two obvious references to this Gospel, however, and although the question has not been resolved, there is the likelihood that for the writer's own thinking the Fourth Gospel, in whatever form it was known at the time, had an influence that was comparable with the Synoptics.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Apol. I 67. Regarding Justin's estimate of the value of the writings (Apol. I 53) cf. A. Jülicher, An Introduction to the New Testament, Eng. tr., 1904, p. 484.

⁶⁶ B. H. Streeter, p. 440 f.. Cf. Add'l Note II.1.

⁶⁷ The references to the 4th Gospel occur in Dial. 69.7 and 105.1 (in the latter case, it is included with the "Memoirs"). A. Harnack held that Justin was the first to use the 4th Gospel alongside the Synoptics (DG II Eng. tr., p. 42). B. H. Streeter cited the two certain usages in comparison with over 100 "reminiscences or quotations" from Mt. and Lk. and 2 from Mk., (p. 441).

On the other side, A. Jülicher held that Justin was unacquainted with the 4th Gospel although aware of its existence (p. 485, cf. Apol. I 61). C. K. Barrett, (The Gospel According to St. John, 1955, pp. 93-4) follows J. N. Sanders (The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church, 1943, espec. pp. 27-31) in finding "no convincing evidence of literary dependence" on this Gospel, but allows for the possibility of its "tentative use", although the Gospel may not have been regarded as Scripture. The fact is that Justin's "tentative use" of Jn. could be attributed to conservatism in the Roman Church and none of the opposing arguments provide evidence that rule out the influence of the Gospel on Justin's thinking, however scarce may be the explicit references.

While Justin may be among the first to provide a witness to the canonical Gospels,⁶⁸ it is true that he does not use them in the same way as the Old Testament. When reference is made to the Law and the Prophets the term used is *γραφή* ('scripture'), while citations from the New Testament are normally introduced with the formula *γέγραπται* ('it is written').⁶⁹ As we will see, the opening argument in the Dialogue cites the testimony from the "Fourth Servant Song",⁷⁰ and frequent reference is made to Isaiah's prophecy and the Psalms. Of greater significance for our study is the fact that important New Testament references to the Servant doctrine are utterly lacking in the Dialogue.⁷¹ The sole exception is the allusion to

⁶⁸ Cf. F. W. Beare "The Canon of the New Testament" IDB I, p. 525 f., and see Apol.I 66.

⁶⁹ A. H. McNeile, pp. 319-20; see also F. C. Burkitt, p.258.

⁷⁰ In this case (Dial. 13) the quotation begins with Isa. 52:10 ff., an interesting contrast with the contemporary designation for this body of material (Isa. 52:13-53:12).

⁷¹ Such passages that are important for the Servant doctrine would include explicit references to II-Isaiah, as in Lk. 22:37, Mk. 10:45, Mt. 12:18 ff.; predictions of suffering, Mk. 8:31 and parallels; the injunction to emulate the Lord's voluntarily assumed role of servant, Mk. 9:35, and symbolized in the foot washing, Jn. 13:3; the Acts passages where *παῖς* occurs as a Christological title (Acts 3 and 4), and Philip's evangelistic speech to the

Christ as the Passover Lamb which possibly may be traced to the Fourth Gospel, but in the Dialogue the figure of the Lamb is given a novel explanation which in no way recalls the Lamb whose sacrifice takes away the world's sin.⁷²

It is seen that Justin is not consistent in following a particular text of the Septuagint, and further that quotations may be cited from it to be employed in a way that is unrelated to the original context. This, plus the aforementioned tendency of our writer to use proof-texts somewhat mechanically means that a theological concept expressed in an Old Testament passage may not necessarily have the significance in the Dialogue which it carried in its original usage. Further, it has been noted that significant New Testament passages related to the doctrine of the Servant are entirely lacking in the Dialogue. From

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Eunuch with its citation of Isa. 53:7 (Acts 8:32 f.); Paul's view of scriptural fulfilment in I Cor. 15:3 and the essence of his appeal to the Jews (Acts 17:2); the Kenotic Hymn, Phil. 2:5-11; and the example of Christ's willing suffering cited in I Pet. 2:21 ff.. It is recognized that a case can be made disputing the relationship of these and other N.T. passages to the prophecy (M. D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant, 1959), but on this question see my Introduction.

⁷² Dial. 40, cf. Jn. 1:29. Regarding the relationship of the Johannine Lamb to the Isaianic prophecy, see chap. III, pp. 248ff.. Justin's interpretation of the Lamb roasted on the spit as a type of the Cross is far-fetched typology indeed.

these comments on our writer's method and use of texts we may now examine in detail the passages from the Dialogue which express the writer's Christological understanding as it is related to the figure of the Servant.

B. The Christology of the "Dialogue"

with Particular Reference to the Isaianic Prophecy

The Appeal to the Testimony of Isaiah 53

If it could be judged solely on the basis of frequency of citations from Isaiah 52 and 53, the case already would be closed in favor of the Dialogue strongly asserting a Servant doctrine.⁷³ For those who believe that Biblical commentators after the middle of the second century created the Servant Christology, this profusion of references, at least superficially, would seem to provide ample evidence.⁷⁴ The fact

⁷³ Quotations from the LXX of Isa. 53, alone, are found in greater frequency than any other single passage of scripture that can be identified. Portions of this prophecy occur in Dial, 13, 42, 43, 63, 68, 76, 89, 95, 97, 102, 114, 118.

⁷⁴ M. D. Hooker, in concluding her chapter on the Servant in the early Church (including a cursory examination of sub-apostolic writers to 150 A.D.), believed that the Church of this period "did not attach any great significance to the Servant passages" (p. 133). When Miss Hooker then takes the position that later commentators are responsible for the doctrinal connection of the Servant Songs to the Passion of Christ ("this connection was well established by the time of Origen", citing c.Cels I. 54-5, p. 154, f.n. 4),

is, however, that the context in which the writer has employed these texts is equally significant, and the evidence of his own theological application of their content is what must be determinative in the final analysis. Accordingly, we will proceed with our inquiry of Justin's interpretation of the texts on this basis, withholding evaluation until the evidence for his understanding of the passages has been presented.

The first important quotation occurs in Dialogue 13; it includes Isaiah 52:10 to 54:6, following the Septuagint with a few deviations. The context in which the quotation is found has to do with the contrast of the Old and the New Covenants. If Israel is to wash away its sins, this is not to be effected by virtue of the animal sacrifices they have known in the past, "but by faith through the blood of Christ"⁷⁵

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the facts simply do not support her position (see the evidence set forth in ch.V on this passage, and Origen's own example of explaining away the Servant Doctrine in c.Cels. IV.15 and VI.77). Further, when she adduces examples from the Dial. and Melito's Homily as evidence of what she regards as significant usage of Isa. 53 as a source of the Servant Christology, there seems to be little appreciation of how Justin and Melito used the testimony (p. 133, f.n. 2). Can it be that Miss Hooker has disregarded the context?

75 Dial. 13.1

Clearly the poem of the Servant is related to the Lord's Passion, viewed as a sacrificial offering, which was typified by the old forms of sacrifice ordained in the Torah. Justin's typological exegesis is exhibited here. The new "laver of repentance" has replaced the old forms of sacrifice; this new "baptism" is the "water of life".⁷⁶ The Old Order was valid until the entry of the New.⁷⁷

If the Servant Poem is held to be descriptive of the Lord's Passion, are we then to assume that Justin's use of the text establishes a Servant Christology, or has he imposed his own understanding of the Atonement on these passages which obscures historical exegesis? A closer examination of relevant parts of the quotation and the writer's accompanying exposition is required. The familiar verse 13 of Isaiah 52 is quoted as follows:

Dial. 13.2: Ἴδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα.

⁷⁶ Dial. 14.1.

⁷⁷ Cf. the use of Jer. 31:31 f. in Dial. 11, and see also Tertullian, adv. Jud. 3. T. R. Glover observed that Justin regarded the legislation of Moses as valid for a people for a certain time, but not for mankind in general for eternity. "It was a prophecy of a New Legislator (Dial. 14.3 f.) who should repeal the carnal code and enact one that should be spiritual, final and eternal," (The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire, 1909, p. 181).

(Behold, my child/servant shall gain understanding,
and shall be exalted and glorified exceedingly.)

The exaltation formula *ὕψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασηθήσεται*

(uplifted/exalted and glorified) is of particular interest.

Clearly, the translator of the LXX regarded the passion of the *παῖς* as leading to his glory, but as Zimmerli has noted, the LXX in the succeeding verses goes beyond the imagery of the Hebrew text in suggesting that the godless incur divine retribution for their murder of the *παῖς*.⁷⁸ This is distinct from the Targums, which admittedly also convey the thought of judgement, but where retributive judgement for the Servant's death is executed not by the *παῖς*, but by God alone.⁷⁹ This is suggestive that the LXX, in the form represented here, allows for a more exalted position of the *παῖς* than was true for the *עֶבְדִּי* in the original.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, p. 42 Cf. Isa. 53:9.

⁷⁹ H. Hegermann, Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum und Peschitta, 1954, pp. 86 ff.

⁸⁰ In this respect, H. S. Nyberg's observation that this text may differ at significant points from the original (which receives support from the DSS) and that at this point the translator envisions a 'triangular drama' (in the words of C. R. North) between God, the sinful world, and a righteous man (*ὁ παῖς μου*) is worthy of consideration. This Hellenistic interpretation of the *παῖς* is carried further in Wisd. Sol. 4:20 ff. (H. S. Nyberg, "Smärtornas Man. En Studie till Jes. 53:13-53:12," Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok, 7 (1942), pp. 5-82, cited by C. R. North in The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah, 2nd ed. 1956, pp. 224 ff.).

The ambiguity of the verb ὑψωθῆναι (including both the meaning of being physically raised aloft, as on a cross, as well as exalted to fame and glory) must have been of advantage to the apologist in this use of the LXX, even as it was in the Fourth Gospel. In John 8:28 and 12:32 the double meaning of physical uplifting and eschatological exaltation are clearly intended.⁸¹ The ambiguity also provided the means for the later Christian interpreters to find the δόξα of Jesus not only in the Resurrection (as with Mark and the Synoptic parallels), but in his actual death and passion.⁸² It is true that in the Nicodemus narrative in

⁸¹ E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship, Eng. tr. 1960, p. 69. M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, 2nd ed. 1954, p. 103, observes that the Syriac equivalent of ὑψωθῆναι has the special meaning 'to be crucified', and that the 4th Gospel shows Syriac influence in its usage of the term. Citing G. Kittel's article in ZNTW, xxxv, p. 282, he notes that "the same verb appears in this sense in Palestinian Aramaic: e.g. in Ezra 6:14 and Targs. I Chr. 10.10", among others, so the Johannine use is an Aramaism. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, pp. 178, 179, admits the possibility of influence of Isa. 52:13 in the exaltation passage of Jn. 12:32 f.. Barrett adds: "His lifting up will result not only in glory for himself but also in healing for mankind", (loc. cit.). In Melito it is stressed that He is raised on a high Cross (Homily 16.8), see chap. III, n.99.

⁸² Jn. 20:17, cf. Mk. 8:31. The glorification of the δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ is of the greatest importance to Johannine Christology, as Principal M. Black has pointed out, (cf. "The Son of Man Problem in recent Research and Debate", BJRL 45:2, pp. 315-316, see espec. f.n.1, p. 316.).

John the significance of the reference to the brazen serpent is probably confined to the "raising up" of this symbol, while in Justin the serpent and its uplifting become types of Christ crucified.⁸³ But it cannot be doubted that the raising of this symbol was particularly significant in Justin's typological exegesis. Therefore, he can find that exaltation was achieved in the Crucifixion. It is clear from this use of the imagery, prominent in the Dialogue, that the sacrifice did not infer reduction of status, and yet the Figure (the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ of Isaiah 53) was related typologically to the Passion of Christ. However, in contrast with the prophecy, His sacrifice does not represent to the apologist the ultimate act of the Servant's self abnegation in which the true Israel incorporately shares, but is regarded objectively with pious awe as the High Priest's sacrifice. This does not detract from the high position accorded to the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$.

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For identification between the Passion and the Isaiah passage, cf. B. Lindars, p. 79, who sees the Passion apologetic applied in Acts 3:13, noting that the phrase $\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ is a reference to Isa. 52:13, and comprises an explanation of the events of redemption in terms of the entire chapter.

⁸³ See Dial. 94.1 and cf. Jn. 3:14 (C. K. Barrett, p. 178.).

Reference to the Servant's Sacrifice: a) Ritual in Place of Participation. There is a variant found in the LXX rendering that may have provided Justin an additional opportunity to impose his own Christological position on the exegesis with respect to the notion of sacrifice. It will repay us to examine the apologist's thought in this respect and to digress briefly with a few comments on the Biblical view of sacrifice.

We may take note of the quotation of Isaiah 53:10b:

Dial. 13.6. εἰς δωρεὰν περὶ / τῆς / ⁸⁴ἀμαρτίας ...

(if you give /an offering/ for sins ...) ⁸⁵

Here, the variant reading of the LXX provides an opportunity to view the sin-offering liturgically, as their propitiatory presentation, not the Servant's. ⁸⁶ Later comments of the writer about the passover lamb as a type of Christ are

⁸⁴ The article is omitted in the LXX.

⁸⁵ Cf. with the Hebrew, which renders "when he makes his life (וְנַפְשׁוֹ) a guilt-offering ..." (MT).

⁸⁶ This rendering of the first part is followed by all the later Greek versions, while in the latter half Aquil., Sym. and Θ differ from Origen in reading "his soul (as opposed to: "your soul" - Origen) shall see a long-lived progeny," (F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, p. 535.).

understood in this same ritualistic sense: the death of the Lord is viewed objectively as a sacrament of which they are only partakers insofar as it is a liturgical celebration:

the lamb which God enjoined to be sacrificed as the passover was a type of Christ: with whose blood ... they anoint their houses ... The offering of fine flour ... presented in behalf of those purified from leprosy was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus prescribed, in remembrance of the suffering which He endured ... 87

This is a shallow regard for the Servant's self-offering, and a departure from the Biblical presentation of the sacrifice of Christ: a sacrament in which believers corporately partake. The sacrifice is regarded 'objectively' instead of being entered into 'subjectively'. 'Objectively' the offering can be man's gift to God, which is possible from the LXX rendering of the passage, but the more perfect understanding enjoined in the Bible enables us to see "sacrifice in such a way that its mystery is the atonement which God Himself makes."⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Dial. 40, 41.

⁸⁸ M. Barth, "Was Christ's Death a Sacrifice?" SJT occasional papers No. 9 (1961), p. 25, interpreting Lev. 16.

If we examine the Biblical presentation of sacrifice, it is probably true that certain sacrificial practices of the Israelites represented Canaanite borrowings.⁸⁹ However, there is evidence that the Israelites offered communion-sacrifices while they were still in the desert, before the settlement.⁹⁰ Professor H. H. Rowley has pointed out that it was very unlikely that the Passover, in particular, was derived from these external sources.⁹¹ What is more important than the origin of the sacrifice is the meaning Israel attached to it; from the time of the Exodus it seems to have been a vehicle of remembrance of that deliverance. Some sacrifices were thought of as gifts, others were a means of communion with God, and still others had propitiatory significance.⁹² At least

⁸⁹ Joh. Pedersen, Israel III-IV, 1940, p. 317;
J. P. Hyatt, Prophetic Religion, 1947, p. 128.

⁹⁰ R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 1961, p. 428.

⁹¹ It was pre-Canaanite, (H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the Old Testament", BJRL 33:1 (1950), p. 82; cf. J. Pedersen, p. 317).

⁹² H. H. Rowley, loc. cit..

two factors of importance for our consideration of the Servant's passion are found in the Old Testament's teaching on sacrifice. First, sacrifice is not represented as achieving anything by the mere offering of it, rather it "must be the organ of the spirit of the believer".⁹³ Secondly, and related to the disposition of the offerer, sacrifice did not merely represent the offering of a detached substitute, but the offerer was in some way identified with it.⁹⁴ To the Christian believer, the suffering of the Servant is the "organ of His mission" and not merely incidental to it.⁹⁵ As the

⁹³ H. H. Rowley, pp. 87, 95; R. de Vaux, pp. 428, 454; it must be accompanied by a right spirit within. However, it was regarded as potent, with the proper spirit validating it, but a curse if offered in the wrong spirit, (Rowley, loc. cit.; cf. Lev. 5:5, Num. 5:6, Am. 5:21-24). The attack of the pre-exilic prophets on contemporary sacrifices was to check their abuse where they had become substitutes for true piety. In the purer view, like the prophetic dramatization of the spoken word, sacrifice represented the partaking of the divine action in miniature, (H. Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, 1946, pp. 226-7.).

⁹⁴ Rowley, p. 88; see R. de Vaux on the ceremony of the laying of the hands on the victim, p. 416 and cf. p. 449.

⁹⁵ Rowley, p. 104, but he disagrees with the rendering of Isa. 53:11 that 'it was their iniquities he (the Servant) was bearing' (cf. N. H. Snaith, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, 1944, p. 92), but this appears to be intended by Rowley to counter the thought of a judicial substitute for punishment.

perfect sacrifice in its Christian interpretation it incorporated the death of the believer to his own sin.⁹⁶ For Paul to say "I am crucified with Christ",⁹⁷ is not to admire the Lord's self-offering from afar, but to enter into this experience personally as part of one's own, and the community's renewal.⁹⁸ This is God's offering, of which man is partaker, by God's free grace. Full repentance in the light of the Servant's act, and identification with Him in this offering is participation in the sacrament in the deepest and purest sense. It is clear that in the Bible sacrifice and Atonement are "rare and by no means cheap things".⁹⁹

Justin's view of sin is representative of the Palestinian Jewish view that basically it pertains to disobedience. The apostolic apprehension of sin as utter moral corruption is lacking in the theology of the apologist. In Dialogue 100 we find the assertion that Christ became man simply to

⁹⁶ H. Wheeler Robinson, The Cross in the Old Testament, pp. 110-112, 114; cf. M. Barth, pp. 45, 53, C. F. D. Moule, The Sacrifice of Christ, 1956, (published in Facet Books, Biblical Series, 1964) pp. 13-17.

⁹⁷ Gal. 2:20; cf. Rom. 6:6.

⁹⁸ M. Barth, pp. 51, 54.

⁹⁹ M. Barth, p. 25; cf. p. 35, interpreting Paul's theology, he finds that it is the gift of God and revelation of God (Rom. 3:21 ff.), and it means the beginning and blessing for the whole of Israel (Rom. 11:26).

destroy the disobedience that proceeded from the serpent, and in chapter 124 it is offered that men were worthy of becoming "gods and ... sons of the Highest".

Correspondingly, a deeper appreciation of costly sacrifice was lacking for our writer and the self-offering of the Figure in Isaiah 53 represents little more than a typological prefiguration of the Holy Eucharist. The sacramental act has assumed importance obscuring a full theological appreciation of the depths to which the Servant's work carried him; and the exaltation of the Figure inhibits identity with Him in this offering. There is a consequent failure to apprehend at a deeper level the import of the Atonement.

Reference to the Servant's Sacrifice: b) Exaltation of the Figure. As a further point, we may afford to ask whether this view of the Servant's (or the people's) sacrifice in Justin's interpretation is to the ultimate glory of God,¹⁰⁰ or is the *παῖς* exalted and glorified in His own right? Instructive on this point in a later chapter is Justin's prefatory statement to the quotation of Isaiah's proclamation that God gives His glory to no other:

I shall remind you /Trypho/ of what the passage says, in order that you may recognize even from the very (place) that God gives His glory to His Christ alone. 101

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Isa. 42:8 (MT).

¹⁰¹ Dial. 65, following with a quotation of Isa. 42:5-13.

Clearly, Justin has altered the sense from the explicit statement of God's absolute sovereignty in the original to the glorification of the Messiah, by his prefatory remark.

Further, we should take note of a point of contrast between Justin's interpretation of the Servant's atoning work and a New Testament reference to the Christology of 'Servant'. In Mark 9:35 we find the teaching that he who would be first must subject himself and be the "servant of all". If this is a variant of Mark 10:43 as some scholars have held,¹⁰² and allowing for the fact that the word here is *διάκονος* and not *παῖς* or *δούλος*, it still must be seen that the teaching expressly deals with self-abnegation, as the parallel phrase with the term *ἔσχατος*¹⁰³ makes clear. In the similar instruction found in Mark 10:43-45 (which quite likely represents the original) we have *διάκονος* occurring in a parallel clause

¹⁰² See, for example, V. Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark, p. 404 f., followed by M. D. Hooker, p. 75, f.n. 3; but cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to St. Mark, in CGT, p. 308, who believes this is an independent saying.

¹⁰³ Referring to rank or position, as opposed to the temporal sense, cf. Mt. 19:30 and 20:16 with the accompanying exposition expressing the willingness to undergo subjugation in Mt. 20:20-21; cf. espec. the context in which the term is found in Lk. 14:9.

with δούλος, and it is followed by the assertion that this expresses the intention of the work of the Son of Man. There are those who have denied that we have here a reference to the Servant of Isaiah 53 on the basis of linguistic variations.¹⁰⁴ In particular, use of λύτρον is mentioned, which refers to the redemption by purchase of a person, as compared with the Hebrew word אֲשֶׁר spoken of in respect to the Servant in the original, which meant a trespass offering given in compensation.¹⁰⁵ Leon Morris, while acknowledging the clear connection of λύτρον with redemption by payment of price in the LXX, nevertheless remarks that the idea of price might fade when God is subject,¹⁰⁶ and still more significant, both the λύτρον and ἀντί, as they are used in the Markan saying, imply the idea of substitution, and, to avoid this is to interpret

¹⁰⁴ M. D. Hooker, pp. 74-78, and C. K. Barrett's essay in New Testament Essays, Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson, ed. A. J. B. Higgins, 1959, "The Background of Mark 10-45", pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁵ M. D. Hooker, p. 77, denies that the terms were ever connected, but allows a linking with the general theme of II-Isa. But see BDB, pp. 79-80, remarking that in Isa. 53:10 the Servant offers himself in compensation for the sins of the people, interposing for them as substitute; and cf. F. F. Bruce in Promise and Fulfilment, p. 43; C. E. B. Cranfield, p. 343 f.

¹⁰⁶ Leon Morris, The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross, 2nd ed. 1960, p. 20.

the passage unnaturally.¹⁰⁷ It cannot be seriously disputed that the words evoke memories of Isaiah 53, and the redemption wrought by the Servant who suffered for many.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore a point of major contrast with the Synoptic interpretation of the Servant's self offering, when Justin regards the sacrifice only as the glorification of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, without a theological appreciation of its benefits in the Atonement.

¹⁰⁷ Leon Morris, p. 34. Elsewhere, Morris answers the skepticism of H. Rasdall (The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology, 1925, pp. 29-37) which disputed the genuineness of the sayings, (Morris, pp. 27-29.).

Regarding the view that $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\iota}$ implies substitution, Dana and Mantey (A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament, 1927, p. 100) follow Moulton and Milligan (Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament) in finding the commonest meaning to be "instead of". Moreover, Dana and Mantey cite passages from the LXX (Gen. 22:13; 44:33; Num. 3:12) where the contexts clearly deal with substitution, and find that in Mt. 20-28 and Mk. 10:45 the meaning either is "in exchange for" or "instead of", either of which implies substitution. They add "the obscurity of this passage is not the result of linguistic ambiguity, but of theological controversy" (Dana and Mantey, p. 100)

"The Messianic servant offers himself as an $\alpha\psi\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ in compensation for the sins of the people, interposing for them as their substitute" (Isa. 53:10), /BDB, p. 80./.

¹⁰⁸ L. Morris, p. 30; cf. James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels, p. 144 f.; C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 92 ff.; William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 131. Some hold that the word $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ corresponds to a number of expressions in Isa. 53, and, actually, to the Kerygma of the substitute, (Hans Walter Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum, 1950, p. 62).

On the Lord's offering of the cup at the Last Supper (Mk. 14:24) which similarly expresses the benefits of this sacrifice, they are best interpreted by reference to Isa. 53:11 f.

However, it might be argued that the exaltation mentioned does not actually apply to the Lord's incarnate activity, in particular His passion, but rather to His glorified appearance in the Final Parousia. In this regard, what are we to make of those references to His humble estate, which, it must be admitted, still are contained in the quotation from Isaiah 53? First, with reference to the uncomely appearance, we may take note of the explanation in a later section, asserting that it was still the "King of Glory", as the Holy Spirit proclaimed, who was thus disguised from the "rulers of heaven".¹⁰⁹ We have the curious mixture of thought, here, that this is applied to the resurrection appearance,¹¹⁰ but Justin adds in a later chapter an explanation that amounts to a categorical denial of any reduction of Christ's divine status even in the first appearance, which might have been inferred from the reference:

¹⁰⁹ Dial. 36.6.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Dial. 36.5. Prof. A. T. Hanson has kindly called my attention to the fact that this failure of the heavenly rulers to recognize Him applies at this point solely to the resurrection appearance. It is possible that Justin referred here to the hostile worldly Powers in the original, and not the heavenly court, on the basis of parallels elsewhere, cf. Dial. 43, 76 and n. 118 below.

For even in His first coming, which was without honour and form, and was despised, He yet showed so much brilliancy¹¹¹ and might that in no single nation is He unknown ...¹¹²

A similar thought is found in the rhetorical question in Dialogue 31. If such great power was shown in the dispensation of His suffering, how much greater will be that that is manifested in His glorious Advent? Clearly, although Christ may have appeared in the marred and disfigured guise described in the Servant Song, it is not to be understood that this in any way diminished His divine power.

Justin relies on the Two Advents¹¹³ to explain Christ's appearance as a man and subject to suffering in the First, but contrary to the implication from the Servant Song,

¹¹¹ On the mythological tradition of a strahlenden Knaben, cf. A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' ...", SAB xxviii (1926), p. 215, which, as it is represented here in Dial. 121, Harnack points out is to be distinguished from the tradition of the $\tau\lambda\upsilon\psi - \omega\alpha\iota$; . For parallels to the shining youth, see Hermas, Vis. II. 4.1; III. 10 ff.. This is discussed further with reference to the Christ-puer apparitions, see chap. IV, n. 55.

¹¹² Dial. 121.3.

¹¹³ Dial. 34.2 cf. Dial. 52, 53, and 121.2 f., cited above, The prophecy from Zech. 12.10 is important to Justin as prefiguring the 1st Parousia (Dial. 53), but it is to be noted that this still symbolizes the advent of the King, even though He enters, riding on an ass, (cf. H. W. Wolff, p. 137.).

there is no real humiliation in the First Parousia. The apologist's exalted Christology would not permit such an interpretation, and even those passages where humility is inferred are explained in such a way that does not detract from the true glory of the $\Pi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$. Moreover, the writer emphasizes the exalted status of the Figure who appears in the Second Parousia, with his interpretation of the apocalyptic Son of Man in Daniel 7¹¹⁴ which will be treated further below.

The Origin of the $\Pi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$. There is one further oracle in the testimony of Isaiah 53 which deserves mention at this point. Justin quotes from the Septuagint as follows:

Dial. 13.5. τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται;

(Who shall declare his origin/generation?)

Justin's interpretation of this phrase is extremely important for the remaining exposition of his Christology found in the Dialogue. It turns upon the meaning of $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ which renders $\eta\dot{\iota}\tau$ in the original. Both $\eta\dot{\iota}\tau$ and $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ can refer to generation in the sense of descendants, or future age,¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ H. W. Wolff (loc. cit.) regards the Dan. 7 citation in Dial. 31 as proof of the glory manifested in the 2nd Advent. He adds that Dan. 7 and Isa. 53 often appear as counterparts, which cannot be without each other.

¹¹⁵ Cf. BDB p. 189 f. and A. & G. p. 153.

but may, in some cases, convey the sense of past generation. In the Massoretic Text, the term דִּוְרָא is most easily rendered in the sense of future generation, the intention being that from the point of view of human calculations Israel, or the Servant, has no glory, she was stripped of her inheritance.¹¹⁶ But Justin employs the question as a reference to the Servant's ineffable origin, which was not to be publicized. In the original, the term refers to the meagre future of the Servant, but in the Dialogue $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ refers to what has gone before, the Figure's origin or divine generation.¹¹⁷ This provides an introduction to the apologist's speculation on Christ's pre-existence, while at the same time asserting His true divinity in ever heightening categories. Evidence for this interpretation is found by examining the contexts of the quotations from Isaiah 53:8. The first explains that by this question the Spirit of prophecy affirmed the implied divine origin of the One who

¹¹⁶ The writer is indebted to Prof. Robert Davidson for this interpretation. Cf. J. Muilenburg, (IB V p. 626); both C.C. Torrey and P. Volz translated "generation" as "posterity". J. Skinner (Isaiah XL-LXVI, p. 144) follows B. Duhm in interpreting דִּוְרָא in its Aramaic sense of "dwelling-place", but the sense is still that the Servant has vanished from the thoughts of men. Prof. Davidson regards the Servant as primarily a reference to Israel (cf. SJT 16:2, p. 167), but the possibility of the extended sense is not excluded. The term דִּוְרָא occurs elsewhere with ref. to future progeny, (Gen. 15:16).

¹¹⁷ H. W. Wolff (pp. 126, 128, 131) remarked on the importance of Isa. 53:8b for Justin, and judged that it was interpreted in reference to Christ's mysterious non-human birth.

was to die which could not be declared openly. This is an important parallel to the primitive tradition that Christ's divinity was disguised to deceive the Powers.¹¹⁸ As such, the menial descriptions of the Servant provide apologetic, inversely, for His divinity. The context of the second quotation leaves no doubt of the divine origin of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$:

His blood did not spring from man's seed, but from the will of God ... /He was/ begotten before the morning star ... He was from of old ... deserving to be worshipped as God ($\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$) and as Christ. ¹¹⁹

The explanation of the eternal generation of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ would seem to be the turning point of the argument.

We may summarize briefly Justin's treatment of the Isaianic testimony. Capitalizing on the references to the glorification of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, but failing to hold these in balance with the equally important assertions of His humility in the original, the apologist has asserted that the Figure manifests His true power even in the dispensation of His suffering. Further, the sacrifice of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ was regarded liturgically, that permitted only an abstract appreciation of the Great Servant's self-offering, instead of a true participation in it. The

¹¹⁸ Dial. 43. The inference that Christ's ineffable origin was such as could not be declared would explain how the writer could accept the descriptions of His marred appearance, while still affirming that they in no way affected His true divinity. The tradition that Christ descended, disguised to deceive the Powers, was not uncommon in early Christianity, cf. A. F. J. Klijn, The Acts of Thomas, 1962, p. 239, see also espec. Dial. 76.

¹¹⁹ Dial. 63.

Act could not be apprehended at its deepest level, since the exaltation of the Figure in this interpretation has destroyed real participation in His sacrifice. The sacrificial imagery did not infer reduction of status, but was applied by Justin in a typological exegesis so that the passover was seen as a type of the Lord's Passion.

Justin gave explanations to the references to marred appearance that categorically denied any lowering of the Figure's estate. From this point on, the descriptions referring to Christ move into ever higher categories, with emphasis on His true divinity that obscures any element of the menial position of Isaiah's Servant.

Other Quotations from Deutero-Isaiah which Include $\Pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$

Having seen that in the exposition of the section from Isaiah 52:10 ff. quoted in Dialogue 13 references to the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ are interpreted in such a way that excludes any inference of the Figure's low estate, we may now consider briefly other quotations from Second Isaiah which contain the word $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. $\Pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, as a Christological title, is found only in quotations from the prophecy and never as a Christological designation outside of quotations. The word, in the plural, does occur in another quotation where the reference is not to Christ, and brief examination of the context in which that quotation is found will also help to determine the writer's understanding of the term. First, we will examine those additional

quotations where *παῖς* is used in reference to Christ.

Dial. 121.4 ἡμῖν οὖν ἐδόθη καὶ ἀκοῦσαι
καὶ συνεῖναι καὶ σωθῆναι διὰ τοῦτου
τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . Διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν·
Μέγα σοί ἐστι τοῦ κληθῆναι σε παῖδα
μου, . . .

(To us, therefore, it was given both to hear,
and to understand and to be saved by this
Christ . . . (a) For this /reason/ He said unto
Him: It is a great thing for you to be called
my Child/Son/Servant . . .) 120

There is no mistaking the fact that the *παῖς* of Isaiah 49:6
is here referred to Christ. Although Otto rendered the term
by servus, there is reason to question this translation.¹²¹

Justin has been describing Christ's power and authority even
in the First Advent, as he says:

For the word of His truth and His Wisdom is more
ardent and more light-giving than the rays of the
sun . . . if He so shone forth and was so mighty in
His first advent (which was without honour and
attractiveness, and very contemptible) that in

¹²⁰ The quotation continues with the remainder of Isa. 49:6,
"to establish the tribes of Jacob, and to bring back the
dispersed ones of Israel," etc.. Otto (p. 411) renders
servus meus, but cf. my n. 132.

(a) Justin adds "and to know all things of the Father"
possibly a reference to Jn. 14:7.

¹²¹ See n. 132, below.

no nation is He unknown, and everywhere men have repented ... so that even demons were subject to His name, and all powers and Kingdoms feared His name, ... shall He not on His glorious advent destroy by all means all those who hated Him ...?¹²²

If he understands the term to mean "Servant", there is no inferior status attached to it, but it carries only the sense of God's honored and chosen One whose brilliance defied the powers, who was the Mediator to the nations. The reference to His being "without honour, etc." is here included with obvious irony, as can be seen from the context. Earlier in the same chapter, Justin has remarked that in place of worshipping the sun they now worship Christ.¹²³ It is evident that there is no diminishing here of His divine status. Further, we have the reference to Christ's authority over the powers, which in an earlier reference Justin had seen as manifested on the Cross.¹²⁴ Compared with the

¹²² Dial. 121.3.

¹²³ Dial. 121.1-2, with a possible reference to Deut. 4:19 (cf. 29:26), but out of context, (see Lukyn Williams, p. 251, f.n.1.). Clement of Alexandria believed God provided the sun, moon, and stars for worship lest the nations became 'utterly godless' (Strom. VI.14), but cf. Trypho's interpretation, Dial. 55.1 ff.

¹²⁴ Dial. 111.2; with reference to Moses with his arms outstretched as a type of the cross, and Joshua, a type of the name, Justin then says: "For this power is and was and shall be the prerogative of One alone, whose name every principality fears ...". Here the reference is to evil angels (cf. Col. 1:16; 2:10, 15), but also including human beings influenced by them, cf. Dial. 49.8; 131.5, (Lukyn Williams, p. 229.).

"brilliance and might" of His First Coming, in His Second, He will exercise awesome and destructive powers.¹²⁵ It is in this context that the quotation from Isaiah 49:6 is used, and clearly the *παῖς* cannot be regarded with any sense of inferiority or subordination.

This is a typical usage, but two further quotations may be cited as comparable examples. In a succeeding chapter we have a mixture of two passages, one including the reference to the chosen *παῖς*:

Dial. 122.1 ὁ *παῖς* μου ὃν ἐξελεξάμην. . .

(my Child/Son/Servant whom I have chosen)¹²⁶

The discussion at this point deals with Jewish enlightenment and the Law. But Justin holds that they have not been brought into understanding by the Torah, but by the New Covenant, which is Christ.¹²⁷ Justin avoids specifically designating Christ by the title of "Law", although practically every other significant title of lofty status in the Old Testament

¹²⁵ Dial. 121.3.

¹²⁶ Isa. 43:10, following a reference to 42:16. Otto renders servus meus quem elegi (p. 413), but cf. my n. 132.

¹²⁷ Dial. 122.5, to the end of the chapter.

has been applied to Him.¹²⁸ The writer concludes that Christ's inheritance is the nations, and regards the words of the Psalmist as relating to Him: "Thou art my Son (υἱός)."¹²⁹

From this discussion, the apologist turns to deal with what he regards as Jewish misinterpretations. Specifically, and having importance for the interest of this study, he observes that the collective designations "Jacob" and "Israel" are to be applied to Christ. He cites the passage from Isaiah 42:1-4 in justification.

Dial. 123.8 Πάλιν . . . ἐν τῷ Ἰσαΐα, . . . περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγων, ὁ θεὸς ἐν παραβολῇ Ἰακώβ αὐτὸν καλεῖ καὶ Ἰσραήλ. Οὕτω λέγει Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου . . .

(Again . . . in Isaiah, . . . speaking about the Christ, God in a parable calls Him Jacob and Israel. He says thus, 'Jacob is my Child/Servant . . .') 130

¹²⁸ Cf. Dial. 126.1 f., which includes the title among others, and an abbreviated list of titles in Dial. 100. For the Christological application of some of these terms by Melito, cf. chap. III, n. 96, 97.

¹²⁹ Dial. 122. citing Ps. 2:7 f.

¹³⁰ The preceding discussion in this chapter has dealt with the Jewish collective designations of the people as Israel. Justin argues that it is not that they alone are Israel, but instead, it is Christ, and the 'true Israel' derives from Him (Dial. 123.6, to the end.).

This bears an interesting relationship to other uses of the terms "Jacob" and "Israel" by Justin, and there is evidence of the assertions of Christ's exalted position through the use of these titles. To the apologist they apply to His Kingship.

And therefore the Scripture, when again explaining to us whom it calls King (*βασιλεύς*) /by the name of/ Jacob and Israel, said thus: Jacob is my Child/Servant (*Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου*), I will help him, and Israel my chosen ...¹³¹

In these cases, comprising the remaining quotations which employ *παῖς* as a Christological title, it is clear that no subordination can be inferred.

The usage where the term is found not in reference

¹³¹ Dial. 135.2. The sense of the passage is to the effect that the scripture of Isa. 43:15 (rendered "I am the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, who showed forth Israel your King") refers to "Christ, the everlasting King" (Dial. 135.1). Since the Jews are aware that Jacob was never a king, the scripture explains to Justin's listeners whom it calls "King", by using the names of "Jacob" and "Israel". Justin has capitalised on the confusion in the LXX rendering, taking "your King" in apposition with "Israel", instead of with the "Lord God", regarding "Israel" as a name for Christ (cf. Lukyn Williams, *ad. loc.*). Otto's text for "the God of Israel" of Isa. 43:15 gives *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ*, but G. Archambault, Justin, Dialogue avec Tryphon, following C and some MSS of the LXX, has *ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ* and translates "le Dieu Israel", "Israel" thereby becoming a name for Christ pre-existent, cf. Dial. 75.2 f.; 100.1, 4; 123.8; 125.3.

Christ occurs in an earlier part of one of the chapters just mentioned. It refers to the children of Israel who have disregarded God's Law:

... Sons/children ($\psi\iota\omicron\iota$) in whom is no faith. And who is blind but my children/servants ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$), and deaf but they who Lord it over them? And the servants/slaves ($\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$) of God were blinded ... 132

The exact meaning is uncertain, but since both the $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ and the $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ are in apposition with the $\psi\iota\omicron\iota$ of Deuteronomy 32:20, the sense of servitude cannot be implied here. The terms refer to God's chosen, His children, "servants", perhaps, but only in the sense in which those who were called by God are so designated in the Old Testament. It is not equivalent to the sense in which $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ = servant is found in Isaiah 53, which includes this meaning, but contains an additional element in the context, that of subjugation and self-offering for the benefit of others.

¹³² Dial. 123.3, quoting a part of Deut. 32:20 with Isa. 42:19 f.. The $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ here refers to the O.T. Gottesmanner, Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'" SAB xxviii (1928) p. 225. We observed in the two previous Christological references (Dial. 121.4 and 122.1) that Otto rendered the $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ by servus (see n. 120, 125), as was the case in the quotation of Isa. 52:13 ff. in Dial. 13.2. But here, $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ is translated pueri, and $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ by servi. Clearly, Otto's translations reflect his own interpretation, and are therefore of no value in determining Justin's meaning in the original.

From Justin's use of quotations that contain the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, we are left without evidence that the term connoted lowly status. The ambiguity contained in the term at an earlier time clearly has been lost by Justin's period, from the evidence adduced in the Dialogue. There is, as Harnack pointed out,¹³³ apparent hesitancy to use $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ as a Christological title by the date of this writing, since we do not find it outside of quotations. The Isaianic prophecy, which was important to the apostolic writers, has been regarded as important by Justin, but references to the low-estate of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ - $\tau\tilde{\iota}\nu$ have been explained away, or replaced by emphasis on His dominion and sovereignty. In actual fact, the quotations which we have discussed follow, chronologically, Justin's exposition of Christ pre-existent and divine, so that the obscuring of any inferior connotation is the logical outcome. It will be worth while to examine further Justin's Christology with reference to these exalted categories as they are set forth in some of the Dialogue's intermediate chapters.

¹³³ Harnack, loc. cit. cf. p. 237 (5), and p. 234: by this time $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\epsilon\delta\tilde{\omega}$ was not the usual name for Jesus, the reason being that although the $\tau\tilde{\iota}\nu$ in Isaiah had to be understood as a prophecy for the Messiah, one did not like to use it as a name for Jesus because of its low connotation, and $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ did not exclude this connotation.

Assertions of Divinity

The Danielic Son of Man and Christ's Two Advents. We have seen from the foregoing discussion that the use of texts from Deutero-Isaiah cannot support the assignment of a genuine Servant Christology to the apologist. This assumption, which some commentators have made, is confuted by the contexts in which the "Servant" passages are employed. The prophecy pertained, in Justin's view, to the advent of the exalted Son of God, whose ineffable origin is a proof of His divinity. It is our contention that the dominant principal ^{to} in Justin's Christology has to do with Christ's exaltation. In providing evidence for this, we will continue our examination of the Dialogue observing the writer's use of Jewish apocalyptic in his discussion of Christ's Two Advents. In particular, we will consider the Son of Man figure as symbolic of the glory in the Second Parousia. Following this, we will take note of the direction in which the argument moves, where Christ's pre-existent, exalted role is emphasized.

Related to the Lord's appearance in the Final Parousia is the significant reference to the vision of Daniel 7:9-28. The quotation of particular interest follows:

Dial. 31.3 Ἐθεύρουεν ἐν δράματι τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος; καὶ ἦλθεν ἕως τοῦ παλαιῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ παρῆν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες προσήγαγον αὐτόν.

(I beheld in a dream at night, and behold One coming with the clouds of heaven as /a/ son of man; and he came as far as /the presence of/ the Ancient of Days, and was present /being present/ before Him, and the ones who stood by brought him nigh). 134

It is noteworthy that Justin has introduced the Danielic quotation, by affirming that even in the dispensation of the Lord's suffering such great power was shown that in this Second Advent His majesty and glory will be all the more remarkable.¹³⁵ The prophecy provides a definition of this glorified Being whom they will recognize at the latter day: "The One coming with the clouds as son of man." Justin's understanding of this Figure bears an interesting relationship to the interpretation of the Son of Man both in the prophecy and as it occurs with Christological reference in the New Testament. It merits our attention in analyzing the apologist's exalted Christology.

¹³⁴ Dan. 7:13, beginning similar to θ , but with variation at the latter part of the verse. Origen gives $\epsilon\pi\iota$ in place of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$, and replaces the participle with the imperfect $\eta\rho\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron$. C. H. Dodd commented on the fact that the version of Daniel known to N.T. writers appears generally similar to θ rather than to the LXX (citing the allusion to Dan. 7:22 in Mk. 1:15, According to the Scriptures, p. 69, f.n.1). For a comparison of Dan. 7:9-15 in Justin, the LXX, and θ , cf. H. B. Swete, Introduction to the Septuagint, pp. 421 ff.

¹³⁵ Dial. 31.1 f., see also Dial. 121.3 and cf. n. 112, 122, above.

The works written on the Son of Man problem are legion. Limits of space will permit only a brief summary of important aspects in the interpretation of this Figure. Some scholars have argued that the Son of Man figure of Daniel 7:13 is symbolic of the Kingdom of the Saints, in contrast with the bestial figures, symbolizing heathen empires, and that 'Son of Man' in Daniel is not individualized.¹³⁶ More recently, however, it has been seen that while the figure in Daniel contains features of the pious nation, the Enochian figure, representing a later development, contains features in which it is possible to see oscillation between individual and corporate understanding.¹³⁷ Moreover, on the basis of a

¹³⁶ So F. C. Burkitt, The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus, 1910, p. 67. Therefore, the Danielic Son of Man stands for the nation, not the Messiah, in this view. S. Mowinckel (He That Cometh, Eng. tr. 1956) would agree with this interpretation for the Danielic symbol (p. 350), but believing that Jesus used the term to interpret His Messianic mission (p. 347), Mowinckel would look for the origin of the N.T. Son of Man title in other pre-Christian Jewish sources, chiefly Enoch 37-71, (pp. 353 ff.).

¹³⁷ T. W. Manson, "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels", first printed in BJRL 32:2 (1950) pp. 171 ff., reprinted in Studies in the Gospels and Epistles (ed. M. Black, 1962), references are to this collection of essays, see p. 140; on the collective significance, see M. Black's art. in ET lx (1948-9), espec. pp. 11, 32 ff.. Cf. also, among others, C. J. Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus, pp. 190 ff.; R. H. Pfeiffer, History of the New Testament Times, p. 78, who saw the figure as an individual supernatural Messiah, citing II (IV) Esd. 13:3, 5, 12, etc.; and H. H. Rowley

passage from Enoch, it would seem that the expression of the figure's "coming" is from earth to heaven;¹³⁸ that is, in the prophecy, we have to do with the exaltation of the Son of Man to the Ancient of Days.¹³⁹ While accepting the eschatological role of the figure, some have held that in function it was limited to that of witness at the last Judgement. Significant in this respect is the fact that the pattern of suffering, dying and exalted righteous One who bears witness against the unrepentant is found in late Judaism, although otherwise it is not associated with the

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(The Relevance of Apocalyptic, rev. ed. 1963, pp. 62 ff.), who holds that in Enoch we have the personifying of the Danielic concept "in a supramundane person who should be the representative and head of the Kingdom that concept symbolized, and who should come down to dwell with men" (p. 63, italics mine).

138 T. W. Manson (p. 126) cited Enoch 14:8: the clouds are means of transportation from earth to heaven, the figure, therefore, instead of being a member of the heavenly court, appears before it; cf. T. F. Glasson, The Second Advent, pp. 14 ff..

139 M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate", BJRL 45:2 (1963), p. 308. This work is hereafter cited as M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem".

title Son of Man.¹⁴⁰ While it may be true that the Son of Man at the Judgement has the role of witness, this does not imply a diminishing of stature, and we see from early sources in the Gospel tradition that the Son of Man and the proclamation of the Kingdom are, in fact, brought together.¹⁴¹ Further, and related to the primitive Christian usage, Principal Black has suggested that we look beyond the Gospels to what is generally acknowledged as the oldest piece of

¹⁴⁰ See E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship, p. 39, and "The Son of Man" JBL lxxix (1960), p. 122. Professor Schweizer's article in JBL is hereafter cited as E. Schweizer, "The Son of Man". On the suffering One, cf. Add'l Note II.2.

¹⁴¹ M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem", p. 310, citing Mk. 8:38, 9:1; Lk. 21:31, 37. This deals with the question posed by E. Schweizer, "The Son of Man", p. 119: how are we to account for the fact that the Kingdom of God and Son of Man are not combined in the old stratum of synoptic tradition?

As to the Messianic association, we should view with some reservation the opinion that "Son of Man ... links the Davidic hope to the Israelite ideal" (T. W. Manson, Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, p. 144). While the title in some circles may have been appropriated to an expected future Deliverer, it did not become a Jewish title for the Messiah (Str. - Billerbeck, Kommentar I, pp. 485 ff., cf. 956 ff.). Principal Black finds that the individualizing in Enoch is in the patriarch himself (I Enoch 71), which is not the result of Christian inspiration, and considering the legend in Jubilees, it may be seen as established in pre-Christian Jewish tradition, ("The Son of Man Problem", p. 311).

With reference to the Christian era, it should be added that the designation Son of Man was of significance in enabling the early Church to connect Jesus' Second Coming with His First, (O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, Eng. tr. 1959, p. 320.).

Aramaic tradition in the New Testament, the Kenotic Hymn in Philippians 2. If we have here represented the bridge between the Man Jesus and the Lord Jesus,¹⁴² there would have been ample reason for the use of a title that was ambiguous in its connotation.¹⁴³ Other New Testament passages related to the Son of Man deal more exclusively with the feature of exaltation.¹⁴⁴ Professor Schweizer has offered the further consideration that the understanding of the term Son of Man changed in the early Church, from the role of a decisive witness to that of the Judge Himself, coming for judgement like the Lord in the Old Testament.¹⁴⁵ We may have here an

¹⁴² M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem", pp. 314-15. For the influence this may have had in a later time, see my comments with reference to Irenaeus, chap. IV., pp. 313ff.

¹⁴³ Cf. E. Schweizer, "The Son of Man", pp. 122, 128; this, in addition to the fact that the title later found added significance in the Church's connecting the Two Parousias, (O. Cullmann, loc. cit.).

¹⁴⁴ The closing words of Stephen's speech, Acts 7:56, and references in Heb. 1:3, 8:1, 10:12, etc., all refer to the Figure being seated at God's right hand (M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem", p. 317).

¹⁴⁵ E. Schweizer, "The Son of Man", p. 129. Cf. F. C. Grant, Ancient Judaism and the New Testament, p. 164. Grant regards the Menschensohn dogmatik of the 1st cent. as purely eschatological (and exalted); accordingly, the change in the preference of titles from 'Son of Man' to 'Son of God' (expressing divinity) meant an exchange of the conceptions originally belonging to the two terms. Grant believes Paul may have precipitated the change by avoiding 'Son of Man' as a title.

element that can be traced in Justin, for the apologist often speaks of Christ as Judge, although without specifically linking this with the title Son of Man.¹⁴⁶

One exposition given to the title in the Dialogue holds that it signifies that Christ belongs to the lineage of David and the patriarchs, or that it traces generic descent to Adam.¹⁴⁷ From this reference, it could be argued that the writer finds "Son of Man" to signify Christ's human birth, but it is not humble human birth, nor even natural, physical birth to which he refers, for elsewhere Justin says:

... there are some ... who admit that He is Christ, while holding Him to be man among men, with whom I do not agree ...¹⁴⁸

The reference in Dialogue 100, therefore, cites his human birth as proof of His Messiahship, and it follows the brief explanation

¹⁴⁶ Justin uses Ps. 71 (72) to "prove" Christ was ordained as Judge (Dial. 34.3); there are numerous other references to Christ as Judge: Dial. 46.1, 49.2, 64.7, 73.4, 118.1, 132.1. Irenaeus called Christ "Lord of all, and King and God and Judge", adv. haer. III. 12.9.

¹⁴⁷ Dial. 100.3. This bears out Prof. E. Schweizer's observation of the changing emphasis in the early Church. Whereas originally the term may have referred to the fulfilment of the Israelite ideal, Jesus is now considered the Son of Man, the new Patriarch, Jacob representing a new Israel, or Adam as representing a new mankind, ("The Son of Man", p. 129). Cf. Dial. 125, 130. This exhibits traces of a debt to Pauline theology. F. C. Grant (loc. cit.) points out that Paul's 'Second Man' probably represents an exposition of the creation narrative of Gen. 1 and 2; it is not the Enochian Son of Man; see I Cor. 15:47, Phil. 2:10.

¹⁴⁸ Dial. 48.

of the title "Son of Man" with such exalted titles as "Son of God", and "Wisdom", among others.¹⁴⁹ Supporting the interpretation that the title declares His majesty, and is not used with reference to His humanity, is another citation of the Danielic Son of Man, where Justin says that the prophecy signalled His appearance as man, "but not of human seed."¹⁵⁰ This is followed by the use of Isaiah 53:8, which in Justin's interpretation clearly infers divine origin, as we have discussed earlier.¹⁵¹ The remainder of the chapter allows no possibility for an interpretation of humble humanity. Justin uses the title "Angel of mighty counsel",¹⁵² and concludes that the Son of Man who suffers and is rejected in Luke 9:22 is really a declaration of the identity of Him who was born of the womb, "before the moon and the stars",¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Dial. 100.4 f..

¹⁵⁰ Dial. 76.1; cf. Dial. 54: as God, and not man, produced the 'blood' of the vine, so also the Scripture predicted that the blood of Christ would not derive from the seed of man, but the power of God.

¹⁵¹ Instead of γεναί referring to His descendants, the apologist considers that it meant His origin, the divinity which must not be openly declared. See n. 118, supra.

¹⁵² A probable reference to the Messianic prophecy of Isa. 9:6.

¹⁵³ Dial. 76.

with the comment that no man could understand how this Divine Person could thus suffer.

In the chapter following the Danielic quotation with which we began this discussion, Trypho's words seem to indicate that Son of Man is regarded as a Messianic designation, and his objection centers on the statements that Christ was "dishonourable and inglorious".¹⁵⁴

Justin's reply explains this on the basis of the Two Advents, but the emphasis is on Christ's true identity as the pre-existent Son of God: at His Second Coming the Jews will recognize Him whom they have pierced.¹⁵⁵ This reference to the obscure words in Zechariah 12:10 was considered by Bousset to have exercised considerable influence in the primitive period.¹⁵⁶ For our interest, the citation in the

¹⁵⁴ Dial. 32. It is questionable whether this is representative of the Jewish Messianic view of the period. T. W. Manson so regarded it, (Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, p. 127), but H. H. Rowley is doubtful, (The Suffering Servant and the Davidic Messiah, OTS viii (1950) p. 111) opposing the position of W. D. Davies, (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 280 ff.), who cited the argument in Dial. 89, 90; see Add'l Note II.2.

¹⁵⁵ Dial. 32, citing Ps. 109 (110):1 with considerable repetition. Cf. the reference to Isa. 53:8-12 in Apol. I 51, where the Isaianic text is cited to show that the One of ineffable origin suffers many things.

¹⁵⁶ W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, 1921, p. 69, considered this to be evidence of familiarity with the MT as opposed to the LXX. Cf. the N.T. references, Rev. 1:7, and possibly Mt. 24:30.

Dialogue is a further declaration of Christ's true divinity, which the Jews will recognize to their dismay in His Second Coming.

It is clear that in Justin's hands, the Son of Man prophecy is employed as a proof text to emphasize the divinity of Christ. Whereas in the original Danielic prophecy the figure probably represented the exaltation of one "like unto a Son of Man" to the Ancient of Days, and references in the New Testament link the title both with Jesus' humanity and the apocalyptic vision of Him who will be at the right hand of God, Justin employs the text exclusively in support of the identity of Christ as a Divine Being. As he affirms elsewhere, it was the First Begotten of all creation who became incarnate, and the miracle of the virgin birth was the σημεῖον which established His true identity among all mankind.¹⁵⁷ In this interpretation, we have moved a long way from the significance of the Nativity setting in the stable in Luke's account. There, it is true that the virgin birth is similarly interpreted as the sign of God's entry on the plane of history, but the dramatic fact of His identity is held in balance with the lowly, humble birth as an outcast among men.

¹⁵⁷ Dial. 84.2.

Since in Justin's exposition the interpretation of "Son of Man" is limited to the glorified apocalyptic figure, Trypho quite reasonably objects that this portrayal is out of harmony with those parts of the Isaianic prophecy that depicted a figure ἄτιμος καὶ ἄδοξος.¹⁵⁸ This opens the way for the explanation based on Christ's Two Advents: in the first He will be subject to suffering (παθητός), but in the second He will be vested with His true glory (δόξα). The fact that Justin admitted Christ's suffering within the context of the high Christology that is set forth in the Dialogue may be attributed to the need for refuting the claims of the Docetists; but at times the affirmations seem to be mere repetitions of a credal formula.¹⁵⁹ One wonders what extremes might have been encountered in this period had the heresies not appeared which called forth at least the verbal assertion of Christ's humanity, however meagre may have been the understanding.

On the basis of Justin's admission of Christ's suffering in

¹⁵⁸ Dial. 32.1, Trypho finding that Christ was so dishonoured that the last curse of the Law fell upon Him, in that He was crucified, cf. Deut. 21:22-23. Justin refutes any notion that the exalted Christ of God was so cursed, (see Dial. 94).

¹⁵⁹ Cf. H. W. Wolff, p. 140-1, on the formula, "Christ became man for us, suffered agony and contempt for us, and will appear again in glory" (Apol.I 50).

his first advent, it might be argued that here the writer gives some evidence of the Christology of Servant. However, the apologist returns to this matter in a later chapter, doubting that the manner of Christ's crucifixion was with such dishonour,¹⁶⁰ and asserting that these references are to be interpreted as marks of Christ's true identity, so that His Messiahship is proven in that He fulfilled the prophecy.¹⁶¹ Accordingly, instead of the references to His suffering being used to develop a Servant Christology, they have become mere proof texts asserting that in this advent the promise of the Messiah is fulfilled. Clearly there is no theological connection between the figure's suffering and the benefits of the Atonement.¹⁶² Later

¹⁶⁰ Dial. 89.2.

¹⁶¹ Dial. 89.3, again with a probable reference to the disguise of His divine origin (cf. n. 118), and concluding that if "this is the proper mark that distinguishes Him, ... how can we ourselves fail to be confident in our faith upon Him?".

Cf. the use of the prophecy from Zech. 9:9 in Dial. 53. B. Lindars (p. 115) judged that the linking of this with Gen. 49:11 gathers all his previous exegetical work to show that the O.T. in this messianic context visualizes the inclusion of the Gentiles in the New Age.

¹⁶² Justin's thinking on the process of the Atonement is meagre, at best. In a later chapter, he offers that remission of sins is possible if they recognize that Jesus "is the Christ and keep His commandments" Dial. 95.3; cf. Dial. 124 where the writer interprets Ps. 81 (82) as teaching the possibility of human deification.

writers moved still further away from the Christology of Servant, casting doubt on any real suffering "of body or soul",¹⁶³ and at another point in the Dialogue, there is the explicit assertion that "Christ both suffers and is worshipped and is God (*θεός*)"¹⁶⁴ The Two Advents explain His suffering in the first, but consistently the emphasis is on the exalted identity of the One who suffers, instead of seeing in the Incarnation His voluntary self-abnegation to the level of sinful humanity, and, although Himself without sin, bearing man's sin and redeeming him, in a manner which is best expressed in the figure of the Great Servant.

The Pre-Existent Christ as 'Second God'. We have arrived at that point in the Dialogue where the emphasis shifts to an exposition of the person of the pre-existent Christ. In one sense, this is an interruption of the historical exegesis of Isaiah 53 quoted in Dialogue 13. However, it is manifestly clear that historical exegesis was not the approach to Scripture practised by Christian interpreters of Justin's

¹⁶³ See, for example, Origen, c. Cels. IV.15: "if the immortal divine Word assumes a human body and soul ... /He/ remains Word in essence. He suffers nothing of the experience of the body or the soul."

¹⁶⁴ Dial. 68.9.

period, so if we consider the writing as a whole, we have the use of Isaiah 53 as a proof text, with the writer imposing his own Christological position on its exegesis. From this point on, the exalted Christology of the apologist receives the major emphasis, and the writer's speculation, with Old Testament scriptures used as testimonies, introduces the doctrine of Christ pre-existent, whom he regards as 'Second God'.¹⁶⁵

In the earlier chapters of the Dialogue there have been hints of Justin's view of the role of Christ pre-existent as the activity of God spoken of in the revelation of the Old Testament. In Dialogue 36, the apologist states to Trypho that the appeal to prophecy was to prove that Christ is both called God ($\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$) and Lord of Hosts, and Jacob. Moreover, he finds that the words of the psalmist refer to Christ, and not to Solomon, as the Jewish interpreters 'foolishly' regarded this scripture.¹⁶⁶ Other examples are also cited to show that the Old Testament is continually praising Christ.¹⁶⁷ At times, Justin's typological exegesis

¹⁶⁵ Dial. 62; the concept first begins to take shape in Dial. 56 and 58.

¹⁶⁶ Dial. 36 citing Ps. 23 (24) in agreement with the LXX.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Dial. 33 citing Ps. 109 (110); Dial. 34 citing Ps. 71 (72), all regarded as songs in praise of Christ.

is somewhat strained, as when he adduces testimony to show that all the appointments of Moses were types or declarations of those things that would happen to Christ in the Incarnation.¹⁶⁸

Interpreting the Old Testament with reference to this formulated Christology, Justin freely employed those designations which were regarded as prominent by his hearers in reference to Christ. Christ, the Son of God, is proclaimed as "everlasting law and everlasting covenant,"¹⁶⁹ and following this statement occurs the assertion of His ineffable origin, which could not be openly declared, as the writer interprets Isaiah 53:8.¹⁷⁰ We have made prior reference to the reversal of the sense of this testimony from its context in the original. It is an example of the writer's use of proof texts without regard for the context. Where many of the references dealt with the account of Yahweh's revelation in Hebrew tradition, Justin interprets them as the activity of the pre-existent

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Dial. 42: the High Priest is none other than Christ, and the twelve bells on his robe symbolize the twelve disciples. Ex. 28:33 gives no definite number of bells. Otto (ad. loc.) believes Justin confused the bells with the twelve gems on the robe.

¹⁶⁹ Dial. 43.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., cf. Dial. 76 and see n. 118 infra.

Christ.¹⁷¹ The categories used to describe Christ move into increasingly higher qualifications, as when the apologist refers to those God-fearers of old who have known "Christ, the Son of God, who was before the morning star and the moon ...".¹⁷²

We may set forth in brief the salient points of the argument from this point. After chapter 45, which asserts that Christ existed before all ages, there is a brief discussion on the question of those who shall be saved. In chapter 48, Trypho picks up the argument from chapter 45, calling attention to the paradox in Justin's position: if Christ existed as God before all ages and then submitted to be born as man, He cannot be fully a man. Justin replies

¹⁷¹ Cf. T. F. Glasson, The Second Advent, pp. 173 ff. H. Hegermann, Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler, TU 82, p. 76, observes that Justin in Dial. 56-62 shows through the same passages as Philo the existence of a Second God, distinguished from the highest God, and witnessed to in all the stories and visions in the O.T.. However, he adds that we cannot simply ascribe this to traces of Philonic influence; sources behind Philo must be taken into account.

¹⁷² Dial. 45, cf. 76. Thus the righteous who lived before the law shall be saved by Christ, equally with those who lived after his incarnation. Justin may have approached here in his doctrine of Christ's pre-existence, something of the thought of the Fourth Evangelist (cf. Jn. 8:58) that Christ stands outside of the sphere of time. C. H. Dodd calls attention to the contrast in the two verb forms in this section from John, the aorist $\gammaενέσθαι$ as compared with the continuous present $εἶμι$, which refers to Christ (The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, p. 261).

he has proved that He is the Christ of God,¹⁷³ even if he has not proved he pre-existed. Further the apologist believes it is shown in Isaiah that John would be the precursor of Christ,¹⁷⁴ and Jacob predicted His two advents.¹⁷⁵ However, Trypho asks that the argument be resumed to show that prophecy admits the existence of "another God".¹⁷⁶ Justin replies with his fanciful exposition of the angel's visit to Abraham,¹⁷⁷ asserting that one of the Celestial Beings is God, who is sent by Another who dwells in the supercelestial places. Here, we find the writer's affirmation of God the Creator as utterly transcendant, but it is interesting that this follows from the course of the argument that really dealt with Christ's pre-existence and divinity. It cannot be said from the evidence we have here that God's transcendence is the formulative factor for the writer's Christology, although

¹⁷³ Dial. 40-43, where the apologist relates the O.T. figures to Christ, including the references in the Psalms (Dial. 33-34), in addition to His being called Lord of Hosts (Dial. 36); and He is to be adored (Dial. 38.).

¹⁷⁴ Dial. 50.

¹⁷⁵ Dial. 52.

¹⁷⁶ Dial. 55.

¹⁷⁷ Gen. 18:1 ff.

the acceptance of God the Father as utterly transcendent certainly is complementary to the view of another imminent Divinity active in the physical universe. If we may judge from the evidence encountered thus far, it appears that the writer's conception of Christ as 'another God',¹⁷⁸ with the following identification with Logos, is rather the outcome of a determination on Justin's part that every theophany in the Bible must be interpreted as a Christological reference,¹⁷⁹ than the result of a preoccupation with the transcendence of the 'highest' God. This has significance for the primary

¹⁷⁸ Dial. 56: He who appeared to Abraham under the Oak at Mamre with two angels is God, and was sent by Another who dwells in supercelestial places: cf. Dial. 58; He who appeared (cf. Gen. 35:6) and changed Jacob's name to Israel "is called God, and He is and shall be God"; and Dial. 59, which cites Exodus quotations showing that God who spoke with Moses is distinct from the Father.

¹⁷⁹ H. Hegermann, p. 76, remarks: "alle alttestamentlichen Epiphaniegeschichten kehren so bei Justin als Logoserscheinungen wieder: οὗτος ὅτι τῷ Ἀβραάμῳ καὶ τῷ Ἰακώβ καὶ τῷ Μωυσεῖ ὡφθαλμιζόμενος καὶ γεγραμμένος θεὸς ἕτερος ἐστὶ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ποιήσαντος θεοῦ (Dial. 56.11)." I am not certain that we can be sure at this point that Justin's theophanies should be assigned specifically to apparitions of the Logos, although the following chapters do identify this Divinity with Logos. At this point, however, the One who appeared to Abraham, Jacob and Moses is designated only as divine, and the identification with Logos is a successive development.

It is of interest, as Hegermann goes on to point out, that Justin's explanation (Dial. 58.9) is given in a sense that Philo would not accept, thus dependence on a tradition behind Philo is shown here in detail, (loc. cit., and cf. the derivation of the "God, Israel" in Dial. 12.1; see also the recurrence of this designation in later chapters, ref. my n. 131 above.).

interest of this study in supporting our contention that a dominant feature of our writer's thought was Christ pre-existent and divine, and accordingly there is little evidence of subordinationism in the writer's theology.¹⁸⁰ Since authoritative scripture for Justin was primarily the body of literature contained in the Old Testament,¹⁸¹ these writings could only be understood in that they referred to Christ. Justin's interpretation is therefore governed by a pre-conceived Christology exalting the Person of Christ.

In the succeeding chapters, our writer follows with an explanation of the Second Divinity by the designation of Logos, who is identified with the Deity in contact with the world and the chosen people. This, quite likely, could have resulted from a desire to avoid offense to Jewish monotheism, but it was equally a point of common ground with important terminology in Hellenistic philosophy, and for the apologist provided a bridge between the speculation on the pre-existent

¹⁸⁰ Accordingly, we cannot accept the statement "Justin's stress on the transcendence of God ... led him into subordinationism in his doctrine of the Son (or Logos) ...", ODCC, p. 757, and J. Quasten, Patrology I, p. 209, citing Apol. II.6, which is insufficient to justify the claim of subordinationism.

¹⁸¹ See n. 69, supra.

Christ and the philosophical notions of a rational power which governed the universe.¹⁸² We will briefly consider the title Logos along with other designations expressing the divinity of Christ in concluding our analysis of this aspect of the writer's theology.

The Use of the Title Logos with Other Exalted Designations.

We have referred to Justin's exposition of theophanies in the Old Testament which the apologist interprets in justification of the existence of "another God" who is distinct from the Father.¹⁸³ Trypho's reply offered that the theophany in the burning bush appearing to Moses was but an angel sent from God, thereby preserving Jewish monotheism.¹⁸⁴ The apologist counters with his speculation on the nature and

¹⁸² Cf. J. Donaldson, A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, 1866, p. 218; O. Cullmann, The Early Church, ed. A. J. B. Higgins, 1956, p. 208; E. R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr, pp. 140 ff..

¹⁸³ Dial. 56-59; cf. 62.3.

¹⁸⁴ Dial. 60, in reply to Justin's exposition of Ex. 2:23 ff. in Dial. 59. Trypho maintains that the angel is no more than an angel, with the argument centered on the identity of this one who spoke to Moses from the burning bush. As J. S. Sibinga has observed, the biblical text that could shed light on the issue has suffered badly, and Justin's exposition is so confused that it is impossible to establish the relation of the argument to the proof texts, (The Old Testament Text of Justin Martyr, I The Pentateuch, 1963, p. 81 f.).

and origin of this 'second God', which takes the form of identifying Him as Power, Wisdom, God and Word, among other exalted titles, all of which the writer judges arise from the fact that He ministers to the Father's purpose and is born of His will. In the context, this statement is little more than a sop to the monotheistic Jewish position. It clearly does not dominate the writer's thinking as an affirmation of subordinationism. Referring this to the testimony of scripture, Justin affirms

Dial. 61.1_b: ὅτι ἀρχὴν προ' πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων
ὁ θεὸς γεγέννηκε δυνάμιν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν,
ἣτις καὶ δόξα κυρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ
ἀγίου καλεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ υἱός, ποτὲ δὲ σοφία,
ποτὲ δὲ ἄγγελος, ποτὲ δὲ θεός, ποτὲ δὲ
κύριος καὶ λόγος, . . .

... that God has begotten as Beginning before all the creatures (a) a certain Rational Power (b) from Himself, which is called also by the Holy Spirit glory of the Lord (c) and sometimes Son (d), and sometimes Wisdom (e), and sometimes Angel (f), and sometimes God, and sometimes Lord and Word (g), ... 185

185 (a) ... ἀρχὴν προ' πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων Cf. Prov. 8:22. Jerome, writing on Gen. 1:1 (Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.), held that many believed that instead of "in the beginning", the Hebrew had "in the Son"; this was probably due to a Midrashic expansion of "in the beginning" used by the Jews when expounding on the Law (see A. L. Williams, p. 126, f.n. 3.).

(b) H. Hegermann (p. 76 f.) observes that Justin knows, as evidenced here, the wider background of the theophany, the idea of the divine Dynamis. Hegermann cites parallels in

It is clear from the titles associated with the Logos that the term pertains to the apologist's cosmological speculation. Moreover, the application to Christ pre-existent is a convenient choice complementing the view of Christ as another God, the mediator between the Most High and the physical realm, but also pertaining to the hypostatization suggested

185 (b) (con't)

Philo (leg. alleg.), and in Wisd. Sol. 10.1-20.

A noteworthy parallel is found in Dial. 128.1 (Christ, being Lord and ever God the Son of God, appearing by His Power in ancient time ...), but again the expression pertains to the metaphysical; there is no reference to the real presence of the Incarnation (cf. A. L. Williams, p. 264).

(c) See Ex. 16:7 and cf. Dial. 34.2; 100.4; 128.2.

(d) A probable reference to Ps. 2:7, cf. Dial. 78.8; 103.6; 122.6.

(e) Cf. Prov. 8:12 and see n. 11 supra. This title is also recurrent in the Dial.: 62.4; 100.4; 126.1.

(f) Referring to the discussion of ἀγγελος in the preceding chapters (see n. 184 above), and comparing it with the use here and in Apol. I. 63.5, J. S. Sibinga (p. 82) concludes that we cannot be sure that ἀγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ was Justin's text, although it is likely to be part of a very old text. The context here, and in the Apology, suggests ἀγγελος as the reading presupposed by Justin. (Sibinga, loc. cit.)

(g) In this context, where Logos is cited along with a universal, rational Power there are suggested traces of a Philonic debt, or at least philosophical rationalism similar to Philo's. Justin's choice of words is different, cf. de opif. mundi. 7.26 f., where the Divine Mind was the physical universe. In leg. alleg. II.21, III. 61, 175 f. the created Logos occupies an intermediate place between God and the world. R. Holte believes that Justin's choice of the terms 'angel' and 'spermatic Logos', used to describe Jesus, stem from Philo, (p. 126), cf. E. R. Goodenough, p. 146 f.

in the wisdom literature.¹⁸⁶ As such, the title forms a bridge between the aspirations of Hellenistic Judaism and Greek philosophical speculation. The quotation which follows, Proverbs 8:22-36, is not illogical, since it gives Biblical sanction to the equation of the terms 'Word' and 'Wisdom'. In a later chapter, the writer carries the speculation on the Word's cosmic activity to further heights,¹⁸⁷ but there is noticeably lacking a genuine affirmation of the Word become flesh which is found in the Fourth Gospel. The writer's words

... He appears sometimes in an appearance that cannot be reckoned by space; and was sometimes called a man, and a human being ... 188

are far removed from a genuine assertion of the Incarnation.

When compared with the development of thought in the Johannine prologue, it appears that the writer's preconceived cosmological speculations dominate the thought, and the Jesus of history must be adapted to conform with the cosmic

¹⁸⁶ Wisd. Sol. 18:15. J. N. Sanders has given a brief explanation of the successive stages in the development of the Logos concept through Philo, see I DB IV, "Word" pp. 870 ff.

¹⁸⁷ Dial. 128.2 f., where the Logos is again associated with the title ἀγγελος as well as δόξα.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid; the writer following with more assertions that there are Two Gods, cf. Dial. 128.4; 129.2.

Being.¹⁸⁹ Cosmology, rather than soteriology is the governing consideration.¹⁹⁰

For our particular interest, it gives added proof that the writer's exalted Christology has departed from some of the primary considerations of the New Testament. It has minimized the humanity of Jesus and thereby falls far short of the insights of the gospels and epistles. Within this exalted Christology, there was no room for the Servant doctrine.

Other Terms Related to the Interpretation of the $\Pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$

Since the term $\Pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ as a Christological designation occurs only within quotations from the LXX, and other indications of Justin's understanding of the designation beyond those cited are lacking, a brief examination of the use of terms related to the Servant Figure will help to clarify the apologist's interpretation in concluding our inquiry.

Within quotations, we may cite the example of the use of $\delta\delta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ in Dial. 25, which refers to the righteous remnant of

¹⁸⁹ See Add'l Note II.1, for contrast with 4th Gospel's Logos

¹⁹⁰ Justin's thinking is in marked contrast, at this point, with that of Irenaeus, (cf. adv. haer. IV. 20.2 ff., and my remarks, chap. IV, n. 111 and n. 120, in particular).

Israel. In this instance, the quotation of Isaiah 63:15 ff. is employed as a summons to the Jews to repent, and applies to the Servants of the Lord,¹⁹¹ or the chosen people who are the true Israel. This instance is paralleled by other usages of the term; specifically, we may recall the quotation of Isaiah 42:19 cited earlier.¹⁹² It was mentioned that the menial sense of the terms was not necessarily inferred in that occurrence, but since these are quotations which follow the LXX, we must look elsewhere for more positive evidence of the writer's interpretation.

The most significant evidence of contrasting terms is found in the Dialogue where Trypho's question employs the substantive ὑπηρέτης in reference to the One who appeared to Abraham as God (θεός), referring to Christ pre-incarnate.¹⁹³ In the

¹⁹¹ Otto, pp. 82 ff., translates διὰ τοῦ δούλου σου with propter servos tuos. On the use of δούλοι, cf. C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p. 9.

¹⁹² Dial. 123.3, cf. n. 132 above, and see also Dial. 135. In the LXX at this point it is clear that παῖς and δούλος are synonymous designations, both of which translate the Hebrew יָדָבָר. In a quotation of Jer. 4:22 in Dial. 32, the Jews are called υἱοὶ.

¹⁹³ Dial. 57.3. ὑπηρέτης: the noun is found often in the LXX, but it is never used in Dietero-Isaiah in reference to the Servant Figure, (see H & R, ad. loc.).

following chapter¹⁹⁴ the apologist describes how this same God, who is also called "Angel" and "Lord" so that He may be recognized as serving (*ὑπηρετεῖν*) the Father, nevertheless "is called God, is, and shall be God." As Lukyn Williams observed,

Justin's words suggested that such a 'servant' had a position under the Father that was superior to all others. But /in this instance/ we should have expected him to use *παῖς*, for there seems to be no such use of *ὑπηρετεῖς*, *ὑπηρετεῖν* in the Greek Bible, or in early Christian writers to denote the office of the Messiah. ¹⁹⁵

However, Philo applies the substantive *ὑπηρετεῖς* to the Logos, saying that God uses him as 'servant' to distribute his gifts.¹⁹⁶ In the Dialogue, we have the unusual substitution of *ὑπηρετεῖς* for *παῖς*. In view of the Philonic usage related to the exalted Logos, it appears that Justin has avoided the term *παῖς*, which did not exclude the lower meaning,¹⁹⁷ and indicated a choice which in the contemporary usage was associated with lofty status.

¹⁹⁴ Dial. 58.3 ff.

¹⁹⁵ A. Lukyn Williams, p. 120 f.n. 2.

¹⁹⁶ Q.D.S.I. xii.57, (cf. A. Lukyn Williams, loc. cit.).

¹⁹⁷ Again, this bears out Harnack's position in respect to the interpretation of *παῖς* in the 2nd Century; see "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' ...", SAB xxviii (1926), p. 234.

Where the apologist clearly designates a person as a subordinate, he uses the term *θεράπων* as in the citation referring to Moses.¹⁹⁸ This term occurs outside of quotations and designates a faithful menial who discharges his obligations to a superior. *θεράπων*, however, is never used by Justin in reference to Christ. We can conclude that the apologist was conscious of the distinction in terminology and selected those designations outside of quotations which were in keeping with Christ's exalted status.

C. Summary

The importance of Justin's writings lies in the fact that he was one of the earliest Christian writers in the Palestinian tradition to attempt to bridge the gap between the theology of the Judaeo-Christian heritage and the learned pagan speculation typified in Neo-Platonic philosophy. Gustaf Aulén has observed that the point at which the specifically Christian differentiated itself from Neo-Platonism was in the apprehension of the incarnation.¹⁹⁹ In the fourth century, it was no less a

¹⁹⁸ Dial. 46: Moses is classed as *θεράπων*, servant, or attendant, which Otto renders as *famulus*. Cf. the occurrence in Dial. 134, where Noah gives to his two sons the seed of the third as a bond servant.

¹⁹⁹ Gustaf Aulén, The Faith of the Christian Church, Eng. tr., 1961, p. 186.

figure than Augustine who in contrast with the Neo-Platonists strongly asserted the fact of the incarnation, and related it to Christ's assumption of the form of a Servant, recovering something of the biblical perspective.²⁰⁰ For our interest, there is the closest relationship between the full apprehension of the incarnation and the biblical presentation of the work of the Servant. Commenting on the fundamental motif of Christianity in the primitive period, Aulén observes:

The incarnation proclaims the gospel of divine self-giving, and has thus guarded the fulness of the Christian revelation of God. It declares that no one but God, or divine love itself is incarnate in Christ and performs the work of redemption ... It was the Christological idea of the incarnation that more than anything else served as a bulwark against the process of Hellenization at work in the Church.²⁰¹

It is of further significance that where the tendency is found that avoids a full apprehension of the incarnation and a minimizing of the Servant Christology, there is also a tendency to separate the person of Christ from substantial union with the Father, and to relegate the Son to the position of another

²⁰⁰ Cf. de civitate Dei IX.15.

²⁰¹ G. Aulén, loc. cit.

Deity.²⁰² We have cited ample evidence from the Dialogue in illustration of both of these Christological deviations, and it will be seen that the thought of the apologist in this respect is in marked contrast with that of Irenaeus, whose stress on both the union of substance in the Godhead and the reality of the incarnation is in closer accord with the biblical presentation.

We have found that some of the modified interpretation in Justin's Christology resulted from a mechanical use of proof texts, which obscured historical exegesis and a theological understanding of the subject matter in its original context. The fact that by Justin's time the text is still regarded as important is explained by the evidence that it was part of the Church's deposit of Messianic texts. This marked emphasis

²⁰² Aulén, commenting on two Christological deviations which confronted the early church, which he identifies as the "separation type" and the "theophany type", observes in respect to the former, which, he acknowledges, appears in the Apologists: "whenever /Greek/ philosophy has had serious influence on Christology it has led to a concept of Christ as an intermediate being", (p. 190). With the presupposition of God as a being "enthroned in isolated majesty", the philosophical idea of Logos is admirably suited to the role of intermediary in serving this metaphysical conception of God. But for the ancient Church, the incarnation opposes this line of thought, and the Son is regarded as of the same substance as the Father: "it is the divine nature itself that is incarnate in Christ, not an intermediary being" (loc. cit.).

on the use of Isaiah 53 in the Dialogue illustrates the Christological importance of this scripture, but in Justin's hands the text was understood in direct contradiction both to its meaning in the original, and to its interpretation by the New Testament writers. Justin capitalized on certain nuances in the LXX rendering of the Servant texts to achieve this theological reinterpretation. In particular, we cited the variant in Isaiah 53:10, which inferred a sacrificial offering of the people instead of the Servant's self-offering, and the interpretation of the term $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ in Isaiah 53:8, which the apologist cited to introduce his speculation on Christ's origin and pre-existence. Further, we found that the sacrifice mentioned in the Servant text was regarded from a liturgical point of view, as opposed to a more profound theological understanding of the costliness of sacrifice and the believer's incorporation into this event. With Justin's failure to regard sin as complete moral and spiritual disaster, this incomplete view of the nature of sacrifice resulted in a shallow appreciation of the Atonement.

As we examined other texts which were related to the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, it was clear that the writer did not find these to refer to any diminishing of Christ's exalted status. Since $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ was only found in quotations as a Christological designation, the writer's understanding of the term had to be deduced from the

context in which the quotations were employed. Further, at a point where the inference was to service, or ministering to the Father's will, the term selected was not *παῖς*, but *ὑπηρέτης*. The latter term had appeared in Philo in reference to the divine Logos. Apparently, the writer hesitated to use *παῖς* because it did not exclude the lower meaning.

In keeping with this reversal of the interpretation of the Servant texts was Justin's speculation on Christ pre-existent as Second God. This Being was represented as a Divine Intermediary between the Highest God and the physical universe. Practically all the epiphanies recounted in the Old Testament were referred to the activity of this Deity, and the view was complementary to the apologist's theology which regarded the Father as utterly transcendent and inaccessible. The high Christology excluded any trace of a genuine Servant doctrine.

Where Justin referred to Christ's Two Advents, the Figure of the Danielic Son of Man was regarded as important by our writer. However, instead of this designation being used to represent the eschatological glorified Figure and the humanity of Jesus of Nazareth, the interpretation of the apologist stressed the exalted aspect and minimized the genuineness of His humanity.

Justin's thought as it is represented in the Dialogue represents a decisive stage in the early history of the

Servant doctrine. Whereas it was seen that the sub-apostolic writers occasionally used the title *παῖς*, probably due to the lingering influence of the prayer formulas, Justin has avoided the title as a Christological designation outside of quotations, and has reversed the meaning of those quotations that contain the term. It is true that even before the mid-second century, going back probably to the end of the first century, if not before, the emphasis on Christ's divinity at the expense of His true humanity begins to take place. A few years after the period represented in the Dialogue, it will be shown that Irenaeus made a strong effort to return to the biblical understanding of the incarnation, but still there was a failure to recover the Christological application of the Servant doctrine. Additional evidence of the widespread influence of this change is found in the thought of Melito of Sardis, whose work chronologically falls between Irenaeus and Justin.

Chapter II - Additional Notes

II.1. The Logos concept in Justin bears an interesting contrast with the Biblical presentation, particularly the Johannine use of Logos. The most complete discussion of the term $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ in John is found in C. H. Dodd's Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 263 ff.. The relevant points may be summarized as follows:

In the body of the Gospel (excluding the Prologue) the term in the singular connoted a statement or discourse, and in the plural it referred to spoken words. In the collective sense it meant the message of Jesus to the world, thus including the spoken word and its content (Principal Black has called attention to the distinction of $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ from $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$, cf. Jn. 8:43). Thus it may be said that John saw in $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ the content of Christ's utterance in the sense of life-giving and sustaining power given to men, but this is also the medium through which the power is communicated. If we had only to do with this limited sense, $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ would be a potent expression. The fact is the term has undergone significant other developments.

In Jn. 10:34 ff., the reference is to God's self-revelation to man, corresponding to its expression in the O.T. through the prophets. Also, the Evangelist regarded $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ in a sense similar to $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, it was the Ultimate Truth (Jn. 17:17), revealed, and not speculated upon. It is God's gift to man, preserving His sovereignty and transcendence.

In the LXX, $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ translated the Hebrew דְבַר , which meant God's self-revelation, particularly with reference to the prophetic utterance. Once spoken, the O.T. was inclined to ascribe to the דְבַר a substantive existence of its own, accomplishing what He wills. Dodd finds this often paralleled with the totality of God's self-revelation in the דְבַר . Some influence of Rabbinic theology may be found in the Johannine Prologue, where the description of the Logos and his relation to God corresponds to much of what the Rabbis said about the Torah (cf. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 27). Opinions differ, however, as to whether Yahweh's word, דְבַר , occurring in the Targums is to be regarded as a hypostasis or not (see H. Ringgren, Word and Wisdom /1947/ pp. 159-60). What is extremely important, however, is that for the author of the Prologue, $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, referring to the creation narrative of Genesis, meant a substantive existence of its own, a mediating creative power, but it also affirms that in Christ, the unique Son of God, the $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ was incarnate (Dodd, pp. 268-9).

Thus, this manifestation of God became $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, or the human nature which Christ bore. It is interesting, in the light of Stoic associations of $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, where it tended to be equated with Divine Wisdom, and its interpretation in Poimandres of

II.1 (con't)

the Corpus Hermeticum as a mediating creative power, that the author of the Prologue retained the cosmological association, but included the identity with the Word become flesh. Therefore, the Evangelist believed that the earthly life of Jesus is the history of the Logos as incarnate; and within this limited sphere, it identifies the totality of the history of the Logos in perpetual relationship with man and the world - which are His.

The Evangelist, instead of approaching the problem from the 'outside' and fitting the person of Jesus into the speculative cosmic concept, as with Philo and thinkers of his tendency, has accepted the real existence of the historic figure. "The life that is in the world, the light that is in the mind of man, are what we have found in Christ", as Dodd translates Jn. 1:9, 14 (p. 285).

Justin, on the other hand, as Professor H. R. Mackintosh long ago pointed out, approaches the Logos with a preconceived cosmological understanding of what it should be, and it can be analysed and speculated upon quite apart from the Jesus of the Gospels (The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ /1913/, p. 143, cf. espec. Dial. 61.1 f.; 128.2-4, Otto pp. 66 ff.). Somewhat akin to Ignatius, the starting point for Justin is the divine idea (cf. E. F. von der Goltz "Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologie" TU xii:3 /1894-5/, p. 120, but I cannot accept Goltz's distinction between the approach of the Prologue and the remainder of the Fourth Gospel). Essentially, in the thought of the apologist the effect is twofold: to depersonalize the Saviour so that soteriology is swallowed up in cosmology, and, as would logically follow, to create an image of a Second Divinity whose cosmic role is to mediate between the Most High and the physical universe.

II.2. The relationship of the concepts of Jewish Messiah and a Suffering Figure, particularly that which is epitomized in II Isaiah's Servant, has long been a problem to Biblical interpreters. Indeed, the question of whether a suffering Messiah was known in pre-Christian Judaism has of itself provoked considerable debate among scholars. W. D. Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, 2nd ed. 1955, pp. 280 ff.), referring to Trypho's statements in Dial. 89 and 90, asserts that Trypho does not know of any other possibility than that of a suffering Messiah. Further, Davies finds that it is the manner of Christ's death, rather than the suffering, that proves to be the stumbling block. Prof. Davies cites evidence from the Talmud in support of this, (cf. b. Sanh. 93b, 98a, et. al.).

There are, however, difficulties in this position. For one thing, Prof. Davies ascribes a genuineness to Trypho (loc. cit. f.n.2) that may not be justified (cf. C. A. H. Guignebert, The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus, tr. S. H. Hooke, p. 148, f.n.1; J. Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, tr. W. F. Stinespring, p. 407; and A. L. Williams, Justin Martyr, the Dialogue, p. xxv). Of greater importance, however, is the

II.2. (con't)

expectation of a Messiah and its relationship to the Figure who suffers vicariously. H. H. Rowley ("The Suffering Servant and the Davidic Messiah", OTS VIII, 1950) distinguishes between the Messiah ben Ephraim and the Messiah ben David (p. 104 f.), and examines the evidence for an established association of the Suffering Servant with either, or both, of these concepts in the pre-Christian era. Along with G. F. Moore (Judaism in the First Three Centuries of the Christian Era I, 1927, pp. 551 ff.; III, 1930, p. 166) and Strack-Billerbeck (Kommentar II, 1924, p. 274), among others, and opposing the position of such scholars as C. C. Torrey (cf. Torrey's statement in JBL xlviii /1929/, p. 25), J. Jeremias ("Erlöser und Erlösung im spatjudentum" in Deutsche Theologie II /1929/ pp. 106 ff.; cf. The Servant of God, pp. 75-78, but see p. 50) and I. Engnell ("The Ebed Yahweh Songs and the Suffering Servant in 'Deutero-Isaiah'" BJRL 31 (1948) pp. 55 f. as well as that of W. D. Davies (pp. 275 ff., but a cautious conclusion, p. 283), and A. Guillaume ("The Servant Poems in Deutero-Isaiah", Theology xi /1925/ pp. 254 ff., 309 ff.; xii /1926/ pp. 2ff., 63 ff., but Guillaume admits that later Judaism avoided the idea in opposition to Christian interpretation, p. 67), Dr. Rowley finds insufficient evidence to justify the assumption that the Davidic Messiah was thought of as a Suffering Messiah in the pre-Christian era (pp. 105 - 107). To put it another way, the Messianic prophecy in the technical sense of Jewish hope for perpetuation of the Kingdom under an ideal leader was not a part of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecies, (see G. von Rad, Theologie des alten Testaments, Bd. II /1960/, p. 254: "Tatsächlich hatte die messianische Hoffnung in seinem prophetischen Vorstellungskreis keinen Raum"; cf. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh /1956/, p. 174; W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament I, p. 62; J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel /1962/, p. 382; and the art. by E. Jenni, "Messiah" IDB III, pp. 363, 365).

In actual fact, from an examination of the Targums, it seems clear that they were at pains to avoid the idea of a suffering Messiah (Rowley, pp. 107-8), the suggestion being that this was due to the need for anti-Christian polemic (cf. Origen, c. Celsus I. 55, but see my comments on this passage in chap. V.). The evidence postulated by Prof. Davies appears to belong to the post-Christian era (Rowley, pp. 109-111), and cf. T. W. Manson "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels" in Studies in the Gospels and Epistles pp. 127 ff.). as the examples from the Dialogue (89, 90) indicate. Further, Dr. Rowley repudiates the pre-Christian association of the Messiah ben Ephraim with the Suffering Servant of Isa. 53 (pp. 112-114). But he is careful to observe that we do have indication that

II.2. (con't)

a suffering deliverer may have been expected in pre-Christian days (Isa. 53, cf. Zech 12:10), albeit distinguished from the future hope of Israel concentrated in the figure of the Davidic Messiah (Rowley, p. 115, cf. pp. 129-133).

Clearly, great care must be exercised in considering the Figure of the Suffering Servant of Isa. 53 in relation to other Hebraic concepts, particularly the hope of the Davidic Messiah in its Jewish technical sense. Principal Black has drawn attention to evidence in the DSS, and certainly in one passage, where we can detect an allusion to the idea of a priestly Messiah as a sacrificial victim ("The Messiah in the Testament of Levi xviii" ET lx, p. 321). In the Maccabean period Judaism became a religion of martyrs (cf. W. Bousset and H. Gressman Die Religion des Judentums, 1926, pp. 374 ff.), and there is evidence that Rabbinic theology preserved the Maccabean view that martyrdom somehow effected atonement (C. K. Barrett, "The Background of Mark 10:45" in New Testament Essays ed. A. J. B. Higgins, 1959, p. 13, cites the Siphre Deuteronomy 333 tr from C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, 1939, p. 226). Indeed, suffering in general is seen as a means of atonement (see Midr. Ps. 118:18 and cf. E. Lohse, Martyrer und Gottesknecht, 1955, pp. 29-32; E. Schechter Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, 1909, pp. 307 ff.; R. A. Stewart, Rabbinic Theology pp. 49 f., 135 f.; and G. F. Moore, Judaism I, pp. 546-52). However, the Maccabean martyrs died in faithfulness to the Law, whereas Deutero-Isaiah's Servant suffered and died for the benefit of others (cf. Christian Maurer, "Knecht Gottes und Sohn Gottes im Passionsbericht des Markusevangelium" ZTK 50 (1953) p. 21).

Some have found the link between the Figure who suffers and the Messiah in the Enochian Son of Man. While it may be admitted that there are distinctive features in the Servant Figure which appear as characteristics of the Son of Man of I Enoch, it should be recalled that nowhere in I Enoch is the main function of the Servant, his vicarious and redemptive suffering, ascribed to this Son of Man (M. Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man", SJT 6, p. 10, cf. W. Manson Jesus the Messiah, 1943, p. 173 f. and H. H. Rowley, pp. 125 ff.). However, considering the matter from the post-New Testament point of view, there seems to be much more than the Danielic Son of Man lying behind the Caesarea Philippi confession of Mk. 8:38 (M. Black, p. 11). The dating of the relevant parts of Enoch is still uncertain (cf. R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament II p. 171), but since the motif of redemptive suffering is not associated with the figure in Enoch, we must find another source for the fusion of the concepts of the suffering, redemptive deliverer and

II.2. (con't)

the Messiah. It is precisely because the linking of these concepts was not clear to Jesus' disciples, that we find them unprepared for the idea of His suffering (Mt. 16:22 ff. cf. T. W. Manson, The Servant Messiah, p. 71 and H. H. Rowie p. 129). Further it would seem most irregular, to attribute this insight to the primitive Christian community, particularly in the light of the fact that by the time of Justin the idea of a Messiah who suffers is employed only as an identifying characteristic of Jesus of Nazareth instead of providing a theological understanding of His redeeming work, (cf. Dial. 89, 100). In short, the linking of the concepts can be attributed to Jesus Himself. It is clear from the evidence in the remainder of this study that the second-century church continued to find difficulty with the implications of voluntary self-abnegation and suffering associated with the Servant concept being applied to the Lord, but they did not hesitate to refer the Isaianic prophecies to Christ, although without a theological understanding of their significance in His work of Atonement

CHAPTER III

SHADES OF PATRIPASSIANISM IN MELITO'S HOMILY ON THE PASSION

A. Prolegomena

In continuing our examination of second-century writings of the Fathers, we will examine the Homily of Melito, Bishop of Sardis. For purposes of clarifying the interpretation of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, this inquiry may seem at first glance to be a cul-de-sac, since the figure of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ is never employed christologically. Admittedly, the argument from silence is seldom conclusive, but since the absence of the term is conjoined with the author's high Christology, the examination of the Homily is considered relevant to our topic. In addition, there are other factors with reference to quotations from scripture which directly bear upon our problem, giving significant support that our period witnessed a changing pattern in interpretation of the prophetic figure of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ regarding it as "Son" (inferring the highest possible status), as opposed to "Servant".

Authorship and Date

It is known that Melito, Bishop of Sardis,¹ was a noteworthy writer in the second century, as witnessed to by the Church historian, Eusebius of Caesarea.² The titles listed by Eusebius give some indication of our author's range of interests.³ Until the discovery of the papyrus codex,⁴ only fragments of Melito's works were known to have survived.⁵ Although Melito's authorship of the

¹ Already an episcopal see in Asia Minor by the end of the 1st century. Cf. Plates 41, 1, 5 in Van der Meer & Mohrmann's Atlas of the Early Christian World, (transl. & ed. M. F. Hedlund & N. H. Rawley, 1958).

² Eusebius H.E. IV. 26.2

³ Ibid, listing among other works attributed to Melito: Two treatises On the Pasch, a treatise On Conduct and the Prophets, the works On the Church, On the Lord's Day, On the Faith of Man, On Creation, On Baptism, On Truth, On the Corporeality of God et al. Cf. the list given by Jerome, de Viris illustr. 25.

In addition, we may cite his authorship of an Apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius, fragments of which are preserved in Eusebius H.E. IV. 26.5 ff. and the Paschal Chronicle.

⁴ This papyrus, probably from the 4th century, was edited by Campbell Bonner in 1940: Studies and Documents XII, The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis and some Fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel. Bonner's edition comprises the basic text for this study. Henceforth it will be cited as "Bonner", or "A". The Bodmer papyrus, edited by M. Testuz (1960) is designated as "B", the Oxyrhynchus fragments as "O", and the Latin text of the homily as "L".

⁵ Excerpts from the Syriac version may be found in J.C.T.O. Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saec. secundi, Bd. IX (187) pp. 410 ff.. For a discussion of authorship and assignment of some fragments to Irenaeus, cf. Bonner, pp. 36-50.

Homily on the Passion⁶ has been questioned by some,⁷ the weight of evidence currently available justifies its genuineness.

There are stylistic parallels in the Homily to the Syriac fragments as well as similarity of ideas. Melito was a Quartodeciman⁸ and the theme which is developed in the Homily shows considerable influence of Quartodecimanism. When Nautin questioned the genuineness of the Homily, he based his opinions in part on the lack of evidence of Melito's influence,⁹ but we have sufficient reasons for

⁶ For uniformity, references to the text will be cited merely as the Homily, which is not intended as a categorical qualification (see comments regarding classification, infra pp.230ff.).

⁷ E.g., P. Nautin: "L'Homélie de Méliton sur la Passion", RHE, XLIV (1949), pp. 429-438; but Nautin's position has attracted little following, cf. W. Schneemelcher in Festschrift für Günther Dehn (1957), pp. 119 ff..

⁸ As we know from a letter of Polycrates of Ephesus written to Pope Victor (ca. 195) naming Melito as one who held to the Quartodeciman side of the Paschal Controversy, Eusebius H.E. V. 24.5.6. Cf. A. Harnack "Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten" in TU i (1882), p. 240.

The tradition of Quartodecimanism was especially rooted in Asia Minor and Melito is known to have upheld the practice, which persisted for a time in the churches of the interior of this region, (cf. ODCC "Quartodecimanism", p. 1131; L. Waterman, The Post-Apostolic Age (1898), pp. 210 ff.).

⁹ P. Nautin loc. cit..

the relative paucity of Melito's writings nearer their time of origin. ~~In fact~~, it is quite probable that at an early Actu. stage they achieved considerable popularity,¹⁰ but it was due to Melito's part in the Quartodeciman issue and the possible suggestion of Monarchian modalism in his theology, (or, Patripassianism)¹¹, which may have contributed to a decline in the general acceptance of his works.¹² We find, therefore, no substantial reason to question the authenticity of the treatise.¹³

With regard to the precise date of composition, conclusive evidence is lacking. We have referred to

¹⁰ M. Testuz, Papyrus Bodmer XIII Méliton de Sardes Homélie sur la Pâque (1960), p. 8: "Nous pensons, contrairement à une opinion courante, que ces oeuvres ont connu, dès leur parution, un très grand succès." Cf. Jerome de viris illustr. 24.

The Latin narrative of Pseudo-Melito is indicative of the prominence of our author.

¹¹ For example, Homily 2.17-20; 14.3-20; 16.12-17.
 N.B.: All text references are cited according to page number of the papyrus and lines (inclusive) in the reconstructed Greek text of Campbell Bonner (pp. 85-167) unless otherwise noted.*
 * References to the Bodmer Papyrus (B) are cited according to the text edited by M. Testuz. Since the first page has disappeared from B, this part of the text is cited from A, with lacunae reconstructed following L. The text of the sermon follows naturally in the beginning of the existing leaves from Bonner's text (see Testuz, p. 13 and cf. the f.n. p. 28).
 n.12 ↗ Quartodecimans at Nicea (p.10)

¹³ A short passage of the Homily is expressly ascribed to Melito by Anastasius of Sinai, cf. Migne, PG 89, 197A.

Polycrates' letter to Pope Victor¹⁴ which places Melito's death probably not later than 190 A.D., giving us the terminus ante quem. Bonner estimated that Melito's Apology was written not earlier than 169 A.D.. We may assume, therefore, that the date of the Homily falls between 170 (ca.) and 190 A.D..¹⁵

Methodological Considerations:

a) Style and Interpretation of Scripture

Before we can give a detailed exposition of the Christology of the Homily, we should consider the effects of the author's style upon the content of the treatise. This is true in a unique sense for this work, because there are occasions where the heretical Modalism of which Melito has been accused is more often the consequences of rhetorical artifices,¹⁶ although it must be acknowledged that the theological orthodoxy of our writer has suffered as a consequence. In the introduction to Campbell Bonner's edition the most conspicuous features of Melito's style are noted in particular, the use of parallel clauses with corresponding grammatical

¹⁴ See n. 8.

¹⁵ Bonner, p. 3. M. Testuz, p. 9, will not commit himself further than "... une date que l'on ne peut préciser dans la carrière de l'évêque de Sardes".
M. Testuz (p. 14) proposes to date the uncial manuscript (B) at the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century. E.G. Turner estimates it is from the fourth century (Testuz, p. 11)

¹⁶ See n. 55 and n. 59.

structure.¹⁷ It seems likely that this betrays a semitic influence.¹⁸ Moreover, Bonner has cited the first-person style of passages related to the nature and work of Christ and their similarity to examples in the Fourth Gospel, mentioning the possibility that these words are part of a primitive "Descent" hymn.¹⁹

Of particular significance for this study is Bonner's mention of the relationship of hymnodic praises and the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence:

The doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ as the Logos led the Church naturally to ascribe to him the creation of the world, the guidance of the patriarchs, and the protection of the Chosen People. Hence praises that originally belonged to the God of Israel might also be said and sung to Christ;²⁰ .../moreover/ some

¹⁷ Bonner, pp. 21-23.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 27: "Despite his use of many ordinary devices of Greek rhetorical style, his debt to the religious style of the Hebrews was even greater, though he doubtless knew it only through the septuagint version."

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 23, citing Kroll's discussion in Gotte und Hülle (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 20) pp. 1-18.

²⁰ Bonner, p. 25, cites W. Bousset's monograph (Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung in siebenten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen), in NGG, 1915, pp. 435-89), which postulated the theory that fragments of an old Jewish collection of prayers can be detected in parts of the Apostolic Constitutions. The phrases acknowledged God's creative power and providence.

sentences in the eucharistic prayer in Ap. Const. 8.12 seem to be drawn from an older Jewish form of worship. There particular mention is made of the creation of heaven and earth, the firmament, day and night, /etc./ ...". 21

It is noteworthy that here we have a suggested source for the hymnodic praises (as in Homily 13.26-33),²² which partially justifies the assignment of God's creative power to the pre-existent Christ. However, the author's high Christology was conducive to this ascription and certainly he gave scant attention to the distinction between God the Creator and Christ the Redeemer.

With a somewhat different approach, we might find the passages immediately preceding this section rooted more in the prophetic tradition. For example, the offering of vinegar and gall in 13.2, 9 & 20 Bonner believes to be based on Matthew 27:34, but as Wellesz has noted,²³ the language is reminiscent of Amos 6:4-6, which may, in fact, lie behind this section as a whole.²⁴ Other sources may have contributed;

²¹ Bonner, loc. cit...

²² In agreement with Bonner (loc. cit.), the Messianic predicates *πρωτότοκος τοῦ θεοῦ* and *πρὸ ἑωσφόρου γεννηθείς* probably belong to a Christian redaction, rather than to an original Jewish hymn.

²³ E. J. Wellesz, "Melito's Homily on the Passion: An Investigation into the sources of Byzantine Hymnography", JTS xliv (1943), p. 47.

²⁴ I.e.: Homily 13.2-14, 39.

chiefly, we should cite Esdras 1:17-24 and II Esdras 1:4-37. On the whole, the theme of Jewish ingratitude recalls Micah 6:3-4.²⁵ There are indications throughout the Homily that Melito was familiar with Old Testament scripture,²⁶ and, as we will observe in our examination of the author's Christology, there are titles reminiscent of passages from the New Testament. However, before dealing with the New Testament references and his Christology, we will give brief attention to Melito's method of interpretation, and consider how his style of exegesis influences the development of the theme.

For Melito, the Old Testament is viewed typologically. It was of value in that it foreshadowed the Reality to follow. The striking figure of the pattern and the statue (6.2 ff.) is imitated in a much later work of Origen²⁷ and

²⁵ Cf. Wellesz (loc. cit.) who adds that generally "the style is influenced by the hymnodic language of the Prophets, and in particular by Isaiah 5."

²⁶ In addition to those sources cited we note; the theme of the Homily based on Exodus 12; Genesis in 11.19 ff., et passim; Isaiah in 10.28, 17.9; Jeremiah in 10.23, etc..

²⁷ Hom. in Lev. 10.1.

illustrates the influence which our writer's method may have exercised.²⁸ Methodologically considered, the idea that the events of the Old Testament are only types of a future reality (which it lacked) is, of course, basic to the Epistle to the Hebrews.²⁹ To Melito the pattern had significance only in its realized fulfillment. The model or type has fulfilled its service once the Finished Work is accomplished.³⁰ In the writer's words: γίνεταί δὲ τό ποτε τίμιον ἄτιμον, τοῦ φύσει τιμίου φανερωθέντος (For that which was once valuable becomes of no worth, when the naturally valuable is revealed.)³¹ Melito's contribution was of some significance for the development of

²⁸ See also the paschal discourses (attributed to Hippolytus of Rome) in Migne, PG 59, 723 ff. and cf. the passage in another sermon treating the Law and the institutions of Israel as an artist's sketch preparing for the completed picture, PG 59, 732 f.

²⁹ Heb. 8:5-7; 9:1-2, 11-14; 10:1. See J. Danielou, From Shadows to Reality (1960 transl. of Sacramentum Futuri by Dom. V. Hibberd), p. 231., and cf. Danielou's discussion of Adamic typology in Paul and Irenaeus, pp. 30 ff., Bonner notes other parallels to Melito's phraseology in Hippolytus (pp. 58-60). For a discussion of the figure of the pattern and the statue, see Bonner, p. 68 f.

³⁰ Homily 6.11-17.

³¹ Homily 6.15-17. Cf. 6.41-7.: "the Church arose and ... the type is made void giving over the image to the natural truth ..."

historical typology.³² What started as Jewish liturgical types, and were later adapted as Christological types, have now become a series of occasions when the pre-incarnate Christ was envisaged as present with His people under the old dispensation.³³ The "type" actually has become the work of the pre-incarnate Christ, in our writer's view. What remains to be considered is the bearing which Melito's typology has upon the development of the theme of the treatise.

Methodological Considerations:

b) Development of the Theme and Classification of the Treatise

As we have inferred, the content of the treatise gives evidence of the author's interest in the Quartodeciman question. The Homily certainly provides suitable subject matter to be used in a service commemorating Israel's deliverance from the Angel of Death,³⁴ a celebration which, for the Quartodecimans, coincided with the memorial of the Lord's

³² K. J. Woollcombe, Essays on Typology, p. 71 f..

³³ R. P. C. Hanson, Allegory and Event, p. 109.

³⁴ As "un des plus anciens monuments que nous possédions de la prédication chrétienne", J. Daniélou feels that it was pronounced "à la Fête de Pâque, telle que la célébraient les Quartodecimans d'Asie Mineure au IIIe siècle, c'est-à-dire au jour de la Pâque juive," (Message Evangélique et Culture Hellénistique, 1961, p. 214).

death and resurrection. It is, in fact, central to the theme that a parallel exists between the lamb's sacrifice in the first Jewish passover which saves the people by its shed blood, and the destiny of suffering and sacrifice of Jesus. The former is the 'old', which is the *τύπος* (figure), while the latter is the 'new', being the *ἀλήθεια* (truth).³⁵

Michel Testuz has observed in this respect that the constraint of Jesus is seen as "... la Pâque du salut pour tous les hommes".³⁶

However, in Melito's understanding, the relationship between the two events is more than an accident of history. In the Homily, what stopped the Angel of Destruction was not the death of the Lamb, but the *τύπος* of the Lord (5.31). Père Daniélou is concerned to emphasize the historic character of the connection between the old and the new Pâque.³⁷

One might contend that the "historic" relationship, is in fact, lacking. However, it is recognized that, as Daniélou

³⁵ 2.1-2, 11-13; et passim. Cf. J. Daniélou loc. cit. Dr. Cross has noted that "the Jewish Passover and the Exodus are understood as pointing forward to the sacrificial sufferings and death of Christ". (The Early Christian Fathers, p. 107).

³⁶ M. Testuz, p. 20.

³⁷ J. Daniélou, loc. cit.

has put it, the death of the Lamb was done in order to announce other things: the *μυστήριον* of the Saviour.

"Et elle doit disparaître quand est apparu ce qu'elle n'avait pour mission que d'annoncer".³⁸

We can observe that underlying Melito's theology is the conception of the divinity and pre-existence of Christ. Theophanies in the Old Testament are attributed to Christ's activity,³⁹ and the mystery of his sacrifice is foreshadowed in a variety of types associated with prominent figures in Israel's history.⁴⁰ In application, the theme is developed through the false etymology connecting the word *πάσχα* (actually a transliteration of the Aramaic word *ܩܦܘܨܐ*, [*passover*]) with the Greek verb *πάσχειν* (to suffer). Not

³⁸ Ibid. Daniélou notes that our author explains his method in the parable of the pattern and the statue, or finished work (6.3 ff.).

³⁹ Homily 11.1; 1.9 ff.; 13.28 ff.; 13.34-37; 14. 1 ff., etc..

⁴⁰ Homily 10.2 ff., et passim. O. Perler, "Recherches sur le Peri Pascha de Meliton", Rech SR 11:3 (1963), p. 403, in distinguishing the Peri Pascha from the Peri Psyches while acknowledging a literary interdependence between them, observed that what was peculiar to the Peri Pascha was the subject of the Passover in the first half of the treatise, and the concentration on the typology of the Passion in the latter half (9.28-10.35; 11.2 ff.). This division of subject matter is in agreement with P. Nautin, p. 433.

unlike the connection we find in I Peter, the Homily reflects the concept of a liturgical incorporation of the believer into Christ and may be an important document in evidence of the tradition connecting baptism with His suffering and atoning death through 'corporate identity'.⁴¹ It should be emphasized that this is a liturgical connection, as distinguished from a developed theological understanding of baptism as the renewed life possible through Christ's passion. This will be discussed in greater detail in our consideration of Melito's Christology. What we have here is a typological identification of the Passover with the Passion of Jesus Christ, and events which relate to the former, recounted in the Old Testament, are held to be a foreshadowing of this latter decisive event. Therefore, Melito

⁴¹ Cf. A. R. C. Leaney, "I Peter and the Passover: an Interpretation", NTS X:2 (Jan., 1964), espec. p. 243. O. Perler calls attention to the fact that in the Homily (9.13-25) all flesh is seen to fall under sin and the whole body under death (p. 409). The Homily (9.25-27) finds that for ~~the~~ reason the mystery of the Passover is fulfilled in the body of the Lord. Perler, then, interprets the humanity of Christ as representing and enclosing the whole of redeemed humanity (ὁ ἀνθρώπος). By it Christ is the first-born among the dead, cf. Col. 10/15-18, (p. 416). This theology is known in the writings of Irenaeus, Hippolytus and later, in Athanasius, among others. See the discussion, infra, and my comments on the atonement in Irenaeus, ad loc..

can declare: τὸ τοῦ πάσχα μυστήριον

τετέλεσται ἐν τῷ τοῦ κυρίου σώματι

(the mystery of the Passover is fulfilled⁴² in the body of the Lord). The writer speaks of the Passion in order to conclude with a description of the Resurrection and the glorious Christ who is King, Lord and Saviour.⁴³

At first glance, then, it would seem that Campbell Bonner has properly classified the treatise in stating that "to-day [it would] be called a Good Friday sermon".⁴⁴ But, as Bernhard Lohse has pointed out, Melito, being a Quartodeciman, would have celebrated the Quartodeciman Passa, but not the "'heidenchristliche' Karfreitags - und Osterfest".⁴⁵ Therefore, it is misleading to imply that the treatise would be suitable for the commemoration of the date of our Lord's death on the Cross, where that

⁴² τετέλεσται: the intensive perfect is significant for Melito's theological bias.

⁴³ M. Testuz, p. 20.

⁴⁴ Bonner, p. 19, cf. p. 57 f..

⁴⁵ B. Lohse, Die Passa-Homilie des Bischofs Meliton von Sardes (Textus Minores xxiv, 1958) p. 7. In essential agreement with Lohse are M. Testuz, p. 20, and F. L. Cross p. 104: "nowhere, at this early date, were the two commemorations distinguished". Dr Cross further objects to classifying the work as a "sermon" because "it's temper and ethos are declamatory, not persuasive" (p. 105).

date is to be distinguished from His rising from the tomb on the third day.⁴⁶

In relation to the classification, we should mention briefly the opening sentence of the Homily, which has provoked considerable discussion since Bonner's edition appeared in 1940. We cite this problem since it bears on the interpretation, and is related to methodological considerations of Meilito's use of scripture. The opening words follow:

1.1-4: ἡ μὲν γραφή τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς ἐξόδου
ἀνέγνωσται, ^{46a} ῥήματα τοῦ μυστηρίου διασεσάφηται,
πῶς τὸ πρόβατον θύεται καὶ πῶς ὁ λαὸς σώζεται.

The difficulty in rendering these lines has to do with the meaning of *διασεσάφηται* and with a question of practice in the worship of the early Church. In Bonner's introductory remarks, it is inferred that a paraphrase for the translation followed the reading of the Hebrew text, so the quotation would mean: 'the passage on the Exodus in Hebrew has been

⁴⁶ M. Testuz, p.20, understood Bonner in this regard to mean that the subject of the Homily was the death of Christ which is acceptable, adding that, in fact, for the Quartodecimans, it was not a question of fixing Easter on a Sunday, but on the 14th of Nisan. Consequently 'Good Friday' did not exist for them. He considers that even those who followed the dominical calculations probably ignored 'Good Friday' at this period. The same day would mark the observance of the death and resurrection of Christ.

^{46a} Add καὶ τὰ, cf. n. 11 above.

read and the words of mystery have been translated ...'.⁴⁷
 That is, after reading the passage of the Exodus, there followed a *διασάφησης*, in the sense of an exposition of the passage with its application to the slaying of the lamb and its efficacy for salvation. G. Zuntz held that the adjective *ἑβραϊκῆς* meant 'in the Hebrew language', and concluded that "linguistically, Melito's first sentence would be naturally understood to refer to a Hebrew scripture-lesson followed by a (Greek) targum (LXX)".⁴⁸

In consideration of this, among other factors, Bonner added a note⁴⁹ in essential agreement with the fact that *διασαφέν* may be understood in the sense of to translate

⁴⁷ Bonner, pp. 30-36; cf. his translation, p. 168. The interpretation that Bonner originally meant 'the Hebrew flight from Egypt' as understood by M. Testuz, p. 18, following G. Zuntz in this article "On the Opening Sentence of Melito's Paschal Homily", *HTR* XXXVI (1943), pp. 299-315, is refuted by the editor in his note following the article of Zuntz. Apparently, Bonner originally meant that the passage had been read in Hebrew and was followed by an interpretation.

⁴⁸ Zuntz, p. 315.

⁴⁹ See n. 46. F. L. Cross, p. 106, states that there are good reasons for thinking that the custom of reading the Scriptures, in Hebrew, in the synagogue services was carried into the Christian Church.

or to paraphrase into the vernacular.⁵⁰ In that case, we would render the introductory sentence as follows: "The passage from the Hebrew ~~(Book of)~~ Exodus has been read, [and the] words of mystery interpreted how the sheep is sacrificed and how the People are saved".⁵¹ The introductory sentence, then, directs our attention immediately to the central theme of the Homily: the Passover sacrifice (which has now been fulfilled) is effectual for the People's salvation. We may now consider briefly how this theme is developed.

Following the introduction to the discourse which cited the reading from Exodus 12, there is an exposition of the dual nature of the Passover; temporal, as an institution of the Chosen People under the Law, and eternal, interpreted in terms of Christ's sacrifice and the Divine Plan for man's salvation.⁵² This statement is elaborated

⁵⁰ In our literature, as following the usage in inter-testamental period, διασαφείν means 'to explain' or 'to report'; see Mt. 13:36 and cf. 18:31, (Bauer, p. 187).

⁵¹ For the reconstruction of the words in brackets, cf. n. 46a above.

⁵² Homily 1.4-14.

in a discussion of the passover. The true *πάσχα* is ~~based on the author's position that the True Passover is~~ not the victim and its sacrifice, but ~~that these are~~ *this is* types of both the Person of Christ and His Office in the *the* New Dispensation.⁵³ All of this is in accordance with the Divine Plan, foreshadowed in the patriarchs and prophets.⁵⁴ In treating of the mystery of this sacrifice the writer weaves into the exposition a discussion of suffering.⁵⁵ Man is the sufferer,⁵⁶ but the Lord came to earth to redeem and heal him. Thus the mystic Passover is consummated in Christ's sacrifice.⁵⁷ There follows a series of hymnodic praises of Christ, relating Christ pre-existent to a wide variety of Old Testament theophanies.⁵⁸

⁵³ Homily 1.15 f.; 2.1-13; 6.41 f. (the text here has largely been reconstructed) 7.7; cf. 6.1-11; 6.18-35.

⁵⁴ Homily 9.28-32

⁵⁵ The transition occurs in the false etymology referred to (p.232), cf. Homily 7.29-34, a good example of the author's sacrifice of accuracy for the sake of rhetoric.

⁵⁶ Homily 8.5-9. 25.

⁵⁷ Homily 9.25-27; 11.1-9.

⁵⁸ Homily 11.9-31.

Emphasizing the wrong Israel has done in its part in the crucifixion, the writer develops the sub-theme that it was, in fact, God the Creator and Provider whom they slew.⁵⁹ Israel's chastisement⁶⁰ is then described in hymnodic phrases based on the theme of 'bitter herbs'.⁶¹ The treatise concludes with an invitation to receive the remission of sins⁶² and a hymn of praise glorifying Christ as the Mediator par excellence,⁶³ and, again, identifying Him, the

⁵⁹ Homily 12.4 - 14.20, but it is obvious that here, as elsewhere, this suggestion of the Patrippasian form of Monarchianism arises largely from the rhetorical demands of the treatise. See Homily 15.14-20, and cf. Peter's speech, Act 3:13 ff.

⁶⁰ Bonner's note to 15.23 (p. 153) states that throughout this passage the Syriac seems to have understood the sentences as referring to the past, whereas the tone of Melito's words is that of one predicting punishment (cf. 15.20). P. Kahle has observed, however, that the Syriac text can have a past as well as future meaning depending on the context, which was not known before the discovery of the Greek papyrus, ("Was Melito's Homily on the Passion Originally Written in Syriac?" JTS xliv (1943), pp. 52-56).

⁶¹ Homily 15.21-34. F. L. Cross directs our attention to the similarity in Melito's themes of "passover" "unleavened bread" and "bitter herbs" to the Mishnah tractate (R. Gamaliel, Pesachim (cf. espec. X.5), p. 108.

⁶² Homily 17.19-25, which is a point in favour of the consideration of the treatise as a "sermon" (contra F. L. Cross, see p.234n.45).

⁶³ Homily 17.24 (but λύτρονis reconstructed); 17.27-28.

One proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, with the Creator.⁶⁴

Having established that the exposition of scripture, in particular the relation of the Old Testament figures to the suffering and passion of Christ, constitutes a pre-eminent interest in the development of the theme of the so-called Homily, we are now in a position to examine further the text for its Christological content.⁶⁵ Where types and figures from the Old Testament are cited, we will observe carefully their interpretation by Melito, in comparison with their usage in the New Testament.

B. The Christology of Melito's Homily

Passover Sacrifice: The τύπος and the Ἀλήθεια

We have mentioned the opening sentence of the Homily in connection with the development of the writer's theme, and cited the conflicting views which the ambiguity of the words have brought about. In considering our writer's Christology we may note the incisive statement at the end of the prefatory sentence:

1.3-4: ... πῶς τὸ πρόβατον θύεται καὶ
πῶς ὁ λαὸς^{65a} σώζεται.

⁶⁴ Homily 17.30-34.

⁶⁵ If the treatise was seen to have been merely a hortatory address, it would have had questionable value for our study.

^{65a} In B, ὁ λαὸς, which is found here, is substituted for "Israel" in the quotation cited on p. 242 (5.20-36).

(... how the sheep is sacrificed and the People are saved. 66)

We observe, here, the simple acceptance of a substitutionary atonement,⁶⁷ which is reflected throughout the writing. In place of giving an exposition on the effects of sacrifice, there is the simple assertion of its efficacy for salvation. The benefits of the Passover ritual in the testimony of the Old Testament is a matter of acceptance for our writer, who is content with the view that it is a *μυστήριον*.⁶⁸ This is clear from Melito's reflection on the deliverance of Israel in contrast with the calamity which the Angel of

⁶⁶ ὁ λαός is viewed as a collective entity which our writer sees as the pattern of the Church, cf. Homily 6.31-32.

⁶⁷ H. Rashdall, The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology, 1919, p. 233, cites Irenaeus as the first of the Fathers who holds the theory of "an objective redemption approximating to the idea of substitution", but this pre-dated the discovery of the papyrus containing Melito's Homily. In our view, Irenaeus can scarcely be considered as a proponent of "objective redemption", for an essential characteristic in his doctrine was the fact of Jesus' identity with sinful man (adv. haer. III. 18.1; III. 21.9; et passim, see my p. 372 f.).

Whether, properly speaking, Melito's doctrine of atonement is to be defined as containing a ransom theory or is one of simple substitution is a question for further inquiry, which cannot be developed here. According to Leon Morris, the biblical presentation of atonement (including both propitiation and justification) demands the inclusion of the idea of substitution, (The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross, 1960, p. 278, see also pp. 155-185.).

⁶⁸ Homily 1.5-8; 3.2-14; 5.24-28, 33-38; 9.25-27.

Destruction brought upon the Egyptians. The quotation follows.

5.20-26 ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ φρουρούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ προβάτου σφαγῆς, καὶ γε συνεφωτίετο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυθέντος αἵματος, καὶ τείκος ἠυρίσκετο τοῦ λαοῦ ὁ τοῦ προβάτου θάνατος, ὡς μυστηρίου καινοῦ καὶ ἀνεκδιηγήτου· ἡ τοῦ προβάτου σφαγὴ ἠυρίσκετο τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σωτηρία, . . .

(But Israel was guarded by the slaughter of the sheep, and was baptized⁶⁹ by the shed blood, and a stronghold of the people was found to be the death of the sheep. O strange and ineffable mystery! The slaughter of the sheep was found /to be/ the salvation of Israel⁷⁰ ...).

In contrast with the mere acceptance of the salutary effects of the sacrifice, the complexity, for Melito, occurs in the typological relationship between the Old (ritual) and the New (reality). The first is type (τύπος), but the latter is reality (ἀλήθεια). The former is a temporal expedient, but the latter is of perpetual, universal validity.

⁶⁹ The verb is the aorist of *συμφωτίζομαι* and Bonner translates "was baptized" (cf. his f.n., p. 105). Obviously, here, the sense is sacramental, and as Bonner points out the association of 'enlightenment' with ritual cleansing is facilitated by Justin's statement: "and this washing is called illumination" (*Apol.*I 61). The contextual usage of the verb here, however, is novel, presenting a variation that is both interesting and perplexing, see Add'l Note III. 1.

M. Testuz (p. 59) translates *illumine*.

⁷⁰ Cf. I Cor. 5:7.

B reads ... τοῦ μυστηρίου ἀνεκδιηγήτου· ἡ τοῦ προβάτου σφαγὴ ἠυρίσκετο τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρία, ... see Testuz, pp. 58-60. Cf. *Homily* 1. 3-4 quoted above, p. 240.

Israel's "baptism" through Christ's shed blood would provide a sacramental link between the Passover and the Passion. But it is Melito's position that the former is but a "type" of the true reality, which is the Lord's Passion. Thus we are led to consider the typological relationship of the institution of the Passover sacrifice (viewed as a *κατασκευῆς ἔργον*⁷¹) and its fulfillment in the Lord's self-offering on the Cross,⁷² a thought that bears striking resemblance to the relationship defined by Justin.⁷³ It is significant to find that both Justin and Melito omit any reference to the humiliation of the lamb being led to the slaughter, which is included in the citation⁷⁴ from Isaiah 53: 7, 8 in Acts 8: 32, 33.

Essential to the understanding of Melito's interpretation

⁷¹ Homily 6.3.

⁷² Homily 9.25-27.

⁷³ Justin, Dial. 111.3; "And they also that were saved in Egypt, when the first born of the Egyptians perished, were rescued by the blood of the Passover, For Christ was the passover, who was sacrificed later, as also Isaiah said: 'He was led as a sheep to slaughter'." However, it has been shown in chap. II that this is in contrast with the Servant Christology of the N.T., as we also find here from the omissions of Melito (cf. n. 79 below).

⁷⁴ The Isa. passage is not strictly quoted according to the LXX.

of the Lord's self offering and the typology which preceded it is his statement:

5.33-36 : . . . εἰ[ς] [τὸ] τοῦ κυρίου
 μυστήριον ἐν τῷ [τοῦ] προβάτου γινόμενον,
 τὴν τοῦ κυρίου σωτὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ προβάτου
 σφαγῇ, τὸν τοῦ κυρίου τύπον ἐν τῷ τοῦ
 προβάτου θανάτῳ.

(You saw the mystery of the Lord solemnized/
 enacted in that of the sheep, the life of the
 Lord in the slaughter /i.e. sacrificial slaughter/
 of the sheep; the type of the Lord in the death
 of the sheep.)

Considering the context, what is said here is that Calvary was an ineffable mystery, and that the only approach to its understanding was by way of the metaphor of the Jewish Passover. For Melito, then, the link between the death of Christ and the believer's (Israel, or the 'true Israel') baptism into life is only an indirect link: the apprehension of the Passover as a "type" of the Lord's Passion. Yet, it is central to the teaching of the New Testament that baptism means the acceptance of one's own guilt and the dying to self and rising in Christ that is only possible as the believer is incorporate in Christ - this is baptism into His death and resurrection. In this connection, the trenchant statement of C. F. D. Moule is worthy of note:

Baptism . . . is a willing acceptance of the verdict sin, in union with Christ, whose perfect obedience to the sentence has been vindicated and crowned by the resurrection. . . .

This conception of obedience, expressed in death, will repay some elaboration. ... According to the whole Bible, /man/ was intended ... to be subject to God in perfect filial obedience, and, with equal unanimity, he is recognized to have failed of his intention - except in the man Christ Jesus. /Cf. Ps. 8 as it is expounded in Heb. 2:5 ff., and cf. Rom. 8:12 ff., I Cor. 15:12 ff./ Common to /these passages/ is the assumption that, in a world where man's disobedience has already caused dislocation, perfect obedience necessarily means death; and voluntarily accepted death, like Christ's in the expression of his perfect obedience to God's will, is the only gateway to man's destiny. ...

If ... it is asked how man becomes united with the 'Proper Man' in such a way as to share his obedience and his triumph, the New Testament answer is 'By baptism into Christ's death and resurrection'. Christ's baptism was a sacrament of obedience - an anticipated death; our baptism is likewise an obedient acceptance of the situation caused by our sin, and of the triumph over it of /His/ filial obedience ...

... Baptism is essentially pleading guilty, accepting the verdict /Jn. 3:33; Lk. 7:29/, it is dying, it is rising again; so that by baptism an individual, or indeed the whole Church corporately, is ... brought past the great assize, past the final judgement of the last day, into the life of the new age /Jn. 5:24/ ... If any man is in Christ, there the new creation is realized ... /II Cor. 5:17/. 75

We have noted that Bonner translated Homily 5.22 "... and Israel was baptized by the shed blood ...". What the second century writer has expressed is that the Passover is a "type"

75 C. F. D. Moule, "The Judgement Theme in the Sacraments", The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, (studies in honor of C. H. Dodd, ed. Davies & Daube, 1956) pp. 466-7.

of the Lord's death, but he fails to bring together the inauguration of the believer's entry into life through identity with Christ's death and resurrection that lies at the heart of the New Testament concept of "baptism".⁷⁶

The fact is that a corporate relation between the community (Israel, or the 'true Israel') and its Lord, Jesus Christ, which underlies Pauline theology, was not possible for Melito, who had exalted Christ to a remotely divine status that all but destroyed real communication with man.

It may be said, then, that in the Homily the death of Christ is submerged in an overwhelming emphasis on the Passover ritual, so that while he maintains that the Hebrew rite was but a type of what was to follow, in actual fact Calvary has been represented as little more than a continuation of the Passover sacrifice. Emphasis on the ritual celebration has assumed importance where real communication with the Divinity has been lost. In this connection, it will be helpful to examine in more detail the imagery associated with the Lamb which figures prominently in this writing, and which, of course, constitutes a useful metaphor in the Fourth Servant Song.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Cf. I Pet. 3:18, 21; Col. 2:12. See also Lk. 12:50 and espec. Rom. 6:3.

⁷⁷ Isa. 53:7.

Passover Sacrifice: Interpretation

The words *ἀμνός* and *πρόβατον* occur often in the Homily⁷⁸ but, without exception, the context has to do with the sacrificial lamb who is spoken of in exalted terms. The conception probably had the figure in Deutero-Isaiah as its basis, but it really is an incomplete parallel, because reference to the figure's low estate is omitted⁷⁹ in favor of the exaltation of the sacrificial *ἀμνός-πρόβατον* figure.

This conception is not far removed from the exalted sacrifice which became the governing idea of the theology of the Eucharist. The conception has been the dominant idea in the formulation of Roman Catholic liturgy in the celebration of this sacrament. If we have here early roots of the changing view of the Lord's sacrifice on the cross, it is of far-reaching significance in its consequences for the church.

There may be a subtle difference in the employment of

⁷⁸ *Ἀμνός* more than 12 times: Homily 2.1, 6, 12 ff; 7.15; 10.29; 11.25, etc.; *πρόβατον* more than 25 times: Homily 1.3, 12:2, 3, 5, 12 ff; 3.2, 6, 17; 5.21, 24 ff. et passim.

⁷⁹ The phrase *ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἢ κρίσει αὐτοῦ ἦρθη* is omitted in the quotation of Isa. 53:7 in Homily 10.28, as will be discussed below. Cf. M. Testuz, n. ln. 2, p. 10

ἀμνός and *πρόβατον* by the LXX translator,⁸⁰ but it should not be overlooked that in the Fourth Servant Song both terms are used in apposition with the Servant. The *ἀμνός* suggests the more figurative usage, representing endurance of the world's ill treatment, patiently, humbly and without resistance. The *πρόβατον* is the sacrificial beast. In Melito's treatise, *ἀμνός* is employed in the sacrificial terminology when he recalls the command to take the *ἄσπιλον ἀμνὸν καὶ ἄμωμον* and sacrifice it, to eat the passover.⁸¹ While it may be true that *ἀμνός* might always have contained some of the sacrificial imagery of Jewish liturgy, we should not overlook the fact that its employment by the Fourth Evangelist carried other meaning as well. Specifically, in John 1:29 and 36 there appears to be a conscious linking

⁸⁰ Isa. 53:7: it is the *ἀμνός* which stands dumb before its shearers, while the *πρόβατον* is the animal led to slaughter.

In the N.T., *ἀμνός* occurs (Jn. 1:29, 36; Acts 8:32; I Pet 1:19) and *ἀρνίον* (aside from Jn. 21:15 only in Revelation, where it is often used) as figurative allusions to the person and work of Christ. *Πρόβατον* is also found, but except for Acts 8:32, and possibly Rom. 8:36, there is little relationship to the Servant Figure.

⁸¹ Homily 2.30-31, cf. the language in I Pet. 1:18.

of the $\delta \acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ with Deutero-Isaiah's יְהוָה יְבָרֵךְ , although among scholars there is a wide range of differing opinions in this respect. C. F. Burney suggested that the Johannine reference was originally to the title "Servant", and not to the lamb or sheep of Isaiah 53:7.⁸² M. D. Hooker's recent criticism⁸³ of this view rests in the first place on observation of C. H. Dodd⁸⁴ that the LXX never translated לֵךְ by $\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$. Years ago, Joachim Jeremias noted that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu$ is not the only possible Greek equivalent of לֵךְ , for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ seem to be used interchangeably.⁸⁵ In addition,

⁸² C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, 1922, pp. 104-8, suggested that the role of the ideal Servant $\delta \acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu \tau\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ was realized by the baptist (Jn. 1:29 ff). His theory followed that of C. J. Ball (ET xxi /1909-10/ p. 92) that $\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ was a mistranslation of the Aramaic ܐܠܝܫܘܢ , taken in the sense of the Hebrew לֵךְ . The Hebrew term לֵךְ represents a 'lamb', but ܐܠܝܘܢ in Aramaic corresponds to the Greek παῖς , with its ambiguous renderings of both 'boy' and 'servant'. Thus, for Burney, $\delta \acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ could represent the Aramaic original ܐܠܝܘܢ which is intended as the equivalent of Isaiah's יְהוָה יְבָרֵךְ . Cf. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, Eng. tr 1959, pp. 71-2.

⁸³ M. D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant, 1959, p. 104.

⁸⁴ C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, 1953, p. 235 f.

⁸⁵ J. Jeremias " $\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon - \text{παῖς } \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ", ZNTW, xxxiv:1 (1935), p. 123. Jeremias observed in addition, that לֵךְ is to be found only three times in the O.T. (I Sam. 7:9, Isa. 40:11; 65:29), and therefore we should not conclude from these renderings by $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu$, that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu$ is the only Greek equivalent for the Hebrew term. In addition, Jeremias connected Jn. 1:29 with Isa. 53:12 (loc. cit.)

there have been occurrences where the Aramaic ܐܘܢܝܘܢ is used for the Hebrew אֵילָן⁸⁶, refuting the second reason cited by Miss Hooker in rejecting the connection between the Fourth Servant Song and John 1:29 ff..⁸⁷ We can establish, therefore, that there is a relationship between the Johannine usage and the Servant figure. T. W. Manson found three things involved in the conception of Jesus as the Lamb of God: His patience under suffering (cf. Acts, 8:32), His sinlessness (I Pet. 1:19), and the redemptive power of His death, which extends to the whole world (Jn. 1:19-36; I Pet. 1:19).⁸⁸ Manson added, "Just as the first Passover stood between the Egyptian bondage of Israel and freedom, so the death of Christ stands between the bondage of sin and the salvation of men, ..." ⁸⁹

⁸⁶ As Principal Black informs me: in the Palestinian Syriac Version, cf. Jer. 30:10.

⁸⁷ Hooker (loc. cit.) apparently favors the position of C. K. Barrett (The Gospel According to St. John, 1955, p. 146 f.), that the Baptist's allusion was to the Messianic lamb of apocalyptic, and the principal significance of the figure to the evangelist was in reference to the Paschal lamb, with which the lamb of Isa. 53 had become fused through the influence of the Christian Eucharist.

⁸⁸ T. W. Manson, On Paul and John, ed. M. Black, 1963, p. 125

⁸⁹ Ibid.

There is a more dramatic illustration of contrast in thought of the second century writer regarding Christ's person and work when we examine the passage in I Peter. This is in reference to the sacrificial imagery under discussion, but also serves to illustrate the exalted Christology of the writer. In I Peter, the exhortation to steadfastness is based on the fact that the faithful were ransomed⁹⁰ οὐ φθαρτοῖς . . . ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμωμοῦ καὶ ἀσπίλου χριστοῦ. The emphasis here is on the permanent value of Christ's shed blood, as opposed to "things perishable".⁹¹ The author of I Peter follows with the assertion that this sacrifice was Christ's destiny before the foundation of the world, but was made manifest at the end of time. This, too, is reflected in Melito,⁹² but with an important distinction. Whereas in the Epistle

⁹⁰ More precisely than 'redeemed'; cf. the important footnote in Leon Morris' study, The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross, p. 35, in reference to this usage in I Pet. 1:18, 19: "It should . . . be noted here that the manner of introducing the ransom price 'the precious blood of Christ as of a lamb without blemish and without spot', brings us into the sphere of sacrificial thought. Whether the writer /of I Peter/ thought of sacrifice in general as in the nature of a ransom, he certainly conceived that the death of Christ was both a ransom price and a sacrificial offering". Cf. C. Bigg, Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, ICC, p. 119 f..

⁹¹ Cf. I Pet. 1:23.

⁹² Homily 9.28-38.

the sense is merely that Christ "was destined" (to this sacrificial office) before the foundation of the world, Melito places the prerogative with Christ Himself, as he says:

πρότερον δὲ ὁ κύριος προῤκονόμησεν
τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάθη.

(but beforehand the Lord had planned His own sufferings.) 93

This has considerable bearing in illustration of the development of Melito's Christology from the thinking in the most primitive stage. No longer can Christ be thought of as subject to the decision of the Father; it is rather Christ pre-existent (and equal with God the Father) who has determined this course of sacrifice with its benefits for mankind. In such a view, Jesus could not be thought of as "Servant" even though the theme of sacrificial suffering may be drawn, as it is in I Peter,⁹⁴ from Deutero-Isaiah.

93 Homily 9.28-29. The italics are mine.

94 M. D. Hooker's view (p. 124 f.) which rejects Isa. 53:7 as a basis for the conception of I Pet. 1:18 f. is not acceptable. Miss Hooker's denial of the connection of thought between the author of I Peter and II Isaiah is based on the difference in terms: *ἀμνός* (I Pet. 1:19) as opposed to *πρόβατον* (Isa. 53:7). We have noted above the subtle difference in the usage of these terms in the N.T.. Sacrificial sheep (*πρόβατα*) were sold in the temple (Jn. 2:14), and it is true that "The Lamb of God" who takes away the world's sin is *ὁ ἀμνός τοῦ θεοῦ*, (Jn. 1:29, 36).

This also represents a significant departure from the Johannine usage, where we found a direct relationship with the Servant figure. As we will see, Melito, in quotations from Second Isaiah, has taken pains to omit those phrases which could connote lowly status,⁹⁵ or a link in context with the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah.

In keeping with this, and in illustration of Melito's conception of the identity between Christ and God the Father we may cite the following passage:

2.13-2.22: ὡς γὰρ υἱὸς τεκθείς, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἀχθείς, καὶ ὡς πρόβατον σφαγείς, καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ταφείς, ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν ὡς θεός, φύσει θεὸς ὢν καὶ ἄνθρωπος.^{95b} ὅς ἐστιν τὰ πάντα καθ' ὃ κρίνει νόμος, καθ' ὃ διδάσκει λόγος, καθ' ὃ σώζει χάρις, καθ' ὃ γεννᾷ πατήρ, καθ' ὃ γεννᾶται υἱός, καθ' ὃ πάσχει πρόβατον, καθ' ὃ θάπτεται ἄνθρωπος, καθ' ὃ ἀνίσταται θεός. Οὗτος ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, οὗ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

^{95b} For scribal peculiarities in the Bodmer Papyrus, see Testuz, p. 15, on typical contractions and abbreviations followed by this scribe, cf. p. 16.

⁹⁴ (con't)

However, taking the 4th Servant Song as a whole, it may be seen that both ἀμνός and πρόβατον are used, and both are in apposition with the Servant Figure in the LXX.

⁹⁵ See my discussion of the quotations in Homily 10.28-32, and 17.9-10 below.

^{95a} The words preceding this quotation link the lamb (cf. Isa 53:7) and the Son (υἱός, but not παῖς), see M. Testuz pp. 32-3: "... the type /became/ reality, and the lamb (ἀμνός) /became/ a son (υἱός), and the sheep (πρόβατον) /became/ a man and the man became God ...".

Among other scribal variants, B. omits the article before Χριστός, and the passage concludes with simply "into the ages, Amen."

(For born as a son, and led forth as a lamb, and slaughtered as a sheep, and buried as a man, he rose from the dead as God, being by nature God and man; Who is all things: as one who judges, Law, as one who teaches, Word, as one who saves, Grace, as one begetting, Father, as one begotten, Son, as one who suffers, a /sacrificial/ sheep, as one who is buried, Man, as one arising, God. This is Jesus the Christ whose glory is for ever and ever. Amen.).

It is in such passages⁹⁶ that we find a resemblance to the 'Modalist' form of Monarchism which existed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. If we are to take the writer literally, it is an implied assertion for the existence of One Divine Being, appearing in various modes or forms, the incarnate Son being only a more recent manifestation of the One who has revealed Himself at various stages in Israel's history. In this view the Passion finds its place as but one of a series of theophanies. Christ pre-existent was both Law⁹⁷ and

⁹⁶ Cf. also Homily 16.12 ff. and 17.30 ff. Bonner classified the representation here (ref: Homily 2.13 ff.) as a naive modalism (Bonner, p. 16, cf. p. 28), suggesting, as we have noted (supra n. 12), this as a reason for the neglect and eventual loss of Melito's works.

⁹⁷ Cf. The understanding of Paul (e.g. Gal. 3:17-29) where the Torah has been replaced by Jesus (see W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, pp. 55 ff.; J. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 516.). In Justin, there is expressed the inadequacy of Law as a vehicle of Divine revelation: Dial. 122.5; if the Law had power to enlighten (φωτίζειν) the Gentiles, what need was there for a New Covenant (καίνης διαθήκης)? See also Dial 11.2: "there shall be a final Law ...".

Word⁹⁸ for Melito. Melito may be exhibiting here some dependence on the Fourth Gospel in the title $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, and he is careful to refer these exalted titles to the One they crucified (16.7 f.). The crucifixion does no violence to Christ's exalted status since the writer finds in His being raised on the cross the symbol of His elevation to glory, which again recalls the thought in Justin and may stem from

97 (cont'd)

In reference to Law in Irenaeus, Harnack (DG, Eng. tr. II, p. 305) found the Mosaic Law and N.T. dispensation of grace both emanated from "one and the same God, and were granted for the salvation of the human race in a form appropriate to the times", (adv. haer., III. 12.11).

⁹⁸ The developed speculation on the Logos doctrine in Justin has been dealt with in chap. II, see also Add'l Note II.2. The Word in this passage is seen as giving instruction; cf. Origen, c.Cels. II.9, III.21, VIII.13, where the Word is often linked with such titles as Wisdom and Truth, (cf. de princ. I. 2.6). In comm in Joh. I.22, the Word was in the beginning, that is, Wisdom, who is said to contain all things in idea before they existed.

In Irenaeus' adv. haer., the Word and the Son, pre-existent, are identified (IV. 5.2, cf. III. 10.2), but perhaps the closest parallel to Melito's thought (Homily 17.30 ff.) occurs in adv. haer IV. 10.2, the identity of the Creator with "Him who was hanged upon the tree", as will be discussed in chap. IV.

The Logos, with probable reference to the Johannine prologue, was a key doctrinal element enabling patristic writers of the period to bridge the gap between Hebraic-Christian tradition and Greek philosophical speculation.

the Johannine tradition.⁹⁹

Titles and descriptive phrases, however, are used with a certain amount of abandon by Melito. On the whole, it may be said that the Homily betrays little theological reflection on Jesus as the pre-existent Logos. This is in contrast to the development of thought we find in Irenaeus' adversus haereses, as well as in the works of Origen. The Homily lists titles such as Law, Word, and Grace, which are applied to Christ, but avoids speculating on their meaning. In Justin's Dialogue, we noticed that the presence of the pre-existent Christ was read into practically all Old Testament theophanies which were cited, a practice that seems to have had some influence on Irenaeus. As was true for the apologist, Melito's use of the titles obviously was facilitated by the writer's emphasis on Christ's true divinity. On the other hand, passages may be cited ^{to} ~~in~~

⁹⁹ We have commented on Justin's interpretation of the 'raising' on the cross and the double sense in this usage of the verb *ὕψωθῆναι*. Evidence of this interpretation in Justin is found from the frequent reference to the figure of the brazen serpent, (Dial 91; 94.1; 96.1). However, in the 4th Gospel, it is the 'raising up' and not the brazen serpent that is the type of Christ, according to C. K. Barrett, p. 178. cf. p. 60.

It is noteworthy that Melito includes a reference to Jesus being raised on the cross, with the addition that He was raised on a high cross (*ἐπὶ ἑὐλοῦ ὑψηλοῦ*, Homily 16.8).

show that in the writer's exalted Christology support of the fact that the feature of exaltation to the divine functions and titles normally ascribed to the practical extent of identity with God the Father (like Father have been transferred to Jesus. Irenaeus) finds a rather consistent place in Melito's Christology. Further inquiry into this aspect of Melito's thought is justifiable for the interest of this study.

Patripassianism in the Homily

In a later section, the $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ τοῦ θεοῦ is identified with "the One who caused light to shine, ... who divided the darkness, ... who suspended the earth".¹⁰⁰ A few lines later, it is the God who called the Patriarchs, and the Deliverer in the Exodus narrative, whom Israel has wronged

¹⁰⁰ Homily 13.27 ff.. The thoughts of God as Creator and Sovereign recalls Isa. 40:12 ff., 42:5; 45:12, 18; 48:13; 49:8; 51:13, 16, based on the Genesis narrative and which are central to the theology of the Prophet of the Exile. In the N.T., we may compare Melito's passage with Heb. 1:66 f. Could our writer possibly have misunderstood verse 10: "and thou, Lord, didst found the earth in the beginning ..."?

With reference to Melito's identification of Christ with the Creator in this passage, Bonner (p. 25) observes: "The doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ as the Logos led the Church naturally to ascribe to him the creation of the world, the guidance of the patriarchs, and the protection of the Chosen People. Hence praises that originally belonged to the God of Israel might be also said and sung to Christ; ... "

On the subject of Christ = Logos as Schöpfungsmittler in Irenaeus, see my discussion in chap. IV.

and slain (14.1-18). Similarly, the writer declares:

15.15 ff. (sel.) ὃν γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη προσεκύνει...

καὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐδόξαζον, . . . σὺ δὲ τοῦτον

ἀπέκτεινας ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐορτῇ.

(for him whom the nations worshipped, and the heathen glorified, . . . even this one thou hast slain in the great feast.)

Admittedly, all of these passages illustrate the tendency of Melito to allow the stylistic demands of rhetoric to govern content.¹⁰¹ But this was only possible for a writer whose theology did not hold a clear distinction between God the Father and God the Son.

Campbell Bonner refers to Melito's Christology as being "of the type called 'pneumatic'",¹⁰² following Harnack's definition where "Jesus was regarded as a heavenly spiritual being (the highest after God) who took flesh, and again returned to heaven after the completion of his work on earth".¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Cf. Homily 13.27 ff. with Ap. Const. 8.12. See also n.20.

¹⁰² Bonner, p. 27.

¹⁰³ A. Harnack, DG I (Eng. tr.) p. 191 f.. It may be worthy of note that Harnack drew attention to a possibly primitive formulation identifying Christ with God (Acts 20:28), but the variants of this passage give κυρίου, and a conclusion of identity at this stage is hardly justified. Harnack observed that sometimes in place of an identity in our period we find a distinction evident, cf. Ignatius, I Eph. 1.1. See also the fragment of Melito, M. J. Routh, Reliquiae Sacrae, I, p. 122.

The classic expression of "pneumatic Christology" is found in the ancient homily known as II Clement:

II Clem. 9.5: . . . χριστὸς ὁ κύριος, ὁ
 σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὧν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα,
 ἐγένετο σὰρξ, . . .
 (. . . Christ the Lord, who saved us, being
 first Spirit, then became flesh . . .).

This expression of the Spirit who incarnate was Jesus of Nazareth is also found in the Shepherd of Hermas,¹⁰⁴

The fact of importance is that in these primitive formulations, Spirit, identified with the pre-existent Christ, is still subordinate to God's will, who "made him to dwell in the flesh" (the intention of the rendering in Hermas, with God as subject). Melito's Christology, in contrast, illustrates a development where Christ pre-existent is spoken of in the same sense as God, as in the passages under consideration.¹⁰⁵ For Melito, the

¹⁰⁴ Sim. V.6.6. Harnack, loc. cit., regards the general formulation of Hermas as more typical of an adoptionist Christology. The passage cited here, however, could qualify as representing "pneumatic Christology"; it reads: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ προόν, τὰ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατώκισεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σὰρκα ἣν ἠβούλετο. (The Holy Spirit, Pre-existent, that which created the whole creation, God made to dwell in flesh which He desired), /Hermas, loc. cit./. Cf. also Barn. 7.3.

¹⁰⁵ E.g.: Homily 13.27 ff.; 14.1ff.; 15.15 ff..

existent Being willed itself to become flesh. This feature is reflected in other places in the treatise,¹⁰⁶ and indicates how little our author distinguished Father and Son, so that Melito can slip into Patripassianism with relative ease, even as he speaks of the Creator suffering "on the tree".

The concluding lines of the treatise perhaps form the clearest illustration of this line of thought. The passage reads:

17.30-34. οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καινίσας, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πλάσας, ὁ διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κηρυσσόμενος, ὁ ἐν παρθένῳ σαρκωθείς, ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθείς, . . .

(This is He who made heaven and earth, who in the beginning created man, who was proclaimed by Law and Prophets, who was made flesh in a virgin, who was /hanged/ upon a tree 107 . . .)

¹⁰⁶ Homily 2.17 ff.

¹⁰⁷ A strikingly similar expression to that found in Irenaeus, adv. haer. IV. 10.2, but with the important distinction that Irenaeus includes the mention of His redeeming work, see chap. IV, n. 96. Cf. also Deut. 28:66. It is conceivable that this may have constituted part of an anti-Judaic polemic; see, for example, Trypho's charge recorded by Justin, Dial. 38.1.

Again, we must take note of the highly rhetorical style. In the light of this fact, it would be too much to say that Melito was consciously making an affirmation of Patripassianism. Nevertheless, it is clear that he lacked a distinction of the Persons in the Godhead,¹⁰⁸ Christ being identified with God in every instance where the author returns to a series of hymnodic praises, such as we have illustrated in this instance.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ In the passage we have cited, where Father and Son appear as mere aspects of One Divinity, Patripassionism must be the logical outcome, cf. R. L. Ottley, The Doctrine of the Incarnation, Vol. I, p. 226 f..

Melito, it must be said, freely uses the principle of communicatio idiomatum, which is found in the writings of several patristic authors. This conception of 'communion of properties', while it professed to affirm the distinction of human and divine natures in Christ, yet so identified the two in thought that the attributes of the one were equally predicated of the other.

¹⁰⁹ H. R. Mackintosh, The Person of Jesus Christ, pp. 125 ff following Loofs in his article ("Christologie, Kirchenlehre" in Real-Encyclopadic für protes. Theol. u. Kirche., ed. Hauck, 1896-1909), suggested that the origin of this virtual 'deifying' of Jesus may be traced to addressing prayers to Christ, citing New Testament illustrations (Acts 7:59; I Cor. 1:2; II Cor. 12:8; Rev. 22:20).

Melito seems to have avoided Docetism with his assertion that the death and burial of Christ testify to His humanity, although there is scarcely the balance of κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα attested in the N.T., as in the theology of Paul (Rom. 1:3-4). Cf. W. D. Davies Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 195, and H. R. Mackintosh, p. 64, who observes that Paul's thought, far from containing a tinge of docetism, meant that, in fact, "the unique personal constitution of Jesus, during his earthly lifetime, consisted of a body of flesh and blood, and, in addition, that which

Our examination of Melito's Christology has shown an identification of Christ and God that contains some interesting variations from the tendency we have observed in Justin. It will be recalled that in the theology of the apologist Christ is called God, but this referred to a Second Deity, an intermediary between God and the world.¹¹⁰ In Irenaeus, in Ignatius and in an early Christian Hymn which speaks of the cosmic Christ, there is reference to his pre-existent activity as Mediator in creation, a form of Christology that manifests a very primitive character.¹¹¹ The extreme position of Justin appeared to result from a preoccupation with the epiphanies of the immanent Deity, with practically all those theophanies recounted

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the apostle denominates 'spirit'. He adds that the sonship which was declared by the resurrection does not mean de facto sonship only after the resurrection, but rather that then it was fully manifested, (p. 65).

¹¹⁰ Justin, Dial. 56-62, 126, 127 and cf. 124 where "Christ is called God".

¹¹¹ On Christ as Schöpfungsmittler in the Colossians Hymn (Col. 1:15 ff) and in Ignatius, cf. H. Hegermann, Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler, TU Bd. 82 (1961) espec. pp. 130 ff. In Irenaeus, the formulation of this concept does not depersonalize the Saviour, which is the danger in Justin's speculation.

Hegermann (p. 133) opposes Bultmann's derivation of a pre-existence Christology from the mysteries (Bultmann's "second type", Theology of the New Testament, I, Eng. tr. 1952, p. 131) as well as the Schöpfungsmittler from the Gnostic Redeemer-myth (Bultmann's "third type", p. 132, cf. p. 176).

in the Old Testament being assigned to the pre-existent Christ, a 'Second-God!', identified with Logos. The pre-supposition of God's utter transcendence is a part of this view, so that all the historical epiphanies had to be attributed to a Secondary Functionary.¹¹² In Irenaeus, the conception is developed so that Christ is associated with this mediatorial function in the physical creation, but the cosmic role does not overshadow His unique oneness with mankind and the surpassing manifestation of His love in the work of redemption. In Melito, there is lacking a distinction between the activity of the Father and the Son, but, even while taking our author's stylistic features into account, it would seem that he goes further. It was the same God who appeared in the Old Testament Whom Israel has hanged on the Cross. It was God the Father who made the sacrifice. For one holding this view, there could

¹¹² Professor A. T. Hanson, in a lecture given at the 4th International Patristic Conference ("Irenaeus' Interpretation of Exodus 3") observed that although Irenaeus held that it was the Son who spoke from the burning bush (adv. haer. III. 6.2), there was in this writer at least some degree of distinction between the Father and the Son (in contrast with Justin). Justin, Hanson maintained, "attributes the whole of divine action in this chapter /Ex. 3/ to Christ", Dial. 61.4, cf. 61.1. (The lecture will be published in Studia Patristica.)

H. Hegemann examined parallels to the Logos as Theophanie träger in Philo (pp. 67 ff.) and noted that Justin, espec. in Dial. 56-62, shows clearly, and through the same passages as Philo, the existence of a 2nd God, distinct from the highest God, who is witnessed to in all the accounts of visions in the O.T.

be no question of ascribing to Christ a title which inferred any subordinate status, which would not be excluded if the term *παῖς* had been employed Christologically. That Melito was careful to avoid such a connotation is seen from his quotations of passages from Deutero-Isaiah.

C. Quotations from Deutero-Isaiah

The first quotation from Second Isaiah is found in the rare series of explicit Old Testament quotations, which are cited as types of the mystery of the Lord.¹¹³ The passage giving the quotation reads:

10.28-32 ὁ δὲ Ἰσαίας, ὡς πρόβατον εἰς σφαγὴν ἤκοη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνός ἄφωνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτόν, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. τὴν δὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ^{113a}

(And Isaiah, "As a sheep he was led to slaughter, and as a lamb is dumb before him who shorn him, so he opens not his mouth. And who shall tell his descent?").

The quotation of Isaiah 53:7 follows the LXX except that *ἄφωνος* is placed at the beginning of the phrase, and

¹¹³ Homily 10.14-32, including citations from Deut. 28:66; Ps. 2:1-2; Jer. 11:19 and Isa. 53:7.

The lines immediately preceding the quotations list a series of Old Testament figures that are regarded as "types" of the mystery of the Lord. They include: Abel who was slain, Joseph who was sold, Moses who was cast out, and Isaac who was bound. Of interest is the "Aqedah Isaac" which is referred to below, and in Add'l Note III. 2.

^{113a} B reads *ἐπὶ σφαγὴν* following the LXX, but substitutes *οὕτως* for the adverb *οὕτως*. Testuz (p. 102, n. ln. 2) notes that L contains the important phrase "in the low estate his judgement was taken away", following the LXX (see p. 265).

Bonner reconstructs εἰς /σφαγὴν/ in place of ἐπὶ (LXX). But our chief concern is with the significant omission of the initial phrase in the first half of verse 8 found in the LXX: ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθη. (in the low estate his judgment was taken away). That this appears to be an intentional omission cannot be doubted, for Melito includes the phrase which follows, τὴν γενεάν ... etc., and adds the δὲ. This is of far-reaching importance for our study. In contrast with the quotation of verse 7, following with reasonable accuracy the LXX,¹¹⁴ we have here an omission that can only be accounted for on the grounds that the phrase was unacceptable as a Christological reference. The reason for these quotations is to demonstrate the prefiguration of Christ in the Old Testament, by citing what Melito held to ^{be} "types". The lowly connotation suggested in this clause was not in accordance with our writer's exalted Christology and had to be omitted.

Regarding the prefiguration of Christ in the Old Testament through the media of "types" and related to the prophecy, we should mention the occurrence of the figure of "Isaac

¹¹⁴ In commenting on the quotation, Bonner noted the placement of ἀφωσος and the substitution of εἰς, along with the textual emendation of αὐτόν after κείραντος (supported by a corrector of N, A, V; cf. Barn. and I Clem., among others). He makes no mention of the omission cited here. See Bonner's footnote for ln. 28-32, p. 129 and cf. p. 38.

who was bound like Him ...". The figure, along with other types, precedes this quotation (Homily 10.4-5). Properly speaking, the figure suggests a type of Christ's willingness to offer himself as sacrifice, a subject related to the Servant concept. The interpretation of the Aquedah as a Messianic type is a subject that has sparked considerable debate among scholars, which we cannot treat adequately within the limits of this study.¹¹⁵ However, it is of significance to observe that the conception of the Aquedah Isaac, like that of the ἀμνός - πρόβατος is not developed theologically in Melito's Homily. The fact that it does occur at least twice¹¹⁶ may have some significance as evidence of the Aquedah being part of an early collection of Testimonia. We took note of its occurrence in Barnabas,¹¹⁷ and it appears once in Irenaeus' adversus haereses,¹¹⁸ although in the latter case it is no longer.

¹¹⁵ A survey of recent material available on the subject of the Aquedah Isaac is provided in Add'l Note III.2.

¹¹⁶ Homily 10.4-5; 11.22; possibly in 17.5.

¹¹⁷ Barn. 7.3.

¹¹⁸ Adv. haer. IV. 5.4.

a Christological type, but an example to be emulated by the Church in the venture of faith. If this were a Messianic type of early origin that received emphasis in the Homily or in Irenaeus, it would have more than casual significance for our study. In Melito, it occurs in a list of types, but the theological significance of the Aquedah is not explored. The fact that by the time of Irenaeus the figure was not employed Christologically strengthens our position that in this period of an "ascending" Christology, references relating to the Servant figure are seen to decline.

The second quotation occurs near the end of the Homily¹¹⁹ and is not from one of the Servant Songs. The passage follows:

17. 9-10. τίς ὁ κρινόμενος πρὸς ἐμέ;
ἀντιστήτω μοι.

(Who is the one who contends against me?¹²⁰
Let him stand before me).

¹¹⁹ Homily 17. 9-10, ref. Isa 50:8.

¹²⁰ The textus receptus of Isaiah gives μοι instead of the reconstructed πρὸς with ἐμέ, and follows ἀντιστήτω μοι with the adverb ἄμα.

The reference is too brief for us to draw conclusions in regard to omissions with any degree of certainty. Here, as we have noted earlier, the writer has chosen a passage for its rhetorical value, in this case the forensic terms of Deutero-Isaiah are placed in the mouth of the Resurrected Christ. It serves the writer's purpose to issue a challenge, recalling the courtroom drama, in the light of the vindication of the Figure's power, the one who has raised the dead to life and who has freed the captives.¹²¹

The passage is chiefly significant for the fact that in Deutero-Isaiah it is the voice of the Servant speaking,¹²² and these words are applied by Melito to the speech of the exalted Resurrected Christ who has conquered the Enemy and who has power over death. We note, in addition, that the phrase used bears an interesting reflection of its usage in the Epistle of Barnabas¹²³ Much earlier. The context is similar, for in Barnabas the discussion concerns the

¹²¹ Homily 17.14 ff., recalling, perhaps, the Lazarus narrative of Jn. 11:1 ff. and Isa. 61:1. J. Quasten, Patrology Vol. I (1950), p. 245, holds that Melito's description here may embody some parts of an older liturgical hymn.

¹²² See Isa. 50:9-10 (LXX).

¹²³ Barn. 6.1.

glorified Christ who had to suffer for the remission of sins of the whole world, and quotations from the prophets are adduced to show that this was so ordained beforehand.

Of significance, however, is the addition of the words

ἢ τίς ὁ δικαιούμενος μοι; ἐγγισάτω τῷ
παιδί κυρίου.

(Or who is he that justifies me? Let him draw
nigh unto the Servant of the Lord.) /italics mine/¹²⁴

The essential meaning in the statement ἐγγισάτω τῷ παιδί κυρίου in Barnabas has not changed from the LXX,¹²⁵ but the explicit reference τῷ παιδί κυρίου has been substituted for μοι, showing at the earlier period there was no hesitancy in using the παῖς in reference to Jesus, as there was by the time of Melito. In the following chapter it will be noted that Irenaeus also quotes from Isaiah 50:8 (adv. haer. IV. 33.13), but in the phrase "let him draw near ... etc." the writer substitutes κύριος for παῖς κυρίου. This gives evidence in support of our general position, that παῖς θεοῦ as a title for Jesus diminished in usage during the second century because of its ambiguity, and because παῖς, translated either as "Son" or "Servant" (but generally

¹²⁴ Ibid., cf. Isa. 50:8b.

¹²⁵ Since the παῖς is the subject.

understood by the time of Melito to mean "Son", did not exclude the lower meaning.¹²⁶ This tendency seemed to be concurrent with an increasing emphasis on a "high" Christology.

D. The occurrence of Παῖς

In order to complete our examination of Melito's Homily on the Passion with regard to the interpretation of παῖς, we will take note of the section where the single occurrence of the term is found. The lines preceding this section have recounted the sins into which men have fallen, "being by nature capable of good and evil."¹²⁷ Their grievous ways are exceeded by still more sordid conduct:

9.2-7: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἔπραξαν ἃ καὶ
φρικωδέστατα ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἠυρίσκειο,
πατὴρ ἐπὶ παιδός, υἱὸς ἐπὶ μητρός, καὶ
ἀδελφὸς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῆς, καὶ ἄρρην ἐπὶ ἄρρενος,
καὶ ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ
πλησίον ἔχρεμέτιρον.

¹²⁶ So Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' ..." in SAB xxviii (1926) p. 214. Harnack observed this hesitancy in making παῖς a title for Jesus, in the light of this fact, although he noted that the τῆς παῖς of Isaiah was used in a Messianic sense, in accordance with patristic dependence upon Old Testament proof texts (especially from the Psalms and Prophets) to show that in Jesus of Nazareth the promised Messiah was fulfilled.

¹²⁷ Homily 8.5 ff.

(Many deeds they also did which were accounted most horrible among men; the father lusted for his son/child, the son for his mother, the brother for his sister, male for male, and each man for his neighbor's wife.).

The citation is significant for it is the only case where $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ occurs in the Homily.¹²⁸ However, this usage need not detain us, for it is clear from the context that the word $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ refers to "son" or "child", and does not mean "servant". In recalling the reasons for Israel's punishment, which the writer finds to be justly deserved, he cites the incestuous love of a father for his $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, and the term can only denote filial relationship.

The word $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, then, meant "son" or "child" to Melito, but was never employed in the Homily as a Christological title.¹²⁹ The absence of the term is the more striking when we consider that Melito employed two quotations from Deutero-Isaiah, both of which referred to Christ. We may deduce, therefore, that Melito followed the pattern which

¹²⁸ The textual reconstruction of the genitive $\eta\gamma\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ is practically certain; cf. Lohse, p. 22, and M. Testuz, p. 88, who gives " $\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ " with a footnote: " $\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$: $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$." *

¹²⁹ Cf. Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30, which some authorities believe may comprise the earliest Christological reference, as referred to in the introduction.

* The occasional scribal errors are not uncommon, see Testuz, p. 15.

is seen to be typical of this period, and which was observed in Justin's Dialogue, in relating Isaianic prophecy to Christ, but avoiding the designation that could be construed in an inferior or menial sense.¹³⁰

E. Summary

It has been shown that Melito's Christology tended to deify the person of Christ to an extent that all but obliterated any distinction between God the Father and God the Son. It was in keeping with this high Christology that Melito did not use $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ as a designation for Christ in the Homily. For the single occurrence of the genitive form of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ (9. 3-4), the context demands an interpretation of "son" or "child". Further, in the quotation from Deutero-Isaiah, we noted that Melito omitted a phrase in reference to the Servant figure which suggested menial or lowly status. The omission could scarcely have been accidental.

In discussing the theme of the treatise it was seen that the Homily as a whole gives evidence of the continuation

¹³⁰ Melito's theological bias was somewhat different from Justin, and it is clear that Greek philosophical speculation did not interest him.

As will be observed later, Origen, too, interpreted Isa. 53 as a prefiguration of Jesus Christ, but he is even more emphatic in his denial of a Servant-Christology: c.Cels. 1.54 f., cf. II.64, VI.76, 77, and in particular VII. 15 f..

of tradition that connected Christian baptism with the Lord's Passion, but with an important distinction from New Testament thinking in this regard. Whereas there the connection was developed theologically and depended upon real identification of the believer with his Lord, so that baptism means the death of the 'old man' and his entirely new life in Christ, in Melito the connection was liturgical in character. With this emphasis on ritual, the result was a loss in the theological understanding of the event. The shift was easy for Melito, since it was directly related to his stress on the Passover as a "type" of the Passion. The consideration of the Passover chiefly dealt with the ritual, rather than a theological understanding of the Event to which the Passover celebration pointed: the full apprehension of God's act of deliverance of His people. Similarly, the Lord's Passion was viewed sacramentally, and consequently, it is no accident that the writer's understanding of Christian baptism as a real ingrafting of the believer into the Lord's death and passion falls far short of the New Testament view. Theologically, the Homily thus may represent an important change of emphasis that is of far-reaching significance for the Church, both as regards the Eucharist and Christian baptism. This trend will be seen, also, as a continuation

of Justin's understanding of the Lord's sacrifice in ritualistic terms, which avoids a theological understanding of the benefits of the Atonement through the work of the Servant. For the particular interest of our study, Melito's position demonstrated how exaltation of the Lord to a status of "pure divinity" that obliterates His equally genuine humanity could obscure the significance of His role as the Great Servant: the act whereby in His voluntary self-abnegation and self-offering, the character of God is most clearly shown.

In contrast with an understanding of the figure of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy as connoting servile status, Melito has consistently employed imagery which exalts the figure. The sacrificial imagery of the Pasch does not conflict with this view, for in our writer's understanding sacrifice is glorification. We may see traces of a debt here, perhaps like Justin, to the Fourth Gospel, but the writer has brought this conception together with a form of modalism that goes beyond the thought of the Evangelist. Indeed, there was evidence that at points, Melito's rhetoric led him to make statements that bear traces of Patripassianism.

The pattern of patristic dependence on the Prophets for proof-texts in support of the necessity for Christ's sacrifice, has been maintained in Melito. However, as

regards the Servant of Isaiah, the figure has been exalted far beyond the conception which it held in its original context, and the writer's real apprehension of the Atonement has suffered in consequence.

Chapter III Additional Notes

III.1 With respect to the rendering of *συμφωτισμοί* (Homily 5.20 f.), Bonner states that "the equation of *φωτισεῖν = βαπτίσειν* is as early as Justin, Apol. I 61.12,13; this application of the word was made easier by Heb. 6:4; 10:32", (p. 105, f.n.). In the Apology, the context has to do with spiritual regeneration, with the text of Jn. 3:5 employed in developing the thought of the believer's renewal and cleansing, with his repentance. All of this is symbolised in the sacrament of baptism, so Bonner's association thus far seems valid. However, the contextual meaning in Hebrews suggests rather "enlightenment" (as the RSV translates) which is obtained but once, and this not in a scholastic sense. This "enlightenment" cannot be restored to the apostate. Here again, we have a degree of parallelism with the N.T. aspect of the singularity of baptism: i.e. baptism is once offered for the remission of sins (Eph. 4:5; cf. I Pet. 3:21 and 18). However, *βαπτίσειν* derives from the sense of immersion. In IV Km. 5:14 it translates the intransitive form of the root *בָּטַח*, meaning "to dip" or "to immerse", as in the case of Naaman's cleansing. Thus the word retains the thought of ritual cleansing and spiritual refreshment in Jewish liturgy (see R. R. Williams' art. in A Theological Work Book of the Bible, ed. A. Richardson, pp. 27 ff.). In the N.T. the word carries the further significance of cleansing and renewal through the sacrifice of Christ: 'that in His death we are made alive' (I Pet. 3:18 f.). O. Cullman (Baptism in the N.T., Eng. tr. by J. K. S. Reid, 1950) saw the death of Jesus in what he terms a Generaltaufe, that is, a universal baptism, that, lying behind every individual act of Christian baptism, gives the rite its significance and potency, (W. F. Flemington, "Baptism" in IDB I, espec. p. 352). Indeed, the Lord speaks of His own impending Passion as His "baptism" (Lk. 12:50).

φωτισεῖν, which in the N.T. refers to the soul's enlightenment in contrast with its former darkness through the merits of the Light of the world (cf. Lk. 11:36; Jn. 1:9; I. Cor. 4:5 etc.), cannot convey the meaning of cleansing with its reference to the merits of the sacrifice of Christ. Harnack, DG I, Eng. tr., p. 209, thought the word derived from the Greek mysteries, but added that if we think of *φωτισμός* as a miraculous communication of the Holy Spirit, its connection with baptism was lost very early; although Paul united baptism and the communication of the Spirit (p. 210). Alan Richardson (An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 338) explained the

III.1 (con't)

reference to the baptized believers in the N.T. as the $\phi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (Heb. 6:4; 10:32 Cf. Eph. 1:18) as signifying the passage from the realm of darkness into light, but adds that $\phi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ is not directly applied to baptism in the N.T.

III.2 The appearance of the Aquedah Isaac in Melito's Homily is of interest, although there are only two undisputed references (10.4-5 and 11.22). The figure of the Aquedah possibly may be the basis of the reference in 17.5, although Bonner's reconstructed $\kappa\rho\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ is not certain. As Bonner notes, the two extant letters $\kappa\rho$ may result from a scribal error on account of the $\kappa\rho\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ in the line below (f.n. 5, p. 161). It is possible therefore, that 17.5 might be reconstructed: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \delta\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ (so A. Wifstrand, in Literatur-Verzeichnis).

We may compare the two undisputed references with Barn. 7.3 and Irenaeus, Adv. haer. IV. 5.4. Significantly, though, only Barnabas, the much earlier writing, employs the figure as a Christological type. In Irenaeus, it is found to be an example of the blind faith the Church should follow.

The subject of the Aquedah has relevance for our topic in that it is considered by some as a Messianic type which was one of the formative elements in N.T. soteriology, going back as far as Paul, see H. J. Schoeps, Aus Fröhlichchristlicher Zeit, 1950, pp. 229 ff. and, more recently, Paul, the Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History, Eng. tr. 1961, pp. 141 ff.. Schoeps takes up the argument advanced by Israel Levi, "Le sacrifice d'Isaac et la morte de Jesus", in Revue des Etudes juives (1912), pp. 150 ff., who saw in Isaac's willingness to be sacrificed a Messianic type. Cf. also Hugh Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, 1964, and Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, 1957, ad loc.. Pere J. Daniélou discusses the subject in the article "La typologie d'Isaac dans le Christianisme primitif", Biblica (1947) pp. 363 ff., and in From Shadows to Reality, pp. 119 ff., where Daniélou regards the evidence insufficient to find in the Aquedah a type that was influential in forming the doctrine of the atoning death of a Messiah.

Challenging the position of Daniélou and others, we may cite the monograph of G. Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, 1961, pp. 193-227. Vermes traces the interpretation of Gen. 22 in the Palestinian targums (pp. 193 ff.) giving some evidence that the Aquedah tradition existed in

III.2 (con't)

the late pre-Christian era (see the summary of results, p. 209 and cf. p. 215), but his premise that the Aquedah theology underlies the soteriology of the N.T. lacks documentation. Particularly far-fetched is Vermes' statement that "the Pauline doctrine of Redemption is basically a Christian version of the Akedah" (p. 219). C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, 1962, pp. 26-30, refutes the position that the Aquedah governs Paul's doctrine of the Atonement. This does not deny that a parallel between Isaac and Jesus may have occurred to Paul, but if it had been substantial to his thought, it certainly should have appeared in Rom. 4. Moreover, as Barrett remarks, it is probably the Day of Atonement which lies behind Rom. 3:25 ff., if he had any Jewish liturgical act in mind. Further, Abraham's faith that is considered most significant to the apostle is not his willingness to sacrifice his son, but his belief that God would give him and his wife a child in their great age. The Aquedah, then, may have been known in the Apostolic Age, but there is insufficient evidence to find in it a formative element of N.T. theology.

CHAPTER IV

IRENÆUS: THE ADVERSUS HAERESES, LANDMARK IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOGMA

A. Prolegomena

The place of Irenæus in the Development of Doctrine Irenæus of Lyons is by far the most considerable theologian of the second century. The date of his birth can not be fixed with precision, but it was probably between 140 and 160 A.D.. In his letter to the Roman presbyter Florinus¹, it appears that through Polycarp Irenæus was in touch with the Apostolic Age. Irenæus, then, might be considered as the chief link in the development of dogma between the Church's primitive period and the great thinkers of Christendom who followed him. In the First Council of Nicaea (325) the doctrines which were established of *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ* and *ἐνανθρωπήσας* clearly reflect the influence of some of our writer's most important emphases. Developing the

¹ Preserved in Eusebius, H.E. V. 20.5-7.

Logos doctrine set forth in the Johanne prologue, Irenaeus was at pains to show that the Word, being the eternal expression of God, appeared on earth in history as Jesus Christ, "so that the Incarnation is, at least from one point of view, the expression in time of an eternal relationship which exists within the Godhead."² Working this conception out, with the addition of his idea of recapitulatio³, Irenaeus apprehended that Christ incarnate is not only the visible expression of God in time, but gathers in Himself the totality of human experience. This insight places Irenaeus in the front rank of the great theologians of all time; the significance it has for an understanding of the atonement can not be minimized.

If Jesus was regarded as being at once in the essential unity of the Godhead, and yet sums in Himself all humanity, there is the possibility of the paradoxical situation of a Christology characterized both by exaltation and subordination. In the light of this possibility, we may well afford to ask what part, if any, the interpretation of the Servant Figure takes in this doctrinal formulation?

² ODCC, "Christology", p. 278.

³ See Add'l Note IV. 1.

Did Irenaeus find the prophetic testimony of Isaiah 53 bearing a relationship to Christ's work of redemption? If he did not, how did he regard the title $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$; or was it disregarded as inappropriate for the Divine Lord?

In our analysis, it has been maintained that the New Testament understanding of the $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ -Figure related to Jesus' life and work has undergone significant modification in the post-apostolic period. If this is correct, an inquiry into the thought of Irenaeus may serve to illustrate whether this process of reinterpretation is continuing in the succeeding years, or whether by the end of the second century it has begun to crystallize into a fixed form. It may be that by this time we have reached the "plateau" of this doctrinal development. Whatever conclusions we draw from the examination of the adversus haereses in regard to the trends of the period must remain tentative for the present. However, following our concluding chapter on the works of Origen, we will be in a better position to define the limits of this theological reinterpretation.

Our method of approach to the interpretation of the $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ in Irenaeus will be to examine the relevant passages as they occur within the context of the writer's Christology. To study them in isolation would provide insufficient

evidence to assess the subject, in view of the complexity of thought contained in the adversus haereses. It will be well to keep in mind the theological trends of the time in which our writer wrote. As the creeds and the canon were hammered out under the pressure of heresy, so the high Christology which is developing was the natural outcome of the reaction to subordinationist tendencies. In struggling against this heretical subordinationism and the contemporary movement which speculated on a whole pantheon of deities, of which Christ was only one, the necessity for a polemic that reasserted Christ's true divinity is evident. Along with this came the need to stress the essential unity of the Godhead, if the Church was to safeguard the orthodox monotheism of its Judaeo-Christian heritage. In both these respects, Irenaeus admirably fulfilled the task that was set before him. His contributions exceeded those of any of his contemporaries since the Apostolic Age.

The Text, and Related Problems

As there are only fragments of the Greek original of the adversus haereses preserved, our study is largely dependent upon the reliability of the Latin text. This text, which gives evidence of being a translation,

comprises the primary source of our inquiry.⁴ In places the text is practically incoherent, partly as a result of the translator's attempt to be slavishly faithful to the original. Our introductory statement that in the writings of Irenaeus we may have reached the "plateau" of Christological development in regard to the interpretation of $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$ is recognized as being subject to certain limitations. For one thing, the date of the Latin translator of our author's magnum opus is by no means certain, having provoked more than half a century of discussion among patristic scholars. C. H. Turner mentions two aspects of the problem in his

⁴ Our authority is primarily the edition of W. Wigan Harvey, Sancti Irenaei, episcopi Lugdunensis, Libros quinque adversus haereses, Tom. I & II, 1857, henceforth cited as (Hv). To avoid confusion, since Harvey's system of chapter and paragraph numbering differs from the edition of A. Stieren and the conventional numbering of English translations, the citations will include the conventional designation, followed by Hv (giving the volume, page number, and lines, where applicable) where we refer specifically to Harvey's text. It is to be noted that the chapter numbering of the English translations follows the divisions of Massuet and Migne (see n. 7).

The abbreviation (Stier) will be used where reference is made to Stieren's text, Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis quae supersunt omnia, 1853, Vol. I, text; II, essays and critical notes.

For Book III, reference has also been made to the text edited by F. Sagnard, O.P., in Sources Chrétiennes 34: Irénee de Lyon, Contre les Hérésies, Livre III, 1952.

preface to the New Testament texts of Irenaeus⁵, which affect our study:

the date of the Latin does make this difference, that the earlier we place it the more likely it is that the Latin Bible of the translator resembled the Greek Bible of St. Irenaeus; but to whatever date we ascribe the translation, we have still the same two problems to face, the one, how far the translator had recourse, consciously or unconsciously, to his Latin Bible for the rendering of the biblical quotations, the other, how far the translation in general - as it was originally made, and as it has in the course of time come down to us - is a faithful and trustworthy rendering in Latin of what St. Irenaeus wrote in Greek.⁶

There seems little doubt that Irenaeus wrote in Greek, since both Eusebius and Photius quote Irenaeus as a Greek author. Furthermore, Jerome cites Irenaeus and Apollinarius as Greek writers, and, although it was questioned by Erasmus, there are good reasons for believing this was a reference to the language in which the works were written.⁷ Against those who subscribe to a relatively late date for this

⁵ W. Sanday, C. H. Turner & A. Souter, Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis, 1923, (Old-Latin Biblical Texts No. VII), henceforth cited as N.T. - Iren.

⁶ C. H. Turner, p. xiii, in N.T. - Iren.

⁷ See the discussion by F.R.M. Hitchcock, Irenaeus of Lugdunum, a Study of His Teaching, 1914, p. 43 f..

Latin translation,⁸ there is arrayed impressive evidence that the translation, in fact, was made sufficiently early for Tertullian to have been acquainted with it when he wrote his treatise against the Valentinians (probably ca. 210-230 A.D.).⁹ We therefore take the position that the Latin Irenaeus is a rendition that is in close accord

⁸ Hermann Jordan, "Das Alter und die Herkunft der lateinischen Übersetzung des Hauptwerkes des Irenaeus", in Theologisches Studien Theodor Zahn dargebracht, 1908, pp. 135-192, believed the date fell near 421 when it is first specifically mentioned in a quotation by Augustine. Jordan followed Hort's position in this respect, which was originally stated in Hort's Introduction to the New Testament, p. 160, and which was agreed upon by A. Souter, "The Date and Place of the Latin Translator of Irenaeus", in N.T. - Iren., p. lxxviii f.. Souter observed that the Church was almost universally Greek-speaking in Irenaeus' time, rendering a translation then unnecessary, and further, that there was no instance before the 4th Cent. of a Latin translation of any Greek Christian work comparable in length to the adv. haer.. F. C. Burkitt maintained essential agreement in his article, "Dr. Sanday's New Testament of Irenaeus, with a Note on Valentinian terms in Irenaeus and Tertullian", JTS (1924), p. 67.

⁹ W. Sanday's essay, "The MSS of Irenaeus" in N.T. - Iren., see especially p. xxxv [reprinted from Journal of Philology xvii (1888), pp. 81-94.] in essential agreement with F. Loofs ("Die Handschriften der lateinischen Übersetzung des Irenaeus und ihre Kapitelteilung" in Kirchengeschichtliche Studien H. Reuter gewidmet, 1888, pp. 1-93), and earlier, Massuet and Lipsius. This position has been upheld by F. R. M. Hitchcock, pp. 42 ff. (giving an approximation of 200 A.D.); A. d'Ales, "La date de la version latine de Saint Irénée", RSR, 1916, pp. 133-37; and H. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal, 1938, pp. 205 ff. (Eng. tr. of Geschichte der Alten Kirche II, 1936, p. 208). J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, 1889, II. 1, p. 143, gave the date of Irenaeus' work as between 175 - 190 A.D..

with our author's original treatise.¹⁰

From the standpoint of our study, the chief limitation related to the date of the text is that, if a gap exists of half a century or more from the assumed date of the translation (ca. 200 A.D.) to its actual composition, we are left with an indefinite factor regarding the development of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$, for the interim period. However, in the course of our examination it will be seen that the reinterpretation of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ follows in general the course of development that might be expected for this period. The high Christology is emphasized, and Christ is not designated the "Servant of God". Moreover, there is lacking any serious attempt to reconcile this high Christology with the Servant passages, an attempt which we find later in Origen's contra Celsum, although texts from second Isaiah are often cited.

¹⁰ With reference to the history of the text, Stieren has noted in his edition the two principal families of the Latin translation, one represented by the Clermont (C) and Voss (V) MSS (dated respectively, 9th to 10th cents., and 15th cent.) and the other by the Arundel (A) MS (12th or 13th cent.). The principal editions are those of Erasmus (1526), Grabe (1702), employing the Arundel MS, and a list of readings from Voss as well as a copy of readings made by Mercer from an unknown MS, Massuet (1710), using the Clermont MS among others, Stieren (1853), and Harvey (1857). Massuet's edition was reprinted by Migne in 1857. Harvey collated the Clermont and Arundel MSS of the Latin text for his edition, and in addition made use of a Syriac translation, since he held that Syriac was the native tongue of Irenaeus (Hv i, cliii - cliv). A. Stieren's edition is a less accurate transcript from the Arundel MS.

To provide a complete survey of Irenaeus' thought with reference to our topic, certain passages in The Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching¹¹ are examined in addition. At first sight, they may seem to be out of accord with the general pattern we have observed, but, by careful examination of the context of these usages, we will see that our general position is maintained. This will be dealt with in our analysis of Irenaeus' Christology.

B. The exalted Christology of Irenaeus

The Structure of Irenaeus' Theology in the Context of his Polemic

Regarding Irenaeus' major work, the adversus haereses, it would be improper to develop an exposition of the Christology without reference to its place in his theology. This would suggest an undue emphasis on one aspect of the Triune God, which would not fairly represent our author's total position.

¹¹ For Irenaeus' discourse on the Apostolic Preaching, we have taken recourse to two translations from the Armenian text. The title of this work is mentioned in a list of Irenaeus' works in Eusebius (H.E. V. 26): *Εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος* accordingly, the discourse is often referred to by the transliteration, Evideixis, hereafter cited as Epid.

The translations are those by J. Armitage Robinson, The Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching, 1920, and Joseph P. Smith, S.J., St. Irenaeus, Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 1952. A German translation from the Armenian appeared in 1907 in TU 31.1.

Epid. 99 contains an explicit reference to the adv.haer., giving evidence that it followed the major work. J. A. Robinson p.2, dates the writing ca. 190.

Irenaeus is unique among the writers considered in this study in pointing towards a formulated trinitarian doctrine. Nevertheless, we find that he exalts the person of Christ in a manner which follows the general pattern which we have noted throughout the second century, but within the context of a considered dogmatic framework which exceeded in terms of a structured doctrine the thought of any writer encountered since the apostolic period.¹² Our inquiry does not purport either to defend or assail the systematic character of Irenaeus' total theological thought, but to arrive at an understanding of his Christology¹³ with particular reference to the interpretation of the $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ - puer/filius¹⁴ derived from Second Isaiah's figure

¹² We do not infer that Irenaeus' thinking represents a dogmatic synthesis as this is defined in the twentieth century. The doctrinal system of our writer has been a subject for scholarly debate for many years. For a survey of the studies on this subject, see Add'l Note IV.2.

¹³ See the conclusions of A. Houssiau (La Christologie de Saint Irénée, 1955) cited in Add'l Note IV.2.

¹⁴ It is to be noted that the Latin Irenaeus gives puer or filius in quotations where the Greek form in the LXX and the N.T. is $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$. The differences are relevant to our discussion, see p. 306, and cf. also my notation on Otto's rendering of $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ in Justin's Dial.: sometimes correctly as servus, but often as puer, p. 182.

of the Servant. In this respect the study deals with the writer's Christology in detail only insofar as it is seen to affect this interpretation through the exaltation accorded to the Son.

It is a well known fact to students of Irenaeus that the first two books of the adversus haereses are devoted mainly to an exposition of false gnostic doctrines. What is significant and often overlooked is the additional fact that early in Book I a credal statement occurs which contains the essential elements of the later formulations by the Church,¹⁵ but to

¹⁵ I. 10.1 (Hv i, 90 f.): "... in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem qui fecit coelum et terram, et mare, et omnia quae in eis sunt (a): et in unum [cf. Hv, n.1, 90: this is probably for the purpose of excluding the gnostic notion of a four-fold Christ/ Christum Jesum filium Dei, incarnatum pro nostra salute: et in Spiritum Sanctum, qui per Prophetas praedicavit dispositiones [Dei is added by the Latin translator] et adventum, et eam, quae est ex Virgine generationem, et passionem, et resurrectionem a mortuis, et in carne in coelos ascensionem dilecti Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et de coelis in Gloria Patris adventum ejus, ad recapitulanda (b) universa, et resuscitandam omnem carnem humani generis, et Christo Jesu Domino nostro, et Deo [italics mine], et Salvatori, et Regi, secundum placitum Patris invisibilis omne genu curvet coelestium, et terrestrium, et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur (c) ei, ..."

(a) Cf. Acts 4:24.

(b) Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, cf. Eph. 1:10. The importance of this doctrine for Irenaeus' Christology is evident, see Add'l Note IV. 1.

(c) Phil. 2:10.

which is appended an important affirmation of the exalted position of Christ. The writer's introductory formula states that it is ea fides which the Church has received from the Apostles and their disciples, and it may have been part of the Regula Veritatis incorporated in the baptismal liturgy.¹⁶ Irenaeus' quotation from Philipians 2:10,11 is of particular interest¹⁷, following the exalted

¹⁶ We notice that Irenaeus, elsewhere, says that "the Rule of truth" is received at Baptism (I. 9.4, Hv i, 88), which is suggestive of the Creed-like form which we have here, but we cannot definitely say that "this faith" and "the Rule of Truth" were identical in Irenaeus' mind. Regarding "this faith", cf. I. 10.1, Hv i, 90: "... et ab Apostolis, et discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem, quae est in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, ..."

Cf. Epid. 6, where Irenaeus describes "the order of the rule of our faith" in a similar fashion to the creedal form cited (J. A. Robinson, p. 12). However, the Epid. gives it a more balanced trinitarian sense: "God the Father... the first point (lit., "head") of our faith ... The Word of God, Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord ... The Holy Spirit, through whom the prophets prophesied ..." Again, it is noteworthy that the Word's = Son's activity is included in the Armenian rendering of ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι: it is the Word, the Son, Christ Jesus "who also at the end of the times, to complete and gather up all things, was made man among men, ..." (J. A. Robinson, p. 75 n. 3). For the preferred emendation clarifying the contrast of the immaterial or invisible Father with the visible Son and His incarnation, cf. J.P. Smith on this passage (n. 39, p. 141). See also A. Harnack, DG II (Eng. tr.) p. 265 n.1.

¹⁷ The Greek is available for this portion of the chapter, the quotation of Phil. 2:10,11 being given in the adv. haer. I. 10.1 as follows: πᾶν γόνυ κάμψη ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται. [at this point, the N.T. quotation ceases] αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσεται (Hv i 91: ln. 8-10).

titles which are given to Christ especially *θεός*¹⁸ and *βασιλεύς*.¹⁹ The context in which this quotation is found is the judgement scene, not unlike the setting of the parousia in the Kenosis Hymn. The contrast occurs at the point where the quotation is broken off. For Irenaeus, the confession of all things in heaven and earth is made "to Him, and that He should execute just judgement to all". In the New Testament, the conclusion to the hymn places significantly different emphasis: ... *καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἑξομολογήσεται ὅτι ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς*. The exaltation, for the apostolic writer, was to the Father's *δόξα*, which is omitted by Irenaeus.

There are other places in these early books where the Father's sovereignty is more clearly maintained. For example, it is asserted that there is but one Creator, who is God, and the Lord teaches us of this Father who is in heaven.²⁰ Again, the Father was neither produced nor

¹⁸ Although *ὁ θεός* normally designates the Father, *θεός* may be a title for the Son, cf. f.n.40. See A. Houssiau, p. 33.

¹⁹ *βασιλεύς* qualifies Christ 80 times in the adv. haer., and 15 times in the Epid., but is never found as a simple substitute for His name (Houssiau, p.32).

²⁰ II. 9.1, cf. Mt. 5:16, 45; and especially Jn. 14:8 ff..

begotten,²¹ and He alone is God and Father who formed the world and fashioned man²², but it is to be noted that these affirmations take place within the framework of the argument refuting the false gnostic conceptions which separated the Pleroma. When Irenaeus turns to the more positive formulations, as found in Books III and IV, there is scant material, in evidence of a strong assertion of the Father's sovereignty as over against an inferior position for the Son.

The underlying position in the two earlier books, where a positive element exists, is the unity of the Godhead. This is evidenced from the inclusive statement that He "is all mind, all reason, all active spirit, all light, and always exists one and the same," etc..²³ Shortly after this statement comes an assertion that God is Mind and Logos.²⁴

²¹ II. 12.1.

²² II. 28.1.

²³ II. 28.4-5 (Hv i, 354 f.): "Deus autem cum sit totus mens, totus ratio, et totus spiritus operans, et totus lux, et semper idem et similiter existens," etc..

²⁴ II. 28.5 (Hv. loc. cit.): "Deus autem totus existens Mens, et totus existens Logos..."

A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of The New Testament, 1958, pp. 156 ff., regarded the use of the σοφία-λόγος conception by the apostolic Church as a natural outcome in conceiving the highest category of interpretation of the person of Christ. The roots for the N.T. usages

This is to confute the separation of Logos from God in the gnostic system which assigned Logos the third place after Bythus and Nous. ^{Irenaeus follows with a quotation of} ~~Then, and having importance for our study,~~ ~~Irenaeus quotes~~ Isaiah 53:8, in the Hebrew original a clear reference to the Servant Figure, but here obviously referred to the Logos.²⁵ Logos and Mind are held to be in essential unity with the Father, and, subsequently, the writer easily refers to the Logos as the One who is proclaimed in this scripture from the Old Testament. Far from being inferior, this exalted figure is the active power of God; He will scarcely be conceived as Servant.²⁶ Our subsequent analysis

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(e.g., *σοφία* in I Cor 1:24, Col. 1:158., and *λόγος* in the Johannine prologue), according to Richardson, are found not in Hellenistic religious speculation, but derive from the O.T. scriptures as interpreted by Rabbinic Judaism. In this reference, Irenaeus begins by speaking of God the Father, but then proceeds to identify Logos, Mind and the Father.

²⁵ II. 28.5 (Hv 1 355): "Similiter autem rursus et de Logo, tertiam prolationem ei a Patre donans: unde et ignorat magnitudinem ejus; porro et longe Logon a Deo separavit. Et propheta quidem ait de eo: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit?" (a)

(a) Cf. Isa. 53:8.

²⁶ There is no real element of subordination in the affirmation in II. 28.6 that "even the Lord, the very Son of God, acknowledged that the Father alone knows the very day and hour of Judgement," (followed by a quotation of part of Mk. 13:33, omitting the words "neither the angels which are in heaven."). This statement refers to the Father's omniscience, but does not specify an inferior position being accorded to the Son, suitable to the role of Servant.

of the positive doctrinal assertions in Books III - V will bear out this hypothesis, and provide further clarification on the identity which our writer saw between Christ and Logos, who, practically speaking, accounted for every aspect of God's activity in the world described in the Old Testament.

The Unity of Father and Son

It is in accordance with Irenaeus' basic assertion of the unity of God that we find the citation of the Apostolic Kerygma near the opening of Book III.²⁷ This position is supported, as well, by citing the fact that it was the same doctrine which was held by the earlier Fathers, Clement and Polycarp being mentioned.²⁸ Further, Irenaeus follows this with a credal statement,²⁹ which in content bears similarity

²⁷ III 1.2 (Hv ii, 6): "Et omnes isti unum Deum factorem coeli et terrae a lege et prophetis annuntiatum, et unum Christum filium Dei tradiderunt nobis...". It is to be noted that Irenaeus attributes the knowledge of this apostolic teaching to the working of the Holy Spirit. Cf. the assertion in III. 5.1 that the disciples made no mention of any other God nor called any other Lord except Him "qui vere esset Deus et Dominus omnium," (Hv ii, 19).

²⁸ III. 3.3-4.

²⁹ III. 4.2 (Hv ii, 16): The traditional belief stated is "in Deum credentes fabricatorem coeli et terrae, et omnium quae in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium." Harvey notes that Irenaeus here exhibits an abstract of an Eastern Creed, rather than that of the Roman Church (loc. cit., Hv n.3.).

to the one cited earlier.³⁰ It is noteworthy that both of these credal forms have a reference to the doctrine of recapitulation (*ἀνακεφαλαίωσις* - recapitulatio)³¹ although the statement in Book III deals more specifically with Christ uniting man and God.³² The credal statement, as in the earlier usage, serves to set the stage for Irenaeus' exposition, and it may be observed that here there is only an implied reference to the supremacy of God³³ before Irenaeus launches with full force into a discussion which almost entirely

³⁰ I. 10.1, cf. n.15.

³¹ See Add'l Note IV.1.

³² The credal statement in I. 10.1 contains the assertion of belief "in carne in coelos ascensionem dilecti Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et de coelis in gloria Patris adventum ejus, ad recapitulanda universa, ..." [*italics mine*] (Hv i, 91). In the present statement of III. 4.2 following the statement cited above (n.29), belief is in this Christ Jesus "qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quae esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, ..." [*italics mine*] (Hv ii, 16). Here, the emphasis is placed on the motivating factor of His surpassing love for Creation: He Himself unites man to God. The construction indicates that it is "His love towards His creation," with an apparent unity of the Person being indicated.

³³ III. V.1, which asserts that "Our Lord" [*"Dominus noster"*], being the truth, would not have spoken lies (as do gnostics), and He acknowledged (one) God of all [*"Deum omnium"*], the Supreme King and His own Father [*"summum Regem et Patrem suum"*].

obliterates the distinction between God the Father and God the Son. This reference to God's sovereignty, similar to what we have found previously, occurs in the context of a refutation of Valentinian polytheism, and therefore cannot be given equal weight with Irenaeus' positive assertions, occurring apart from the polemical context, which virtually obscures the distinction between Father and Son.

This becomes clear as Irenaeus opens his discussion of the Old Testament witness to the verus Deus. He declares:

Vere igitur cum Pater sit Dominus, et Filius vere sit Dominus, merito Spiritus Sanctus Domini appellatione signavit eos. 34

(Since, therefore, the Father is truly Lord, and the Son is truly Lord, appropriately has the Holy Spirit designated them by the title of Lord)

³⁴ III. 6.1 (Hv ii, 21). In fairness to Irenaeus, it must be recognized that this statement is to be balanced against the preceding explanation of the quotation of Ps. 109:1 (110:1) ("one of the fundamental texts of the Kerygma," C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 34) which he understands as the Father addressing the Son (cf. I Cor. 15:24; Heb. 1:13). This marks one of the rare occasions in this section where Irenaeus maintains this distinction; the fact that he follows it with the cited statement ascribing the title Dominus to both Father and Son in a context that suggests no distinction tends to nullify its effect.

In the New Testament, the title "Lord" predominantly refers to the resurrected Christ,³⁵ whereas Irenaeus has made it a comprehensive designation, with the implication (following his explanation of Psalm 109:1 [110:1]) that it applies to the Son pre-incarnate. There is more to this than that he merely proves "the unity of the God of the Old Testament with the God of the New" as John Lawson interpreted the passage.³⁶ The distinction between God the Father and God the Son has, in fact, gravely diminished, and Harnack has no evidence for his statement that Irenaeus "strictly

³⁵ We recognize that κύριος (=Dominus) was employed in the LXX as an actual translation only of ייִתְיָ (or, in the K'thîbh, ייִתְיָ), but often κύριος, or ὁ κύριος, occurs as a periphrasis for יהוה. In the N.T., the title may refer to God the Father in, for example, quotations or reminiscences of the O.T. (LXX, generally), but except for Mk. 5:19, ὁ κύριος does not denote God in the Markan and Q material. With Paul, κύριος refers to the apostle's dominant understanding of Jesus, (cf. E. Burton, Galatians (ICC), pp. 399-404). Since Paul's experience was with the resurrected Christ, this is in accordance with the general usage in the rest of the N.T., where κύριος designates Jesus as the Resurrected One. Cf. Quell and Foerster's article in TWBNT III, pp. 1038-98; E. Rodhe, "Gottesglaube und Kyriosglaube bei Paulus", ZNTW 22 (1923), pp. 43 ff.; and O. Gullmann, who suggested that the earliest baptismal creed (as in Phil. 2:11, cf. I Cor. 12:3) may have been the simple affirmation "Jesus is Lord", (The Earliest Christian Confessions, Eng. tr. espec. pp. 28 ff.).

³⁶ J. Lawson, P. 67.

maintains the personal distinction between Father and Son."³⁷
 Even Houssiau, in his recent study, seems to have overlooked this passage, as he says:

'Kyrios' employé comme substitut du nom, distingué le Christ du Père, et Irénée suit ici l'usage de la communauté. 38

although he admits that the title can qualify the Father just as well as the Son. The point we are emphasizing is that the personal distinction is lacking in Irenaeus, the unity that was asserted earlier in the aforementioned passage is further supported when Irenaeus says that

³⁷ A. Harnack, DG II (Eng. tr.), p. 263. But Harnack, discussing the Logos as the "revelation hypostasis of the Father" says that "the Son always existed with God, always revealed the Father, and it was always the full Godhead that he revealed in himself. In other words, he is God in his specific nature, truly God, and there is no distinction of essence between him and God," (p. 264).

³⁸ A. Houssiau, p. 28. Houssiau correctly states that the title "Lord" seems to Irenaeus to suit the "Verbe considere des avant l'incarnation" (loc. cit.), but when he uses "Lord" as a title in substitution for a name, he reserves it for the Word incarnate, conforming to current terminology.

In his discussion of the designation *θεός*, Houssiau adds: "Le titre 'Dieu' employé comme substitut du nom sert à désigner le Père, 'Seigneur' étant réservé, pour la même fonction, à Jesus-Christ," (p. 33).

Our main contention is that the title "Lord" is applied on various occasions both to the pre-incarnate Son and to God the Father, as the passage under consideration (III. 6.1) asserts.

The "Spirit designates both by the name of God."³⁹ The same identity is maintained in the Epideixis, with some additional theological reflection.⁴⁰ Nearly a century and a half ago, Edward Burton perceived this characteristic of Irenaeus' thought:

... confining myself to the testimony which Irenaeus bears to our Lord's divinity, ... I must observe particularly, that he expressly calls Jesus Christ our Lord and God and Saviour and King.

In many other places Irenaeus calls Christ God, without ever hinting that he used the term in an inferior or figurative sense: and whenever the reader finds our Saviour called God in the quotations made from this Father, I should wish him to bear in mind the following passages, in which Irenaeus explicitly asserts his belief in only one God.⁴¹

³⁹ III. 6.1 (hv loc. cit): "Utrosque enim Dei appellatione signavit Spiritus, et eum qui ungitur Filium, et eus qui ungit, id est Patrem." Regarding the anointing, Irenaeus at least maintains a more orthodox distinction than Justin, who held that every form of anointing referred to Christ, c.f. Dial. 86.3

Further, in the same section, Irenaeus poses the question "Who is meant by God?" To which he gives the answer with a quotation from Ps. 50:3, which, he says, refers to the Son "who came manifested to men, who said ..." (quoting Isa. 65:1).

⁴⁰ Epid. 47: "So then the Father is Lord and the Son is Lord and the Father is God and the Son is God; for that which is begotten/God is God." Cf. adv. haer. I. 1.18: τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθὲν Θεός ἐστιν. It is true that Θεός, without the article, is found in other literature of the period designating Christ, see f.n. 43.

⁴¹ Edward Burton, Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ, 1826, pp. 65-66 (*italics mine*). The quotation is followed by citing adv. haer. III. 8.1, in addition to those which I have mentioned.

There are other statements in the adversus haereses supporting Burton's interpretation. Typical is the author's discussion of the Old Testament witness to the Messiah who would receive gifts from the Magi, stating the propriety of gold "because He was a king", and frankincense "because He was God ($\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$)".⁴² The willingness to designate Christ as $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ was observed in Ignatius, and recurs, although in a different context, in Origen.⁴³ It can be said, however, that, of these writers, Irenaeus maintained the strongest assertion of the unity of the Godhead.

In Justin's Dialogue, it will be recalled that in the attempt to explain various theophanies in the Old Testament,

⁴² III. 9.3, cf. III. 10.5: "... the prophets did not announce one and another god, but one and the same; under various aspects, however, and many titles". See also III. 11.7, III. 12.1, etc.

⁴³ Ignatius apparently used the term without the article in this way, but Ignatius' letters were unique, in at least eight instances, in applying $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ to Jesus Christ: e.g., IEph. 7.2; 18.2; IRom. 3.3; ISmyrn. 1.1, etc. (cf. Virginia Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch, 1960, p. 130 f., and my previous discussion, ad. loc.). Origen, it will be seen, could speak of Christ as $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, but in a theological definition, he would say that the human in Jesus was ultimately elevated and perfectly united with true divinity, (c. Cels. III. 41). Other references in Origen designating Christ as $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ occur (e.g., c. Cels. I.56,60), but Christ is more often considered the image of God, rather than being in absolute unity with the Father, c. Cels. VII. 17, VIII. 13, cf. de princ. I. 1.8.

the concept of "Second God" was developed.⁴⁴ It was God the Word whom the apologist saw as actively involved with the physical universe, and whose revelation is recounted in the Hebrew tradition. In its effect, this theology could lend support to ditheism. Perhaps because Irenaeus was aware of the susceptibility of Justin's formulation to the pantheism of the Valentiniens, he was unwilling to dwell on a distinction of natures between God transcendent, and God who is immanent in His creation. On the contrary, it is the unity of the Godhead that constitutes a pre-eminent interest for Irenaeus. I know of no place in the adversus haereses where Irenaeus could have referred to the Son as *δεύτερος θεός*.

However, like Justin, Irenaeus saw the presence of the Word (= the Son pre-incarnate) in practically all the

⁴⁴ See the previous discussion of Justin's "Second-God", espec. Dial. 57. 3 f., 58.3 and cf. the conversation (recalling Gen. 1:26; 3:22) within the Godhead, Dial. 62, cf. Barn. 5.5. This divine form of conversation is reflected at one point in Irenaeus, Epid. 55, but this appears to be a figurative usage.

Houssiau observed that the Word in Irenaeus, instead of being a "2nd Visible God" (as in Justin) is of itself invisible like the Father; but while the Father will not be truly contemplated except in the celestial kingdom, the Word is given to be seen and grasped in its Incarnate Presence (p. 254).

theophanies recounted in the Old Testament.⁴⁵ Here "Word" is not different from God in the sense of a distinct personality, but is God who is in contact with His creation, and with humanity. "Word", in this sense is the imminent activity of God in the universe.⁴⁶ Since the Word and the Son pre-incarnate are identified, it will be seen that Irenaeus regarded Christ pre-incarnate as active in the history of creation and providence. This emphasis on the cosmic role of Christ apparently made it difficult for the writer to express any semblance of the Servant doctrine as

⁴⁵ Prof. A. T. Hanson regards Irenaeus' interpretation of Exodus 3 (adv. haer. III. 6.2) as illustrative of this point, as he discussed in a paper presented at the 4th International Patristic Conference, 1963, (the papers are to be published in TU). Cf. Houssiau, p. 255: "the Word which was active in the history of Israel is also the unique subject of the actions of Christ."

⁴⁶ F. R. M. Hitchcock asks the question: Who was the Word? He finds it answered by Irenaeus in III. 18.1 and V. 18.1. Maintaining Christ's pre-existence, the writer sets forth His relation to the Father, declaring that the Incarnation was the extension of God's creative and imminent energy. In V. 18.1-3, the Word of God is described as Creator, sustainer, etc. (Hitchcock, p. 139).

Cf. Ignatius, I Eph. 7, and IMagn. 6, where the only-begotten Son is called "God the Word", accepting the Syriac (longer) version. In the Epistula Apostolorum 17 a writing of the latter part of the 2nd century, Christ's indwelling in the Father is mentioned along with the assertion of His identity with His Word.

he interpreted the Scriptures. The extent to which this is true will become manifest as we examine in detail the Son's place and work in the Godhead.

It is clear that the unity of God the Father and God the Son finds an essential place in Irenaeus' theology. In the early chapters, where we encountered credal statements, it was seen that Irenaeus could address both by the title of *θεός*, or *κύριος*. Moreover, the strict distinction between the persons of Father and Son, from the evidence presented thus far, is seen to be lacking. In order to determine how the writer can maintain an essential oneness of the Godhead, emphasising Christ's true divinity, and yet still give expression to the Lord's humanity, we must inquire further into the details of his Christology. In the process of this examination, we will deal with those passages of scripture that are related to the Servant doctrine, and will seek to understand our writer's interpretation of these texts.

The Son's (=Word's) Place and Work in the Godhead

The Development "servus-puer-filius" in the Context of the Father and Son's Interdependence. Having affirmed the essential unity of the Godhead, Irenaeus' statement of the manifestation of the Father in the Son, which bears particularly upon the interpretation of the *παῖς θεοῦ*, can be considered in its

proper context. The Son is represented as speaking the words of deliverance (Exodus 3:8) to Moses,⁴⁷ since He "descended and ascended for the salvation of men". It is true, as Harvey observed,⁴⁸ that Irenaeus is leading up to an assertion of the Son's indwelling in the Father, and the Father in the Son, but this is more than an "indwelling" Presence,⁴⁹ since both the Son and the Father have already been termed "God".⁵⁰ It is a statement of the mode of revelation stressing interdependence: the Father is declared through the Son, and the Son is declared through the Father. In this context we find the quotation from Isaiah 43:10, where puer is substituted in the translation

47 III. 6.2 (Hv ii, 22 f.): "Et iterum, loquente Filio ad Moysen: 'Descendi', inquit, 'eripere populum hunc'." 9/1

48 Harvey (loc. cit. n.1), considering the writer's line of thought is leading to the affirmation of the Father being in the Son, as the Son is in the Father, did not find the manifestation of the Son in the Moses account to be surprising.

49 J. Quasten, Patrology, 1950, Vol.I, p. 295, regards this as "the first attempt to grasp the relationship between the Father and the Son in a speculative manner.". Cf. Jn. 14: 10-11.

50 See n. 39, 40, supra.

of $\tau\eta\upsilon - \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, where we would expect to find servus:

Per Filium itaque que est in Patre, et habet in se Patrem, is Qui est, manifestatus est Deus, Patre testimonium perhibente Filio, et Filio annuntiante Patrem. Quemadmodum et Esaias ait: 'Et ego', inquit, 'testis, dicit Dominus Deus, et puer quem elegi, uti cognoscatis, et credatis, et intelligatis, quoniam ego sum'. 51

(Therefore God has been declared through the Son who is in the Father, and has the Father in Himself. He [ref: the Father] who is, the Father bearing witness to the Son, and the Son declaring the Father. Just as Isaiah says: 'And I bear witness', he declares 'says the Lord God, and the Child whom I have chosen, that you may know, and believe, and understand that I am'.)

It is noteworthy that the Vulgate retained the word servus in rendering this passage from Isaiah 43:10.⁵² It may be that this passage could be cited with those rare instances in Jerome's translation from the Hebrew original, that have not been subjected to recensions.⁵³ There may be significance in the fact that the Vulgate retains the designation servus meus in the songs in Isaiah 42:1 and 49:6, where in neither case do we find the context to be one of specific subordination. We noted earlier in our discussion of Justin's use

51 III. 6.2 (Hv ii, 23). Italics are mine.

52 See n. 55, infra.

53 Cf. the discussion by B. J. Roberts in Peake's Commentary (1962), # 65 b-c; see also # 59 c-d.

of the 4th Servant Song, the omission by the Vulgate of the phrase supplied by the LXX ἀνηγγείλαμεν ὡς παιδίον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ (53:2a).⁵⁴ Παιδίον, in this case would normally have been rendered by puer.⁵⁵ But we do not find puer as a substitute for παῖς in the Vulgate rendering of the Servant Songs; servus is there the normal rendering.

The picture is further clouded by the fact that in the important quotation of Isaiah 42:1 ff. in Matthew 12:18, the Vulgate does use puer, a variant from the Isaiah text

⁵⁴ See my discussion on Justin's use of the 4th Servant Song, with reference to the context found in the Vulgate, pp.

⁵⁵ As we have noted (see p.182), Otto sometimes rendered Justin's O.T. quotations containing παῖς with puer (Dial. 13.2), but in Dial. 122, quoting the passage under consideration here (Isa. 43:10), astonishingly, Otto rendered servus, the opposite of the Latin Irenaeus, but possibly in deference to the Vulgate.

A. Harnack associated the Christ-puer apparitions with a different root from the Τῆς - παῖς tradition, namely that of the mythological accounts of Jesus' appearance in the form of a strahlenden Knaben, (cf. Justin, who in Dial. 121.3 says that our Lord in His first coming, although He was without honour and form He yet showed such brilliancy and majesty that no nation could fail to recognize Him). These stories of His brilliance occur in numerous apocryphal stories of the apostles, as well as in the Acts of John. Jesus also appears to martyrs as puer (cf. Die Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae 66.30; 65.20; 74.8 - ed. M. R. James). Harnack considered that these legends seek to express the ancient mythological tradition of eternal youth, an idea which finds similarity in the portraits of Jesus in The Shepherd of Hermas, Vis. II. 4.1; III. 10 ff.; (A. Harnack "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'", SAB (1926) p. 215). Cf. also adv. haer. IV. 20.11.

preference for filius in Irenaeus' citation of the speeches in Acts 3 and 4, which will be discussed below.⁵⁷

A quotation of Isaiah 43:10 is repeated in Book IV, where Irenaeus is chiefly concerned with the refutation of heretical teachings based on the Lord's sayings. Similar to the citation in Book III, the context in which this passage is employed has to do with the unity of the Godhead: Irenaeus had prefaced the quotation with the affirmation:

Unus igitur et idem Deus, qui plicat coelum quemadmodum librum, et renovat faciem terrae...⁵⁸

(God, therefore, is one and the same, who folds up heaven as a book, and renews the face of the earth...)

In the context in which the quotation occurs, it is clear that the writer has returned to his former argument, that there is but one God announced by the law and the prophets, He is Creator and Sovereign, which testimony is found in the

⁵⁷ The Vulgate was not consistent in its rendering of the four important occurrences of $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ in the speeches in Acts 3 and 4. As Harnack pointed out (p.218), the oldest MSS generally offered puer, which in three of the four instances was later changed to filius: cf. adv. haer. III. 12. 5-6, and my discussion, p.368. Harnack (loc. cit.) observed that this later resistance to puer as a title for Jesus was illustrated in this citation by Irenaeus of the Acts passages, as well as in other works (e.g., Tertullian, de bapt. 7; adv. Prax. 28). See also below, pp.366ff.

⁵⁸ IV. 5.1 (Hv ii, 154), cf. Isa. 34:4.

words of the prophet of the Exile, but instead of God's chosen servus being the witness, again it is the puer:

Ego testis, dicit Dominus Deus, et puer meus quem elegi, ut cognoscatis, et credatis, et intelligatis, quia ego sum. 59

(I bear witness, says the Lord God, and my child whom I have chosen, that you may know, and believe, and understand that I am.)

Two things are evident in the citations from Deutero-Isaiah and the passages quoted thus far. In the first place, the Latin Irenaeus has not rendered $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in the LXX by servus, but by the more ambiguous puer.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ IV. 5.1 (Hv loc. cit.). cf. the citation of Isa. 43:10 in III. 6.2; here, it is my child.

The Isaiah quotation follows a proclamation of God's essential oneness and His providence. It was He " qui a Lege et prophetis annuntiatus est, quem Christus suum Patrem confessus est. Ipse est autem fabricator; et ipse est qui super omnia est Deus, quemadmodum Esaias ait: Ego testis, ..." etc.

Justin (Dial. 122.1) quoted Isa. 43:10 in a context that affirmed the prophet was speaking of Christ's bearing witness to those who believed, with the words $\delta\ \pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ for puer meus, which Otto rendered servus meus (p. 413).

⁶⁰ While it is true that the two Isaianic citations fall outside the contemporary designation of the "Servant Songs", there is no evidence that the "Songs" were separated from the whole body of teaching of Isa. 42-53 in this period. As often in Justin, and later in Origen, Isaiah passages are cited as a proof text that is unmistakably a Christological reference, both within, and outside of the Servant Songs.

Secondly, the contexts in which these passages are employed have nothing to do with the Servant doctrine, but treat of God's essential unity, and the mutual interdependence between Father and Son. No evidence can be derived from these citations, therefore, that the writer interpreted the $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ as "Servant". Moreover, the tendency to further modify the designation puer to filius excludes any possibility of menial interpretation.

In addition, Irenaeus moves easily from thinking of God who speaks with His chosen leaders in the Old Testament, to the Son who also speaks, as we noted in the section preceding our first quotation of Isaiah 43:10, both God the Father and God the Son were mentioned as having spoken to Moses.⁶¹

Clearly, a doctrine of the pre-incarnate Son's activity in the old dispensation underlies these statements. This interpretation of Christ active in the world before the incarnation was facilitated for Irenaeus by seeing in Jesus' true identity with the Word a necessary part of the process of the atonement. True, salvation for man was once wrought

⁶¹ III. 6.2: God proclaims his sovereignty in the words of Ex. 3:14, while the Son speaks to Moses the message of deliverance of Ex. 3:8, since "the Son descended and ascended for men's salvation," cf. n. 47.

by the sacrifice on the cross, yet the Word who acted throughout ancient history also prepared the way for this one Mighty Work. The Word, it will be seen, is at once the divine power of God in touch with His creation, and yet is identified with Jesus of Nazareth.⁶² The doctrine of ἀνακεφαλαίωσις is properly related to this: "the Creator of the World is indeed the Word of God: and this is Our Lord, who in the last times was made man... that He might sum up all things in Himself".⁶³ As we continue our study, we will observe the effects of the Logos doctrine as a whole upon the Christology of Irenaeus, and seek to evaluate its influence on his interpretation.

The Son and Word identified in Interpreting the Kenosis.

First, as to the identity of the Word with the Son, we may cite a passage dealing with the atonement, in which Irenaeus declares since it was not possible that man ("qui sub peccato ceciderat") could reform himself, nor obtain the prize of

⁶² Cf. A. Houssiau, p. 38, who finds that "Word" as a Christological title used by Irenaeus acquired new value: it evokes not only the divine condition, but refers to an activity valid for all time in the world and close to humanity.

⁶³ V. 18.3, cf. Eph. 1:10 and see Add'l Note IV. 1.

victory, therefore:

utraque operatus est Filius, Verbum Dei existens,
a Patre descendens, et incarnatus ...

(the Son effected both these things, being the Word of God, descending from the Father, becoming incarnate ...). 64.

Similarly, in refuting adoptionism, Irenaeus declares that neither was Christ one and Jesus another, "sed Verbum Dei, qui est Salvator omnium, et dominator coeli et terrae, qui est Jesus"⁶⁵ Further, in this same section, our writer affirms that the "Word of God was man from the root of Jesse... But inasmuch as He was God, He was not judging according to glory ... etc."⁶⁶ Again, and most important,

⁶⁴ III. 18.2 (Hv ii, 95), italics are mine.

Other passages, dealing with the Atonement, are explicit in equating the Word with Jesus: IV. 13.2 (the Word set free the soul), IV. 13.4 ("...Our Lord, the Word of God, who in the first instance assuredly drew slaves to God, but afterwards He set those free who were subject to Him..."), and V. 18.3, cited above.

⁶⁵ III. 9.3 (Hv ii, 32).

Cf. IV. 6.1: "For the Lord Himself, revealing Himself to his disciples, that He Himself is the Word..."

⁶⁶ III. 9.3 (Hv ii, 33): "Nam secundum id quod verbum Dei homo erat ex radice Jesse ... Secundum autem quod Deus erat, non secundum gloriam judicabat, ...".

it was "His Word ... who descended to death, even the death on the cross."⁶⁷

There are two other references to this portion of verse 8 from the second chapter of Philippians in the adversus haereses.⁶⁸ In all three cases, however, the phrase "He humbled Himself" (in the New Testament: *ἐταπείνωσεν εἑαυτὸν*) is omitted. When corroborated with the fact that in each instance the citation occurs in a context that deals with Christ's exalted position⁶⁹, this omission is significant. In the New Testament, the humiliation and descent from divine status precede the ultimate exaltation. Moreover, the context in which the Kenotic Hymn occurs includes an exhortation to emulate the spirit of self-abnegation that characterized Christ. A discussion of the extent to

⁶⁷ IV. 24.2 (Hv ii, 232): "... hujus Verbum ... usque ad mortem descendisse, mortem autem crucis...". Cf. Phil. 2:8. G. Wingren (Man and the Incarnation, 1947, Eng. tr. 1959, p. 192 f.) referred to this passage in citing E. Scharl's study which emphasized the identity in our writer's thought between recapitulatio and consummation, (Scharl, "Der Rekapitulationsbegriff des hl. Irenäus" in Orientalia, 1940 p. 415 f., cf. pp. 396 f., 407). See also E. Brunner, The Mediator, p. 256, n.1.

⁶⁸ III. 12.9 and V. 16.3.

⁶⁹ In III. 12.9, Christ is called "Lord of all, and King and God and Judge"; in IV. 24.2, He is spoken of as the very Word of God, invisible by nature, who was made visible and descended to men; and in V. 16.3, it is the Lord manifesting Himself in His passion, doing away with Adam's disobedience.

which the Kenosis is organic to Pauline theology falls outside the scope of this study, but it is interesting to find that several of those who consider the verses a pre-Pauline hymn, also regard Paul's use of Servant language, wherever it occurs, as a borrowing from earlier tradition.⁷⁰ If this is correct, and were pressed to the logical conclusion, it would indicate that as early as the time of the Apostolic Church the Servant tradition was already seen to be receding, and could account for the relative scarcity of quotations from the Servant Songs in the New Testament.⁷¹

⁷⁰ The analysis of the Kenotic Hymn as an independent composition on the basis of stylistic, linguistic and contextual evidence by E. Lohmeyer (Die Briefe an die Philipper, Meyer Series, orig. 1930) still represents the most complete treatment on the subject. Lohmeyer's earlier work, Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, 1927-28, in the papers of the Heidelberg Academy, suggested an Aramaic original. A current evaluation of the evidence given by Lohmeyer and others denying apostolic authorship is provided in R. P. Martin's An Early Christian Confession, 1960, pp. 13 ff.. Lohmeyer, followed by P. Bonnard (L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Philippiens, 1950, p. 48) and R. H. Fuller (The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, 1954, p. 57), would deny that Paul makes use of the Servant language except where he is quoting from earlier tradition.

⁷¹ V. Taylor, in his art., "The Origin of the Markan Passion Sayings", NTS 1:4 (1954), p. 162, asserted that "all the indications in the Pauline Epistles ... go to show that the Servant teaching as applied to Christ is pre-Pauline; ... they suggest that by the time Paul wrote this teaching is already on the wane." This follows the conclusion reached by J. Jeremias that from pre-Pauline times Jesus is extolled in psalms as the Servant of God, (The Servant of God, orig. in TWBNT, 1952, Eng. tr. 1957, p. 97).

Morna Hooker made much of what she considered the paucity of references to the Servant doctrine in the Synoptics and the literature of the primitive church.⁷² But, if the Servant interpretation was already receding even at this primitive period, it certainly runs directly counter to the argument that the Church created the Servant doctrine and imposed it on the person of Christ and His purpose.⁷³

What is now becoming apparent from our analysis is that second century Christian writers did place a high value on the scripture in Deutero-Isaiah (including, but not distinguishing the "Servant Songs") and found it important for their apologetic purpose. It is evident that the references were usually employed as Christological proof-texts. But it is manifestly incorrect to hold that the Church created the Servant doctrine, since the weight of evidence set forth clearly shows that Christian theologians of the period could not bear to think of Christ as "Servant", even though they freely quoted passages containing

⁷² M. D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant, 1959, pp. 102, 127-8. Even Harnack freely admitted that $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ was not the usual title for Jesus as were "Christ" and "Son of God", (p.214).

⁷³ M. D. Hooker, p. 128, offers that it "was only gradually that she [the Church] came to make the connection between His [Christ's] sufferings and the Servant's vicarious atonement".

reference to the $\pi\alpha\tau\iota$. The implication is that they used the texts more or less mechanically, at first without theological reflection. When such reflection began to take shape, the texts were explained in a different way, as will be seen in our examination of Origen. Irenaeus certainly represents the most considerable effort in the sub-apostolic period to preserve the true humanity of Christ, and to retrieve the real fact of Kenosis⁷⁴ which was being obscured by the apologists' endeavor to assert Christ's equally essential divinity. However, it was one thing to assert that Christ was truly human, but quite another to think of Him as "Servant".

For our purposes, we may take note of the difference in context surrounding verse 8 as it is cited in the

⁷⁴ There is a current tendency to interpret the Kenosis of the Christ-hymn along existential, rather than metaphysical lines, (see J. Harvey's art., "A New Look at the Christ Hymn in Philippians 2:6-11," ET LXXXVI:11 (1965), pp. 337-9, and implied by R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament I Eng. tr. 1952, p. 131, cf. p. 175). Perhaps this lies behind Jeremias' obscure but important notation in reference to the connection between the hymn and the 4th Servant Song: "The use of Isa. 53:12 shows that the expression $\text{[}\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu\text{]}$ implies the surrender of life, not the kenosis of the incarnation", (p. 97, f.n. 445). The helpfulness of this conception, humanly speaking, must be acknowledged, but Irenaeus and his contemporaries clearly understood the kenosis from a metaphysical point of view, which accorded with their acceptance of the reality of Christ's pre-existence. To this writer, it is part of the greatness of these verses that they should suggest the two interpretations, but to limit the interpretation solely to the existential meaning is surely out of harmony with the Johannine Prologue.

adversus haereses from its occurrence in the Kenotic Hymn. It is particularly significant, we have found, that the phrase "He humbled Himself" is omitted. Whether the hymn represents a Pauline conception, or originated from other sources as a confession⁷⁵ and was incorporated into the epistle,⁷⁵ it is clear that the verses were viewed as an important testimony in Irenaeus' mind. There is evidence of association of the hymn with a liturgical confession in the adversus haereses,⁷⁶ but Irenaeus gives the kenosis a more philosophically sophisticated interpretation. Since the Son pre-existent is really identified with the divine Logos, the kenosis is only possible to the extent that divinity is unimpaired. Donald G. Dawe, in a recent

⁷⁵ O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, Eng. tr. 1949, p. 22, denied Pauline authorship, and viewed it as perhaps the most primitive confession of the worshipping community. E. Stauffer acknowledged its composition as a credal hymn, but found it to contain "characteristically Pauline incarnation formulae" and so assigned it as an earlier product of the apostle's pen, (New Testament Theology, Eng. tr. 1955, p. 284, f.n. 372). F. F. Bruce holds a somewhat middle position: if the hymn is pre-Pauline, the apostle has integrated it into his argument, (see Bruce's essay in Promise and Fulfillment, the festschrift presented to S. H. Hooke, 1963, p. 44 f.).

⁷⁶ The first quotation from the hymn (Phil. 2:10-11) occurs in I. 10.1 as a conclusion to a credal statement.

historical analysis of the kenotic motif, has expressed this succinctly:

Irenaeus stressed the eternal coexistence of the Logos with the Father. Because the Logos is divine, the Logos is thereby immutable. The Logos could descend to take up his dwelling in a human life. But the work of the Logos was limited to those activities that were compatible with divinity ... [quotation from the adv. haer.].⁷⁷ The center of emphasis has now shifted. The divine kenosis is no longer a change in the divine mode of being, ... [but is] the act of the Logos in accepting human vesture. The Logos does not participate fully in the life of Christ, but only in those parts which are appropriate to deity. ⁷⁷

If Irenaeus can not accept that Logos fully enters the human condition, we may have here a view that was to influence Origen in a later period.⁷⁸

It would seem that the Logos to a considerable degree governs the writer's Christology, although this question will be explored more fully later.⁷⁹ From the evidence adduced, it appears that Irenaeus' interpretation of the

⁷⁷ D. G. Dawe, The Form of a Servant, 1963, p. 54 f, citing adv. haer. III. 19.3: "For just as he was man in order that he might be tempted, so too he was Logos in order that he might be glorified. When he was being tempted and crucified and dying, the Logos remained quiescent; when he was overcoming ... and rising again ..., the Logos aided the human nature."

⁷⁸ See especially c. Cels. IV.15 and my discussion pp.442ff., cf. also VI. 77 and VII. 16.

⁷⁹ Infra, pp. 327ff.

Kenosis was hindered in two respects: on the one hand, he views Kenosis as describing a metaphysical change which was impossible due to the incompatibility of complete humanity with divinity in his understanding, and on the other because his exalted Christology resisted the notion of Christ pouring out His life for the sake of others, the role of Isaiah's Servant. Irenaeus was at pains to maintain Christ's relationship to the world of man, and his doctrine of the atonement rested heavily upon the reality of Christ's true communion with man ⁸⁰, but it is Christ as the Son, identified as the divine Logos, to whom he refers. Thus it is only as divinity that He approached humanity, not as the equally important human Jesus of Nazareth, whose continued outpouring of life perfectly realized the role of Isaiah's Servant.

An extension of the identity of the Son and Word is found in a later passage where Irenaeus affirms it was He who ordered things in the Old Dispensation. ⁸¹

In this context, the Son is listed along with Word, Wisdom ⁸²

⁸⁰ For example, in a discussion of recapitulatio, Irenaeus affirms we are saved by his incarnation: "the Word has saved humanity which had perished" (V. 14.2), cf. F. R. M. Hitchcock, p. 143.

⁸¹ IV. 7.4.

⁸² Cf. Justin, Dial. 62.4, also 61.1, 100.4 and 126.1. Origen, also, linked the title Word with designations such as Wisdom and Truth (de princ. I. 2.6), and in comm. in Joh. I. 22 it is said that the Word, i.e. Wisdom, contained all things in idea before they existed. Irenaeus does not appear to have been affected to this extent by Philonic exegesis.

It should be emphasized that the N.T. teaching in regard to Wisdom and the Incarnation is that in Jesus Christ God Himself has become incarnate, and no mere emanation (e.g., presumably, Wisdom or Word as a distinct hypostasis). Hence Jesus can identify Himself as the well-spring of this Wisdom, Jn. 4:14 (J. W. Montgomery, "Wisdom as Gift: The Wisdom Concept in Relation to Biblical Messianism", Interpretation XVI : 1 (1962), pp. 55-6.

and Holy Spirit⁸³ as ministering to the Father, but again in the context that affirms "there is one and the same God".⁸⁴ In relation to the incarnation, it is interesting that we find in this section a play on words by Irenaeus, in the dual sense in which he asserts that "the Jews departed from God in not receiving His Word", a device which is repeated elsewhere.⁸⁵

Son and Divine Logos were clearly identified, and while he struggled with the fact of incarnation, Irenaeus was unwilling to accept the extent of the work of Christ incarnate: the complete self-offering that is well expressed in the Kenotic Hymn as befits the role of the Servant. Therefore, the writer had a limited appreciation of the fully human Jesus. On the other hand, far from moving into the camp of the docetists, it was not that the writer did not care to assert Christ's true humanity, but rather that the greater concern was to assure His true divinity. The Godhead is essential unity, therefore the Word (= the Son) is of this essence, He cannot depart from it.

⁸³ See also IV. 20.1: Word and Wisdom, Son and Spirit, by whom He made all things, are affirmed as being eternally present with Him.

⁸⁴ IV. 7.3 f., but Justin, as Houssiau observed (p. 254) regarded the Word as "Second Visible God", Irenaeus' more orthodox position holds it to be a certain manifestation of the Father, invisible like Him. (Houssiau, loc. cit.).

⁸⁵ IV. 7.4, cf. IV. 5.1 (Abraham, as well as the apostles, followed the Word), IV. 6.1 (the Lord, who is the Word, reproved the Jews).

Further Exaltation of the Word: Identity with God the Father. We have cited the identity of the voice speaking to Moses with the pre-existent Son's activity in the account of Exodus 3.⁸⁶ Likewise this identity is expressed in the following passage:

Qui igitur a prophetis adorabatur Deus vivus, hic est vivorum Deus, et Verbum ejus, qui et locutus est Moysi, qui et Sadducaeos redarguit, qui et resurrectionem donavit: ...⁸⁷

(He, then, who was adored by the prophets as the living God, He is God of the living, and the Word is He who in fact spoke with Moses, who confuted the Sadducees, who also bestowed [the gift of] resurrection...)

With this we may compare what Irenaeus has adduced from the 5th chapter of John, namely that there is testimony everywhere in the (Old Testament) scriptures to the Son's activity: "speaking with Abraham ... at another time with Noah ... and again directs Jacob on his journey, and speaks with Moses from the bush."⁸⁸

⁸⁶ III. 6.2, see n. 47; cf. also IV. 20.9, citing Num. 12:8, and more significant Ex. 33:20 ff. interpreted by Irenaeus to assert both God's invisibility, and at the same time His revelation through His Wisdom, in an apocalyptic statement that includes O.T. citations identifying as synonymous Word, Son of Man, Stone, Lamb, etc.

⁸⁷ IV. 5.2.

⁸⁸ IV. 10.1.

Further, we would call attention to the mixture of Old Testament citations that Irenaeus employs in a later chapter of Book IV.⁸⁹ Here, in a series of exalted statements, the Son of God (also referred to in this same section as the Word) is alternately represented as the fourth figure in the fiery furnace⁹⁰, and a stone cut out of the mountain without hands.⁹¹ Even this same individual is beheld as the "Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, and drawing near to the Ancient of Days".⁹² It is striking to find that Irenaeus lists these figures in a section which is apocalyptic in character (generally reserved for Book V) and which follows the above mentioned citations with numerous passages from the Book of Revelation referring to the Son's glory.

The references provide evidence that the exalted Word is conceived as God's active power, who is also the Son. For Irenaeus, there is no ditheism possible in this view. In maintaining that the Old Testament scriptures everywhere

⁸⁹ IV. 20.11.

⁹⁰ Cf. Dan. 3:25 f.

⁹¹ Dan. 2:34, cited also by Justin, Dial. 76.1.

⁹² The glorified Son of Man of Dan. 7:13 f., as in Justin, Dial. 31 and 76.1.

mention the Son, our writer refutes the claims of those who say this referred to some other being, for he says "and they shall find that there was no other announced than our Lord, Christ Jesus".⁹³ This is followed by a quotation of Deuteronomy 32:6, Moses chiding the people. Whereupon, our writer finds amazement in the fact that the people still remain obdurate, for Irenaeus says:

Et rursus significans, quoniam qui ab initio condidit et fecit eos Verbum, et in novissimis temporibus redimens nos et vivificans, ostenditur pendens in ligno, et non credent ei. Ait enim: 'Et erit vita tua pendens ante oculos tuos, et non credes vitae tuae'. Et iterum: 'Nonne hic idem Pater tuus possedit te, et fecit te, et creavit te?'⁹⁴

(And again indicating, He who from the beginning founded and created them, the Word, and who in the last times redeems and vivifies us, is shown as hanging on the tree, and they do not believe on Him. For he says 'and your life will be hanging before your eyes, and you do not believe your life'. And again: 'Has not this same one your Father owned you, and made you, and created you?')

Of particular interest here, in addition to the identity between the Word and the Father which the passage suggests, is the exposition of Deuteronomy 28:66, which, as Harvey

⁹³ IV. 10.2 (Hv ii, 174): " ... et invenient non alium, nisi Dominum nostrum Christum Jesum, annuntiatum."

⁹⁴ Ibid, citing Deut. 28:66 and 32.6. Harvey gives an explanation of possedit te (Hv ii, 157, f.n. 5.).

notes, was agreed upon by other early Fathers following Irenaeus.⁹⁵ We would add to those cited by Harvey (following Francois Feuardent) the significant parallel which we encountered at the conclusion of Melito's Homily on the Passion.⁹⁶ However, there is an important contextual difference between the two writers. Whereas in Melito the phraseology was useful for the writer's highly rhetorical style but contained little theological reflection at this point, Irenaeus employs the quotation in such a way that identity between God the Creator, the divine Word, and the crucified Redeemer is implicit.⁹⁷ The writer was ahead of his time in not allowing his

⁹⁵ For a similar interpretation of Deut. 28:66, cf. Cyprian, adv. Jud. II. 20; Ruffinus, expos. symb.; Tertullian, contra Judaeos; Athanasius, de incarnat. Verbi; Augustine, contra Faustum XII. 5, and novat. lib. de trin.; and Lactantius, IV. 18.

⁹⁶ Homily 17, 30-36, see Ch. III, n. 103.

⁹⁷ The emphasis which Irenaeus gives to the unity of the divine plan is an important feature of his apologetic. Against gnostic dualism, which held that everything that preceded Christ (e.g., Creation, man in his original state the God revealed in Jewish history) was the work of the God of this world (the Demiurge), and that the Gospel revealed a totally different God, Irenaeus asserts it is the same God and Word of God who is active throughout the entire course of history, (J. Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, p. 31 f.).

emphasis on God's transcendence to obscure the imminent activity of redemption.⁹⁸ If we may judge by the considerable following which Irenaeus enjoyed in his interpretation of the Deuteronomic passage, the early widespread influence is apparent. There are other passages which express the identity between the Word and the Father, but it must not be overlooked that these pertain as well to the totality of God's revelation.⁹⁹

The Word (= the Son pre-incarnate) as Mediator in the Creation. Concluding this portion of our study of the Son's role in the Godhead, we will give brief attention to Irenaeus' conception of the Word as God's active power (or, functionary) in the creation of the material world. Our study of Irenaeus' interpretation of the $\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}$, has carried us in this direction, because evidence has been found that suggests the Servant doctrine was obscured by the writer's high Christology. From our analysis so far, it appears that the formative elements of this high Christology lie somewhere

⁹⁸ Cf. Harnack, DG II, Eng. tr., p. 263: "The Apologists have a cosmological interest, Marcion only a soteriological, whereas Irenaeus has both: . . ." This reveals the difficulties with Houssiau's statement that 'Irenaeus will take wholly from Justin his doctrine of the Logos' (La Christologie de Saint Irénée, p. 56).

⁹⁹ IV. 6.5-7.

between a concern for Christian Monotheism and a strong Logos doctrine; but, in developing a theology of the Logos, Irenaeus has not departed from the unity of the Father and the Son in the work of revelation and redemption. It is therefore of particular interest that we will find a quotation of I Peter 2:22¹⁰⁰ in a context that treats of the Word's cosmic activity, but including, as well, reference to his redeeming activity, while still stressing God's essential oneness. It is clear that such action was to be considered as part of God's self-revelation.

In Justin, the attempt to identify the pre-incarnate Son with the divine Word viewed as the active power in the Godhead resulted in the speculation of a 'Second God'. But, in contrast with the Apologist, we have seen that Irenaeus has consistently asserted the unity of the Godhead. Wherever, in fact, he has developed the arguments of his Christology that could suggest a division of persons within the Divine, he has followed with an assertion that "God is One", as if consciously trying to correct any contrary inference.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ I Pet. 2:22 citing with slight modification Isa. 53:9_b; "... he did no lawless deed (*ἀνομία*) neither was there [*π* *η* : "was found"/] deceit in his mouth" (LXX); "... who did no sin (*ἀμαρτία*) neither was deceit found in his mouth" (N.T.); cf. adv. haer. IV. 20.2.

¹⁰¹ See n. 40 and 42 above.

In the light of this position in Irenaeus' theology, we must now ask two questions specifically regarding his conception of the Logos. First, does the doctrinal development of the Logos oppose in any way this essential unity? Second, is it true to say that the writer's Logos doctrine is regulative in the formulation of his Christology, and in consequence was this the determining factor of the writer's interpretation of the *παις*? An additional question is related to both of the foregoing: In what sense does our writer ascribe to the Word the role of Mediator in the Creation? It is by way of inquiry into this specific aspect of the problem that we will seek an answer to the above two questions.

For the moment, we must set aside the aspect of our writer's thought dealing with the "Word become flesh", as this properly belongs under our discussion of the Atonement, which is to follow. It is true, however, that no inquiry of the Word in Irenaeus' writings would be able to take serious account of this aspect of his thought without consideration of the Word who became Man. As Daniélou put it, it is "la théologie du Verbe révélateur, dont il [Irénee] est le grand docteur".¹⁰²

¹⁰² J. Daniélou, Message Évangélique et Culture Hellenistique, 1961, (cited hereafter as Message) p. 328. Daniélou considered, here, that Irenaeus does not go beyond the Biblical formulas to develop metaphysical speculations

The most important passage relating to the subject under consideration is to be found in Book IV.¹⁰³ It will be recalled that this book bases its refutation of gnostic claims primarily on the sayings of the Lord. Therefore, Irenaeus opens a discussion of the testimony of Old Testament scriptures to the Lord's death and passion with a quotation from John 5:39,40:

You search the scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that bear witness to me; yet you refuse to come to me that you may have life (RSV).

We note in this connection the importance of the Fourth Gospel in our writer's thought, which has been manifest throughout the adversus haereses.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, in an important

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(in contrast with the gnostics who would hold that the λόγος is produced by the νοῦς, in an analogy with operations of the human spirit). In this sense, Irenaeus is not a creative theologian, but then such speculations are not the interest of our writer. His pre-eminent interest centers about the theology of the revealing Word derived from Scripture.

Cf. A. Harnack, DG (Eng. tr.) ii, p. 263; "Irenaeus /will not/ allow the designation 'Logos' to be interpreted in the sense of the Logos being the inward reason or the Spoken Word of God".

¹⁰³ IV. 10.2, quoted above, see p.323.

¹⁰⁴ III. 10.2, where the words of Lk. 1:68 are applied to John; and it is John who imparted the knowledge of salvation (Jn. 1:14); III. 11.2, citing Jn. 1:10,11 to refute Marcion; III. 11.8, where John is listed first among the Gospels that provide distinctive testimony to the nature of Christ; III. 16.2, "John knew one and the same Word of God, and that He was the only begotten ... etc."

passage, prior to the one with which we are chiefly concerned, Irenaeus gives pre-eminence to John's teaching about the Word (= the Son), over the teaching of the other evangelists, asserting that only John wisely omitted the words of Jesus "No man knoweth the Son, ... etc.", with the implication that these words were too readily perverted by the heretics to imply Jesus' subordination.¹⁰⁵ This is in accordance with Irenaeus' exalted Christology.

For the passage under consideration, then, the context is concerned with the testimony of the Old Testament, which is interpreted as consistently pointing to Christ.¹⁰⁶ Moses' rebuke of the people (Deut. 32:6) is employed in a context that suggests it is the Word speaking through Moses, who knew that He (the Word) would, as He became incarnate, be

¹⁰⁵ IV. 6.1, cf. Origen, de princ. I. 1.8.

¹⁰⁶ IV. 10.2 Regarding Irenaeus' view on the Word of God (= the Son) in the O.T., G. Wingren remarks: "it is characteristic of Irenaeus that he refuses to regard the frequent 'theophanies' of the Old Testament as the visitation of angels, but on the contrary sees them as signs of the immediate presence of the Son, the manifestation of the Verbum Himself, the Logos," (pp. 71-72). In this view, then, Abraham actually possessed Christ as He then was, "thereby grasping the Incarnation since the future work of the Word or Son was the Incarnation", (Wingren, p. 74); cf. IV. 5.1.

There are numerous references in the adv. haer. to Christ's immediate presence recounted in the O.T., e.g. II. 47.2, III. 9-12, III. 32.1, IV. 18, IV. 40.1, and especially IV. 3.1; see also p. 321, above.

rejected by the children of Israel, just as His Word (the prophetic word) was rejected in the earlier dispensation.¹⁰⁷ There follows the passage which is relevant for our discussion:

(And again indicating, He who from the beginning founded and created them, the Word, and who in the last times redeems and vivifies us, is shown as hanging on the tree, and they do not believe on Him. For he says 'and your life will be hanging before your eyes, and you do not believe your life'. And again: 'Has not this same one your Father owned you and made you, and created you'.)¹⁰⁸

As we observed in the earlier citation of this passage, there is illustrated the basic unity Irenaeus sees between the Word and God the Father (the Creator) so it is not surprising that he can speak of the Word 'who from the beginning founded and created them'. It is important to notice, as well, that in depicting the Figure hanging on the Cross, He (the Word) is specifically identified with Christ,¹⁰⁹ but designated also the 'same one' as the Father, who 'created you'. This threefold identity characterizes Irenaeus' thought regarding the unity of the Godhead.

¹⁰⁷ This dual sense of Israel's rejection of the Word is paralleled elsewhere: IV. 7.4 ("the Jews departed from God, in not receiving His Word"), cf. IV. 6.1.

¹⁰⁸ IV. 10.2, the text is provided on p.323.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Melito, Homily 17.30 ff.

Far from distinguishing the Word (or the Father) who creates as a separate entity, the writer moves easily back and forth in this thought from one to the other. Obviously, for him, they are the Same Person. It is as easy for him to say that the Word creates, as it is to say that the Father creates. An activity that is predicated for the One, may just as well be predicated for the Other. This would seem to summarize Irenaeus' position, if our judgement were to rest solely on the above passage. The fact is, Irenaeus' thought goes much deeper. Indeed, examination of other passages further provides a subtle and more orthodox distinction between the Word and the Father, while retaining what amounts to absolute identity between the Word and Christ. In Book III, it is asserted that the teaching of the Church has been to the effect :

... that we should know that He who made and formed, and breathed in them the breath of life, and nourishes us by means of the creation, establishing all things by His Word, and binding them together by His Wisdom, this is He who is the only true God ... 110

110 III. 24.2 (Hv ii, 132 f.): "... ut sciremus, quoniam qui fecit, et plasmavit, et insufflationem vitae insufflavavit in (a) eis, et per conditionem nutrit nos, Verbo suo confirmans, et Sapientia compingens omnia, hic est qui est solus verus Deus: ..."

(a) in is omitted in some MSS.

Here, it is God who establishes by His Word. We may compare this with Irenaeus' assertion of the invisibility of God:

For no one was able, either in heaven or on earth, or under the earth, to open the book of the Father, or to behold Him, with the exception of the Lamb who was slain, and who redeemed us with His own blood, receiving power over all things from the same God who made all things by the Word [*italics mine*], and adorned them by [*His*] Wisdom, when the 'Word was made flesh'; that even as the Word of God had the sovereignty in the heavens, so also might He have the sovereignty on earth, inasmuch as [*He was*] a righteous man, 'who did no sin neither was there guile found in His mouth', [*I Peter 2:22*] 111

111 IV. 20.2 (Hv ii, 214): "Nemo enim alius poterat nec in coelo, nec in terra, nec sub terra aperire paternum librum, nec videre eum, nisi agnus qui occisus est, et sanguine suo redemit nos, ab eodem, qui omnia Verbo facit et Sapiencia adornavit, accipiens omnium potestatem, quando 'Verbum caro factum est', ut quemadmodum in coelis principatum habuit Verbum Dei, sic et in terra haberet principatum, quoniam homo justus, 'qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus';" [*I Pet. 2:22*].

It should be noted in this and the quotation above (n. 110) that Irenaeus identifies "Word" with Christ, and "Wisdom" with the Holy Spirit. Cf. *Epid.* 5: ... "since God is rational, therefore by the Word He created the things that were made (a); and God is spirit, and by the Spirit he adorned all things ... [*quotes Ps. 32 (33):6*]. Since, then, the Word establishes, that is to say gives body and grants the reality of being, and the Spirit gives order and form to the diversity of the powers; rightly and fittingly is the Word called the Son and the Spirit the Wisdom of God", (J. Armitage Robinson, p. 74).

(a) J. A. Robinson (*loc. cit.*, f.n. 1) remarks on the play on words given in the Armenian here. God is *λογικός* therefore by *λόγος* He created the world. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 61.3.

Considerably earlier in the treatise, Irenaeus had held that it was the Word of God, "per quem facta sunt omnia, qui est Dominus noster Jesus Christus".¹¹² We should not overlook the fact that in this earlier statement of creation through the Word, "who is our Lord Jesus Christ", Irenaeus identifies Jacob as an apostate servus, but servus is never used in reference to Christ. Indeed, the writer stresses the distinction between Jacob, the servus, and Dominus noster Jesus Christus.¹¹³ We are now in a position to assess the relationship of the Word to creation, and to comment on the passage (I Peter 2:22) contained in the quotation cited, which bears particularly upon our problem of the παις, within its proper context.

First, the sense of Irenaeus' consideration of the Word's activity in creation, is that, comparable to the Word

¹¹² III. 8.2 (Hv ii, 29).

¹¹³ This was Irenaeus' reflection on Jeremiah's oracle stating that "the Lord hath redeemed Jacob..." (Jer. 31.11): Jacob, therefore, who was an apostate servant (servus apostata), should not be compared to the Lord: "non enim tantum hic, sed nec quidquam ex his quae constituta sunt, et in subiectione sunt, comparabitur Verbo Dei, per quem facta sunt omnia, qui est Dominus Noster Jesus Christus" (III. 8.2. loc. cit.).

Also on this subject compare my discussion of other occurrences of servus, infra, p.357f.

Incarnate in Jesus Christ, the Word in Creation reveals the Father.¹¹⁴ The Father, invisible Himself, has nevertheless willed to reveal "Himself to all, by making his Word visible to all"¹¹⁵ (the Word being visible both in Creation and in Jesus of Nazareth). Again, "no one can know the Father,¹¹⁶ unless through the Word of God, that is, unless by the Son revealing ["Him"]"¹¹⁷ and in this context, the action is

¹¹⁴ IV. 6.6: "for through the creation itself, the Word reveals God the Creator, and by means of the world does the Lord [declare] the Maker of the World; ..." Hv ii, 160: "Etenim per ipsam conditionem revelat Verbum conditorem Deum, et per mundum fabricatorem mundi Dominum, ...).

The concluding words to this chapter summarize our writer's position: "For the Son, being present with His own handiwork from the beginning, reveals the Father to all ... Wherefore, then, in all things, and through all things, there is one God, the Father, and one Word, and one Son, and one Spirit, and one salvation to all who believe in Him." (IV. 6.7). Cf. Origen, de princ. II. 6.1. Origen's idea of a Schöpfungsmittler follows from his speculation on God's transcendence, and the need to have contact with the material world and man, but for Irenaeus this is the natural outcome of a theology that strongly asserts Christ's pre-existence. See Ch.V, n. 71.

¹¹⁵ IV. 6.5.

¹¹⁶ This prohibition of knowledge of the Father except through the Son reflects a strong emphasis of the Fourth Gospel, and the idea of knowledge of God is closely linked with Irenaeus' conception of the Atonement. See Add'l Note IV. 3.

¹¹⁷ IV. 6.3.

attributed to the Father's "good pleasure". Our writer's view of the dual sense of the Revealing Word in creation and the redeeming Word who was Jesus incarnate, provides a link between the metaphysical and the moral aspects of God. It is truly a profound insight on the part of this Second-Century writer.

In pursuing this inquiry, the writer's interest was stimulated by the recent study of Harald Hegermann on the Mediator in Creation.¹¹⁸ Hegermann, who dealt particularly with the hymn in Colossians 1:15 ff. (and the parallel in I Cor. 8:6) was concerned to stress the importance of the kosmologischer Christus - und Heilsvorstellung. Dealing particularly with the question of Philonic roots of the Schöpfungsmittlervorstellung, he traced reflections of the concept appearing in the Colossians hymn in Ignatius and Justin, as we have mentioned earlier. It was part of Hegermann's conclusion that Paul used the Christology of the hymn only with distinct reticence, and then only to ward off the claims of the heretics.¹¹⁹ Is there an element

¹¹⁸ Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum, (TU Bd. 82), 1961.

¹¹⁹ H. Hegermann, p. 202. Hegermann found a further illustration of this reticence in the parallel text in Rom. 6.

On the λόγος in creation in the cosmogony of Poimandres, see C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p. 116.

of the Schöpfungsmittler in Irenaeus' Christology, as it is represented in the adversus haereses? The answer would seem to be in the affirmative. The passages under consideration (III. 24.2 and IV. 20.2) cannot be separated from the context of the writer's understanding of the process of redemption.¹²⁰ But redemption, for Irenaeus, has a cosmological as well as a personal, or moral, application. It is not physical matter, nor a god responsible for matter that is evil, in Irenaeus' view. Some might hold that matter is prone to evil (or, chaos), but Irenaeus' assertion is that it is not, because it has been touched by the Word of God.¹²¹ That is to say that what otherwise would have

¹²⁰ This fact is important. If Irenaeus' Schöpfungsmittler had not been developed within the context of the redemptive process, he could be accused of approaching an equation of Logos with immanent reason or dynamic natural force, in the tradition of Philo, which is remote from mankind. See n. 102. This is the difficulty with Justin's Logos: cosmology, rather than soteriology governs the tone of the discussion, (see H. R. Mackintosh, The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ, 1913, p. 143).

¹²¹ Among the dominant principles of Oriental religious thought lying behind gnostic dualism is the view that matter is essentially evil. Therefore, as J. F. Bethune-Baker has remarked, "if matter is evil, the Supreme God (who is good) cannot have created the world, and the Redeemer (who is divine) cannot have come in the flesh", (An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine, 1903, p. 75). Irenaeus' concern to assert a true Incarnation therefore cannot permit a view that matter is evil, and he resolves this problem of the nature of matter by accepting the Word's activity in creation.

The physical as well as the moral effects of redemption are part of Paul's conception, cf. Rom. 8:21-22.

been chaotic has been ordered and redeemed by God's Word: this is the Word acting in Creation. Moreover, the activity of the Word reveals¹²² the One True God both in the material world and in the Word become flesh who brings salvation to mankind.¹²³ Irenaeus recognizes the position of the heretics who would assign the creation of "inferior" matter to another Power, the Demiurge, for instance. However, in his conception, it is not another power, but the Triune God who accomplishes these things.¹²⁴ Such ditheism is not

¹²² IV. 6.6-7, see n. 114 above. Thus, the Word's activity is always part of God's self-revelation.

¹²³ The unity of the divine plan in the process of revelation may be expressed in a slightly different way by citing the typological relationship between the old order and the new. Again, this is applied both to man and to the physical universe: the imperfect, temporal order prefigures the state of perfection which is to come. Adam is the type of the original order (natural man), which is restored and accomplished in Christ, (see J. Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, pp. 30-32). Cf. adv. haer. IV. 5.1: "God, therefore, is one and the same, who rolls up the heaven as a book, and renews the face of the earth; who made the things of time for men ... and who, through His kindness, bestows upon man eternal things ...", and IV. 20.4: "Now this is His Word, Our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the last times was made man among men, that He might join the end to the beginning, that is, man to God." Cf. Rom. 8:19-23.

¹²⁴ Irenaeus was more successful than Justin in expressing the idea that in Christ God Himself has come to us. The Logos is not construed as "somehow a portion of the Godhead, much less a second inferior God, but as God himself breaking forth in revelation", (H. R. Mackintosh, p. 147).

permissible for Irenaeus, who has related the redemption of man by the Word made visible with the very Creation of matter (the deliverance from disorder and chaos). Release from sin, therefore, is viewed as both personal and cosmic.¹²⁵

In this perception, Irenaeus was a giant of his time. The essential continuity of the Heilsgeschichte accomplished by the One True God, who has both created and redeemed, is true to the Biblical perspective, viewed in its totality.

Therefore, "He who from the beginning founded and created them, the Word", is the same as He who "redeems and vivifies us in the last times",¹²⁶ and Creation and Redemption are part of One Mighty Act. The twin concepts of origination and sustenance are echoed through these quotations, not

¹²⁵ As G. Wingren observed, this is the strong feature of Irenaeus' Logos doctrine: that it includes both the personal and the cosmic within the Word's activity (p. 69). On the other hand, Clement's Logos doctrine, with its over-emphasis on the Word's cosmic activity, at least partially results in the exclusion of His identity with humanity, "depersonalizing the historic Savior", (H. R. Mackintosh, p. 162). Similarly, Justin's interest in the cosmic Christ tends to exclude his Humanity and the resultant benefits for mankind (see n. 120, above).

¹²⁶ IV. 10.2 (Hv ii 174): "... quoniam qui ab initio condidit et fecit eos Verbum, et in novissimis temporibus redimens nos et vivificans ...", cf. Col. 1:15 ff. There is an interesting relationship here to a distinctive emphasis in II-Isaiah, as von Rad interprets it. Remarking on the prophet's mixture of two traditions (Creation and New Exodus), originally unrelated, he points out that characteristically II-Isaiah does not regard the Creation as different from God's other historic miracles and is a special testimony of His will for salvation. Thus, 'to create' and 'to redeem' can be synonymous as is clear from the etymology of the Hebrew (Theologie des alten Testamen II, 1960, pp. 254-55).

unlike the thought in the Colossians hymn:

Dieser Schöpfungsmittler ist die personhaft gedachte, schöpferische Gotteskraft, die das All durchwaltet und regiert, belebt und erhält, und so gehört ihm die Welt zu als der von ihm erfüllte kosmische Leib; 127

In this connection, we may now assess the quotation from I Peter 2:22, contained in the second passage which we cited from Irenaeus. It does not require further elaboration to see that Irenaeus has employed these words in a context that has to do with the most exalted conception of the Word. The Word, as Schöpfungsmittler, is the same as the One who has redeemed us in these last times, but any suggestion of his humiliation is entirely lacking. We observe further that the quotation is introduced with a declaration of His Sovereignty in heaven and on earth¹²⁸, and is followed by designating Him as King. In striking contrast, the author of I Peter has used the quotation from Isaiah 53:9 in illustration of the way Christ suffered, and significantly this is in the context of an exhortation to the Christian slaves (*δούλοι*) to follow Christ's example. They are to be

¹²⁷ H. Hegermann, p. 200.

¹²⁸ IV. 20.2 (Hv ii 214): "... ut quemadmodum in coelis principatum habuit Verbum Dei, sic et in terra haberet principatum, ..."

submissive even to cruel and overbearing masters, after the pattern which has been set by Jesus.

We are now in a position to answer the questions we set for ourselves in tracing the concept of the Word as Mediator in Creation. The Logos may be said to represent the 'instrumental' within the Divine unity. Irenaeus hardly ever speaks of God's creative activity without appending the descriptive phrase "through (or by) the Word". On the other hand, it is not the Word that creates, but God, by the Word. This opens the door to the second question regarding the extent to which the Logos doctrine is ^{regulative} ~~formulative~~ in the writer's Christology. Irenaeus' Logos is biblical because it includes the functions of both revelation and redemption. Central as it is to his thought, it cannot be said that of itself it was regulative in his understanding of Jesus Christ. His great concern for the unity of the Godhead, together with a belief that assumed Christ's pro-existence exerted a strong influence here.

The writer conceived of revelation as taking place both in the Creation and Incarnation. Accordingly, the activity of the Divine Word is viewed in its relationship both to cosmology and soteriology. Unlike Justin who imputed the Word's activity to a "Second God", Irenaeus held that the Word not only revealed God, but was One with God. All of

this accorded the Word a very high position, but in part this was a reaction to prevailing heresies, which sought to assign Christ a place in a whole pantheon of deities. It was in the context of this discussion of the Word's exalted position that we found the quotation from I Peter 2:22. The text is important for New Testament reflection on the Isaiah passages that have to do with the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. The quotation was used in anything but a lowly connotation, and clearly this text was not employed by Irenaeus to justify a doctrine of the Servant.

We have examined the Word's function in Creation. We are therefore prepared to inquire into His part in the redemption of man. The remaining passages that relate to the interpretation of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ will therefore be dealt with as they occur in relation to Irenaeus' understanding of the Atonement.

The Incarnate Word and the Atonement

Prophecies of His Advent and the Aspect of His Suffering.

The Word by whom God created and arranged all things¹²⁹ was also the same Word through whom the prophets, "receiving the prophetic charisma . . . , announced His advent according to

¹²⁹ cf. IV. 20.2-4.

the flesh."¹³⁰ To Irenaeus, their message was the Word of God foretelling from the beginning that God would be present with men, with His own creation, thereby saving it.¹³¹ It is to be noted that the Word, identified as the Son, was eternally present with the Father,¹³² the Son declaring the Father from the beginning.¹³³ We observe the ease with which Irenaeus uses the terms "Word" and "Son" in this exalted context. Again, it is the Word who "became the dispenser of the paternal grace for the benefit of men".¹³⁴

It is within this context of the high position which Irenaeus accorded to the Word while describing the benefits

¹³⁰ IV 2).4 (Hv ii, 215) maintaining the identity of the Word with Jesus Christ who in the last times was made man among men to join man to God: "Est Autem hic Verbum ejus Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui novissimis temporibus homo in hominibus factus est, ut finem conjungeret principio, id est, hominem Deo. Et propterea prophetae ab eodem Verbo propheticum accipientes charisma, praedicaverunt ejus secundum carnem adventum [italics mine] per quem commixtio et communio Dei et hominis secundum placitum Patris facta est, ab initio praenunciante Verbo Dei, quoniam videbitur Deus ab hominibus, ...".

¹³¹ Ibid.: " ... et adfuturus^s esset suo plasmati, salvans illus, ... " - with this same Word (n. 130) as subject. *m/*

¹³² IV. 20.3 (Hv ii, 214): "Et quoniam Verbum, id est Filius, semper cum Patre erat, per multa demonstravimus".

¹³³ IV. 20.7.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

of the Incarnation, that we find a curious usage of an expression which recalls Isaiah 42:3. Describing the Lord's advent in contrast to the rigidity of the Law of Moses, the words of Irenaeus proclaim:

... The Lord's (= Word's) advent would be ...
 "mitis et tranquillus, in quo nec calamum
 quassatum confregit, nec linum fumigans
 exstinxit. Ostendebatur autem et regni ejus
 mitis et pacifica requietio." 135

(... mild and tranquil, in which He neither
 crushes the bruised reed, nor quenches the
 smoking flax. Likewise was indicated the
 mild and peaceful repose of His Kingdom.)

This section need not detain us. Clearly, there is no suggestion of servitude here, but only that the approach of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ to the World will be characterized by gentleness and tranquility.¹³⁶ Here, as elsewhere,¹³⁷

135 IV. 20.10 (hv ii, 221).

136 Jesus taught that it would be otherwise: Mt. 10:34; cf. Lk. 13:24 and Heb. 12:4.

137 In the adv. haer. there are numerous references which clearly relate the prophecy contained in the Songs to Christ: III. 12.8: Acts 8:32 (Isa. 53:7,8); III. 19.2: Isa 53:8; IV. 23.2: Acts 8:32; IV. 33.1: Isa. 53:3,7; IV. 33.12: an incomplete quotation of Isa. 50:6, also refs. to Isa 53:3,4,7; IV. 33.13: Isa. 50:8,9, with an important alteration; and this passage (IV. 20.10) with ref. to Isa. 42:3. As we will see from the discussion of these passages, the context in every case imputes an exalted, in some cases a royal, understanding to the Figure's person.

In II. 28.5, the citation of Isa. 53:8 is referred to the Logos, equated with the Mind of God.

the Figure described in the "Servant Songs" is clearly understood by Irenaeus to point to Christ, but without the accompanying suggestion of subordinate status. The words following the expression from Isaiah 42:3 give added support to this interpretation: that Irenaeus is thinking of a Royal Figure, as opposed to the Servant Figure, since this develops into a portrayal of His reign from the throne on high, with the words of Ezekiel adduced in testimony:

Haec visio similitudinis gloriae Domini.¹³⁸

(This [is] the appearance of the likeness of the Glory of God.)

As Houssiau noted, the title βασιλεύς qualifies Christ approximately 80 times in the adversus haereses, and perhaps 15 times in the Epideixis.¹³⁹ With reference to Irenaeus' theological reflection on this subject, he stated:

... cette royauté, qui n'est formellement attribuée au Christ que depuis son incarnation ou sa parousie, n'est que le prolongement ou la manifestation de sa seigneurie initiale et démiurgique. Le titre βασιλεύς αἰώνιος est donc un titre divin.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ IV. 20.10 (hv ii, 221), citing as an example Ezekiel, who also had seen the vision of God, the cherubim and the throne, "and upon the throne the likeness as of the figure of a man" (Ezek. 1:1 ff.).

¹³⁹ A. Houssiau, p. 32.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Since the formal attribution of the royal title is but an extension of Irenaeus' view of the sovereignty¹⁴¹ of the Word (= Son pre-incarnate), it could properly qualify the Word become Flesh on any occasion.

Other examples may be cited of the testimony from the Old Testament which Irenaeus has employed to show that prophecy pointed to the King who would come in the flesh. Those of old "used to hear by means of (His) servants /famuli/ that the King would come",¹⁴² and those who have actually beheld Him rejoice "because of the King's arrival".¹⁴³ Again, following a quotation from Jeremiah¹⁴⁴ concerning the dethronement of Joachim from his position as ruler over Judah, Irenaeus adduces that it was not from the line of

¹⁴¹ IV. 20.4: "... even as the Word of God had the sovereignty in the heaven, so also might He have the sovereignty on the earth ...".

¹⁴² IV. 11.3 (Hv ii, 175): "Et illi enim per famulos audiebant venturum regem, ...".

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Jer. 36:30,31.

Joseph that a King would come, but from David:

According to the promise of God, from David's belly the King eternal is raised up, who sums up all things in Himself, and has gathered into Himself the ancient formation [of man].¹⁴⁵

If, however, it is a King that should come, how does Irenaeus reconcile this figure with the prediction of suffering?

The answer is, Irenaeus really does not come to grips with this question. At least, there is not the attempt to reconcile the problem that we find later in Origen. He acknowledges that certain passages in the Old Testament pointed to a Figure who would suffer. He seems also to recognize that this necessity of suffering was so interpreted in the New Testament, as witnessed to by his citation of Peter's speeches and Philip's evangelistic appeal to the Eunuch in Acts.¹⁴⁶ However, instead of confronting the problem of how an exalted Figure, who was from the

¹⁴⁵ III. 21.9. J. Daniélou emphasized the relationship which Christ's inauguration of the New Kingdom has to the doctrine of recapitulatio: Christ must recapitulate mankind in Himself, that the Kingdom of God may be established over all men, (From Shadows to Reality, p. 38.).

¹⁴⁶ III. 12.2-7. Peter's speeches in Acts 3 and 4 are dealt with below.

beginning with God,¹⁴⁷ and "who from the beginning founded and created them [that is] the Word",¹⁴⁸ could maintain such an exalted status even as one suffering, Irenaeus merely states that "He who suffered ... is Lord of all",¹⁴⁹ and is content to say that it is a mystery.¹⁵⁰ We may cite the relevant portions of the adversus haereses which surround this affirmation:

Philippus autem rursus spadoni ... revertenti a Hierosolymis, et legenti Esaiam prophetam, solus soli, quem annuntiavit? Nonne eum de quo dixit propheta: 'Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est, quemadmodum agnus ante tondentem se sine voce, sic non aperuit os?' Nativitatem autem ejus quis enarrabit? quoniam tolletur a terra vita ejus.' Hunc esse Jesum, et impletam esse in eo Scripturam; quemadmodum ipse eunuchus credens, et statim postulans baptisari dicebat: 'Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum". 151

¹⁴⁷ IV. 20.7: "Therefore the Son of the Father declares (Him) from the beginning, inasmuch as He was with the Father from the beginning ..."

¹⁴⁸ IV. 10.2

¹⁴⁹ III. 12.9

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ III. 12.8 (Hv ii, 62) quoting Acts 8:32 ff. with its citation of Isa. 53:7,8 that includes important modifications.

(But again, Whom did Philip announce to the Eunuch ... , returning from Jerusalem, and reading Isaiah the prophet, when he and this man were alone together? Was it not He of whom the prophet spoke: 'As a sheep He was led to the slaughter, and as a mute lamb before its shearer, so He opened not the mouth?' 'But Who shall declare His nativity? For His life shall be taken away from the earth'. /Philip declaring that/ this was Jesus, and /that/ Scripture was fulfilled in Him; so also the Eunuch Himself believing, and immediately requesting to be baptized, said: 'I believe that Jesus is the Son of God'.)

This is an important passage for the indication it provides of Irenaeus' interpretation of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}, \theta\epsilon\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}$. First, it is clear that the Figure of the Fourth Servant Song is identified with Jesus Christ, and that Irenaeus believed that this was the interpretation given in Acts 8:32 ff.. This in itself provides an important early witness that the Servant passages were related to Christ in the primitive tradition.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Irenaeus has Philip specifically assert that the Figure referred to was Jesus ("Hunc esse Jesum, ..."), whereas the N.T. only infers it from Acts 8:35.

J. Jeremias (P. 91, f.n. 411) found evidence from the way baptism was performed that the Acts passage belonged to the early tradition. Cf. also O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, Eng. tr. 1959, p. 73.

What we may have here, however, is the residual association of the passages, when the thought of Jesus as Servant is now denied. The important fact is that the Isaiah passage provides a proof text, but the context in which it is employed has to do with exaltation, and not at all with vicarious suffering or humility. In the section immediately preceding, our writer has spoken of Jesus in exalted terms: "the Son of God, the Judge of the quick and the dead",¹⁵³ and he follows the quotation with the words placed in the mouth of the Eunuch that he believes "Jesus to be the Son of God".¹⁵⁴ It will be recalled that the words, "I believe that Jesus (Christ) is the Son of God" are omitted in some early manuscripts, although they are found in the Vulgate (textus receptus). Further, the following section adduces support for this confession of Christ as the Son of God from the preaching of Paul,¹⁵⁵ and with this, it is asserted

¹⁵³ III. 12.7.

¹⁵⁴ Χριστόν is appended in the Greek of Irenaeus, but Christum does not appear in the Latin, (cf. IV. 36.1) (see Harvey n. 1, p. 62). It is lacking in a codex of the Vulgate. The portion of the citation of III. 12.8 available in the Greek gives (Hv ii, 62): τοῦτον εἶναι Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πεπληρωσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ γραφὴν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ εὐνοῦκῆς πεισθεὶς, καὶ παραυτίκα ἀξιῶν βαπτισθῆναι, ἔλεγε· Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

¹⁵⁵ III. 12.9, cf. Acts 9:20.

that Jesus is the same "Lord of all, and King and God and Judge", which, in the light of His suffering, he admits is a mystery.¹⁵⁶

However, neither the fact that He suffered, nor the imagery of His being led as a sheep to the slaughter suggested humility to our Second Century writer, for he has omitted, deliberately, it seems, the crucial phrase in the Acts passage which pertains to his low estate:

Ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη. 157

(In (His)¹⁵⁸ humiliation His justice was taken away.)

¹⁵⁶ III. 12.9a. The Latin and Greek (in a small part) are available for comparison (Hv ii, 62-63), which we may cite in illustration of the context in which these titles occur: "Paulus quoque et ipse, posteaquam de coelo locutus est ad eum Dominus, et ostendit quoniam suum Dominum persequeretur, persequens discipulos ejus, et misit Ananiam ad eum, ut iterum videret et baptisaretur: 'In synagogis', ait, 'in Damasco praedicabat cum omni fiducia Jesum, quoniam hic est Christus Filius Dei. (a) Hoc est mysterium quod dicit per revelationem manifestatum sibi, quoniam qui passus est sub Pontio Pilato, hic Dominus est omnium, et Rex et Deus, et Judex; (b) ab eo qui est omnium Deus, accipiens postestatem, quoniam 'subjectus factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis'." The Greek is included for the portion (a) to (b): *τουτέστι τὸ μυστήριον, ὃ λέγει κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνωρίσθαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ παθὼν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, οὗτος κύριος τῶν πάντων, καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεὸς, καὶ κριτὴς ἐστίν. . .*

¹⁵⁷ Acts 8:33.

¹⁵⁸ *Αὐτοῦ* is added in most MSS from the 8th Century and also appears in Cod. C.

This affords an interesting parallel to the similar omission in a quotation from the LXX of Isaiah 53:7 f. which we observed in Melito's Homily on the Passion.¹⁵⁹ Here, Irenaeus, like Melito, has demonstrated an unwillingness to employ any passage which could explicitly assign a subordinate or humble role to Christ. This is altogether in keeping with the high Christology that has been manifest in his theology. It is to be noted that even the quotation from Philippians 2:8 contained in the passage is not employed with any suggestion of servility, rather it is stated that the exalted Christ received "power [*italics mine*] from Him who is the God of all, because 'He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross'."¹⁶⁰ In the New Testament, it is "... being found in (the) form as man He humbled Himself becoming obedient unto death, even (the) death of the cross'."¹⁶¹ The contrast

¹⁵⁹ Homily 10.28-32, see my discussion, p. 264f.

¹⁶⁰ III. 12.9a. For the quotation, see n. 156 above.

¹⁶¹ Phil. 2:8 : ... σκήματι εὔρεθεις ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. Regarding the σκήματι . . . ὡς ἄνθρωπος, R. P. Martin (p. 28) has emphasized that the N.T. phrasing affirms that He was truly man, and not merely "like a man" or in the "appearance" of man, so O. Michel, in Theologie als Glaubenswagnis, Festschrift Karl Heim, 1954, p. 90. The comments of J. B. Lightfoot (St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, 1913, p. 112 f.) and H. A. A. Kennedy (EGT III p. 438) could easily be misunderstood in this regard, but what

scarcely could be more apparent.

It is apparent that our writer can go no further than to hold in paradox the suffering of Christ and His Kingship with power and glory. He does not attempt to reconcile the problem of how this can be, as we find Origen doing later in his apologetic treatise¹⁶², but only asserts that this is a mystery. We should add, however, that for Irenaeus the suffering was real. The evidence for this is found in a later passage, but several things are to be noted here.¹⁶³ First, the passage occurs in a polemic against Docetism, and a strong assertion of Christ's true humanity was therefore called for. Since this section is part of our writer's apologetic, it cannot be given equal weight with those passages which contain positive formulations of doctrine. Further, we have just seen that suffering did not infer lowly status for our writer, and it seems unconnected with his understanding of the Atonement. In the second place,

161 (con't)

is intended, apparently, is that His outward semblance showed Him as man. As will be seen in Origen's interpretation, the 3rd Century writer may have been influenced incorrectly here, by deducing from the verses that He only appeared as man. (c. Cels. IV. 15).

¹⁶² See, for example, the arguments in c. Cels. I. 54, II. 64 (cf. VI. 77), and IV. 15.

¹⁶³ III. 18.5-6.

it is to be noted that the high position is maintained in this passage, when he says "He both suffered and did Himself exculpate those who had maltreated Him".¹⁶⁴

This high position is explicitly stated in a passage preceding this, when Irenaeus says:

The Lord Himself, too, makes it evident who it was that suffered; for when He asked the disciples 'Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?' and when Peter had replied, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' ... He made it clear that He, the Son of Man, is Christ the Son of the living God. 165

Clearly, it is suffering that Christ must undergo, but not lowering. Irenaeus adds further (with probably the words of Luke 9:22 in mind) that:

"He made it clear that He, the Son of Man, is Christ the Son of the Living God". 166

All of these citations illustrate that even while the writer struggled to assert the fact of Christ's humanity, and the reality of His suffering against the Docetists, this implied no essential lowering in his view. An interesting usage of

¹⁶⁴ III. 18.5 (Hv ii, 99): "ut et ipse pateretur, et ipse excusaret eos qui se male (x) tractassent."

~~(a) Clermont gives: "tract sunt".~~ 8

¹⁶⁵ III. 18.4.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Isaiah 53:8 is found that corroborates our conclusion in this respect. The phrase "who shall declare His generation" is used in a context which affirms that since He is man, who will recognize Him?¹⁶⁷ This is followed by emphasizing that He is known of the Father, "not born either by the will of the flesh, or by the will of man".¹⁶⁸ Then the writer adds a quotation using the titles, "Son of Man", "Christ", and "Son of the Living God". Underlying this reference is the thought that Christ can not fully participate in human life to which we have referred previously.¹⁶⁹

The closest that Irenaeus comes to a reconciliation between the Figure of Suffering and the Figure of Glory is to be found in a later passage,¹⁷⁰ which is important for this study since it picks up the threads of Justin's argument of Christ's "Two Advents",¹⁷¹ Scriptural proof is adduced to show that Old Testament prophecy foretold the nature of Christ's First Advent, including a citation from Deutero-

¹⁶⁷ For the tradition of Christ disguised in Justin, cf. Ch. II, n. 118.

¹⁶⁸ Jn. 1:13.

¹⁶⁹ See p. 319.
~~D. G. Dawe, pp. 54-55.~~

¹⁷⁰ Adv. haer. IV. 33. 1 ff.

¹⁷¹ Dial. 34.2 cf. 121.3

Isaiah, but the emphasis here is on the misunderstanding by the Jews of His true Person.¹⁷² This is followed immediately by the declaration of His Second Coming which will be "on the clouds"¹⁷³ and "smiting the earth with the word of His mouth".¹⁷⁴ Thus, the Second Advent shows His true power and majesty.

The last passage for our consideration of these prophecies of advent provides conclusive evidence that the word *παῖς* did not mean "Servant" to Irenaeus. It follows later in the chapter to which we have just referred, and pertains to the writer's apocalyptic vision.¹⁷⁵ The loosely quoted words from Isaiah 50:8, "whosoever is judged, let him stand opposite; and whosoever is justified, let him draw nigh to the child¹⁷⁶ of God", are adduced in testimony of God's absolute victory and exaltation in the parousia. It is

¹⁷² IV. 33.1. citing Isa. 53:7 and 13, Zech. 9:9, et al including an interesting identification of Christ pre-existent with Moses in the account of the destruction of the Amalekites (Ex. 17:11). The tradition of the Moses-like Prophet, the parallel of Moses' rejection by the people and the rejection of Jesus, may be reflected here; cf. M. Black, "The Servant of the Lord and the Son of Man", SJT 6 (1953), pp. 3 ff..

¹⁷³ Dan. 7:13.

¹⁷⁴ Isa. 11:4.

¹⁷⁵ IV. 33.13.

¹⁷⁶ ~~The Latin Irenaeus gives puer. Both Harvey and Stieren render the word as puer.~~

to be noticed in Irenaeus' comment following the quotation, that God and Christ resurrected are synonymous in the writer's form of expression, following the unity of the Godhead that has been dominant in the thought of the treatise:

... it is thus indicated that, after His passion and ascension, God shall cast under His feet all who were opposed to Him, and He shall be exalted above all, and there shall be no one who can be justified or compared to Him. 177

There are several points of interest for our study in the occurrence of this passage from the Third "Servant Song". First, it recalls two other usages of the passage which we have observed in our period, each of which contained certain modifications of the LXX version.¹⁷⁸ It will be recalled that Barnabas included the explicit reference to the παῖς implied in the Septuagint, but the Latin Irenaeus gives puer instead of servus. In addition, instead of reading "ἐγγισάτω τῷ παιδί" as in Barnabas, the Greek original of Irenaeus apparently emended the expression, omitting reference

177 IV. 33.13.

178 Isa. 50:8_b: τίς ὁ κρινόμενος μοι; ἀντιστήτω μοι ἅμα· καὶ τίς ὁ κρινόμενος μοι; ἐγγισάτω μοι. (Since it is the Servant speaking, the added παῖς κυρίου found in Barnabas could be deduced.)

Cf. Barn. 6.1_c... ἢ τίς ὁ δεκαλούμενος μοι; ἐγγισάτω τῷ παιδί κυρίου.

In Melito, only the first half of the verse was cited, omitting any explicit reference to the παῖς:

Homily 17.9-10: τίς ὁ κρινόμενος πρὸς ἐμέ; ἀντιστήτω μοι.

to the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$, so that the reading would be: "let him draw near to the Lord."¹⁷⁹ If Houssiau's theory represents a correct version of the original then it is clear that by the time of Irenaeus the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ Christology has given way entirely to the $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Christology. If the theory is incorrect, we are still left with the factor of puer being substituted where we would expect to find servus, an indication that the title containing the inferior meaning was unacceptable. This conclusion will be supported by the examination of a few passages where servus occurs.

Contrasting Terms: the Occurrence of "servus". Several examples will suffice to show that this term was in distinct contrast to those exalted titles used in a Christological reference. Quoting from Luke, Irenaeus uses servus in rendering the word $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ of Simeon's prayer:

Simeon ... dixit 'Nunc dimittis servum tuum ...'¹⁸⁰
 (Simeon ... said 'Now lettest thy servant ...')

¹⁷⁹ IV. 33.13 (cf. Hv ii 268, ln. 16). Houssiau (p. 35 n. 4) observed that $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ was substituted for the expression $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$. The latter is implied from the LXX version of Isa. 50:8 (it is the Servant speaking), but it is explicit in Barn. 6.1.

¹⁸⁰ III. 16.4 (Hv ii 85).

Believers are called the Lord's 'servants', as in the quotation from the psalms in a later chapter:

Filii servorum tuorum inhabitabunt, ...¹⁸¹

(The sons of thy servants ^{inhabit} dwell, ...)

Of particular interest are two citations from the Old Testament where leaders in Hebrew history are identified as the Lord's servi. In the first instance, Jonah is called a servant of the Lord:

Servus Domini ego sum, ...¹⁸²

(I am a servant of the Lord, ...)

In these two cases, servus has been used to render δούλος of the LXX. This last occurrence will illustrate the point of contrast in the writer's interpretation between the position of these persons, and the exalted Christ, the context being a reference to the sins of men in Israel's ancient history who did not recognize the "Wisdom that proceeded directly from the Son of God":¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ IV. 3.1 (Hv ii 151), in a reference to Ps. 101 (102):29: οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν δούλων σου κατασκηνώσουσιν . . .

¹⁸² III. 20.1 (Hv ii 106), citing Jan. 1:9: Δούλος κυρίου ἔγω εἰμι, . . .

¹⁸³ IV. 27.1.

Salomon enim servus erat; Christus vero
Filius Dei, et Dominus Salmonis. 184

(For Solomon was a servant; (but) Christ
/is/ truly Son of God, and Lord of Solomon.)

Clearly, the contrast is established here between Christ's sovereign status, and that of a personage, however honored his position may have been among men, who was called "Servant" or "Servant of the Lord". Since we have no occurrence of the word $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ with the Latin translation of servus, but only the use of puer or filius for the term, our conclusions as to Irenaeus' understanding of the word $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ must be guided by these renderings, and by the choice of terms in contrast which have been observed. It is important to notice that where there was a quotation which could be traced in the LXX, the term which servus translated was $\delta\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, and not $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$.

From these citations, it is clear that the term servus, which in the Vulgate of Isaiah 52:13 did render the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ of the LXX, was avoided by Irenaeus where there was explicit Christological reference. If $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ was used in the original, the context of the occurrences has dictated that there was no inferior sense attached to the term. The remaining

184 Ibid., (Hv ii. 240).

passages to be examined will be considered as they occur in the respective divisions of Irenaeus' theology, and we will observe with interest the particular renderings of important New Testament passages which employ the $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$.

God, The Word (= Son), fulfilled His own promise in the Incarnation. The context of the section with which we are concerned has to do with the threefold conceptions of the recognition of God, the unity of God, and the declaration of God. Basic to the first of these is the testimony of the Gospels, in particular, the witness of the Fourth Gospel. Involved in the recognition of God is His physical manifestation (the Word become flesh) without which there could be no salvation. Irenaeus therefore says:

[Deus] ... promisit, salutarem suum facturum se omni carni visibilem, ... (a)
 Haec enim est salutis agnitio quae deerat eis quae est Filii Dei, quam faciebat (b) Johannes dicens, 'Ecce agnus Dei', ... [etc.] (c)
 sed agnitio salutis erat agnitio Filii Dei, qui et salus, et Salvator, et salutare vere et dicitur et est ...
 [Quoting Ps. 97:2' (98:2) 'Notum fecit Deus salutare suum in conspectu gentium'. Est enim Salvator quidem, quoniam Filius et Verbum Dei; salutare autem quoniam Spiritus ... Salus autem, quoniam caro: 'Verbum enim caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis'. Hanc igitur agnitionem salutis faciebat Johannes poenitentiam agentibus, et credentibus in agnum Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi. 185

185 III. 10.2 (Hv ii 34-36).

(a) This statement is made in the context of a rhetorical

(/God/ ... promised He would make His salvation visible to all flesh ...

For this is the knowledge of salvation which is lacking to them, which is the Son of God, which John made public, saying 'Behold the Lamb of God', etc. ...

but the knowledge of salvation was the knowledge of the Son of God, who is both called and truly is salvation, Saviour and salutary ...

[Quoting Ps. 98:2] ... 'God has made known His salvation in the sight of the heathen'. For He is indeed Saviour, as being the Son and Word of God; but salutary since He is Spirit ... But salvation as being flesh: 'The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us'. Therefore John imparted this knowledge of salvation to those repenting, and to those believing in the Lamb of God, who takes away the World's sin.)

Therefore, the Word made flesh is the fulfillment of God's promise that He would make known His salvation. Moreover, knowledge of salvation is knowledge of the Son of God which Irenaeus illustrates by the Baptist's introduction.¹⁸⁶

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question which asks who else may reign over the house of Jacob for ever except "Jesus Christ our Lord, Son of the Most High God, who promised ..."

(b) As it stands, the construction scarcely makes sense. Harvey (p. 35, f.n.3) suggests supplementing the adverb palam (palam factum est, idiomatically, means 'it is public', or 'it is well known', see L. & S., p. 1291).

(c) Cf. Jn. 1:29 f.. Harvey (p. 36 f.n. 1) observes that the Syriac expresses priority in point of time for the passage which follows (referring to the Lamb antedating the Baptist), but the Latin, without reason, makes it the precedence of honour. This is additional evidence that the translation accords the highest exaltation to the Son.

¹⁸⁶ The subject of knowledge of God is an important part of Irenaeus' understanding of the Atonement. Much of his thought on this subject is derived from the Fourth Gospel: see Add'l Note IV. 3.

The writer moves easily into the typical form of identity, when, having quoted Psalm 97:2 (98:2), he states that He (God) "is Saviour, as being the Son and Word of God". The Baptist's introduction contained in the Johannine testimony is followed by the witness of Luke and Mark, with the inclusion of mystic reasons for the four Gospels, and the specific assertion that the Son declares the Father (who is invisible).¹⁸⁷

It is in this context of the revelation of God through Christ which means salvation to those who know Him,¹⁸⁸ that we encountered two parallel instances of recognition that are introduced by the assertion: "they know Him to whom the Son reveals Him".¹⁸⁹ The first refers to the recognition by Nathaniel,¹⁹⁰ Irenaeus adding that the Israelite recognized His King, which is followed by the confession of Nathaniel.¹⁹¹ The second instance refers to Peter's

187 III. 11.6.

188 It should be noted that this thought has not only prefaced the citations of the speeches from Acts 3 and 4, but also concludes them: "For this was the Knowledge of salvation, which renders those who acknowledge His Son's advent perfect towards God" (III. 12.5, following the testimony of the apostles from Acts).

189 See Add'l Note IV. 3.

190 Jn. 1:47.

191 Jn. 1:49.

confession, with which curiously, is associated an important quotation from Irenaeus' text of Matthew 12:18.

A quo et Petrus edoctus, cognovit Christum Filium Dei vivi, dicentis: 'Ecce Filius meus (a) dilectissimus, in quo bene sensi: ponam Spiritum meum super eum, et iudicium gentibus annuntiabit ...' 192

(By whom also Peter, having been taught, recognized Christ the Son of the Living God, saying: 'Behold my dearly beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: I will put my spirit upon Him, and He will proclaim judgement to the Gentiles ...')

There are several factors of significance to be noted in this quotation. First, we have cited the context in which it occurs, curiously associated with Peter's confession (which affirms that Christ is the Son of God), but completely divorced from the context of the Matthaean citation, where Isaiah 42: 1-4 is quoted in the context of Jesus' withdrawal from the multitudes and His command of silence to His followers. It will be recalled that the Evangelist records that this command was given after healing the man with the withered

192 III. 11.6 (Hv ii 44 f.).

(a) " ... Filius meus": Harvey (ii p. 45 f.n. 1) says the Greek has *ὁ παῖς μου* (etc.), but this is a Greek rendering which in Harvey's view translated the Syriac, and, it should be noted, follows basically the N.T. text. It should not be confused with the Greek original of the *adv. haer.*, which is not available for this section, cf. Stier. i, p. 466 f.. Houssiau, apparently, accepted the Greek as representing the original (p. 35).

hand in the synagogue. In the New Testament, then, the context has to do with the One greater than David who is here, yet does not announce Himself. It is employed in precisely the opposite sense by Irenaeus, in connection with His recognition by Peter as the Son of God. The sense is that this passage provided part of Peter's instruction, enabling him to recognize Christ as the Son of God.

The use of filius here, as a substitute for $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ (found in all New Testament manuscripts) is significant, but should not be pressed, for Sanday and Turner's New Testament texts of Irenaeus show that puer occurred for a number of manuscripts in Matthew 12:18, although one fourth (or possibly, fifth) Century codex had filius.¹⁹³ It is to be noted in this connection that the Vulgate (Mt. 12:18) renders ecce puer meus, which may have exerted an influence here for the preponderance of puer.¹⁹⁴

Following the quotation, Irenaeus reiterates the conception of the unity of the Godhead, found often throughout the adversus haereses, particularly where citations

¹⁹³ See Sanday and Turner, N.T. - Iren., p. 19, cf. p. clxxxiv.

¹⁹⁴ On the alternations between filius and puer, see my discussion above, p.306f.

relating to the Old Testament witness occur.¹⁹⁵ In this same section, the four gospels are mentioned as emphasizing various aspects of Christ, with John cited first, the words of John 1:1 being adduced to prove "His original, effectual and glorious generation from the Father."¹⁹⁶ Following the reference to the Gospels, Irenaeus summarizes:

Et ipsum autem Verbum Dei, illis quidem qui ante Moysen fuerunt patriarchis, secundum divinitatem et gloriam colloquebatur ... post deinde nobis homo factus, munus coelestis Spiritus in omnem misit terram, protegens nos alis suis. 197

(And the Word of God Himself, used to converse with the patriarchs who were before Moses, according to His divinity and glory ... afterwards being made man for us, He sent the gift of the celestial Spirit into all the world, protecting us with His wings.)

Again we have reference to the Word who spoke with the pre-Mosaic patriarchs, and who was made man. His divinity and glory are affirmed, and we observe with interest the fact that Irenaeus speaks of Him who became incarnate as sending the Spirit into the world. The Divine unity dominating our writer's thought here may be held responsible for this.

Although the Word made flesh could be said to have

¹⁹⁵ See above, p. 297.

¹⁹⁶ III. 11.8

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., (Hv ii, 49 f.). The Greek is also available for this reference, see Harvey, loc. cit.

declared God, the explicit declaration is envisioned by Irenaeus as occurring after the Lord's resurrection, and following the blessing of the Holy Spirit when the apostles were gathered at Jerusalem. It is at this point that citations from Acts 3 and 4 occur, which are extremely important for our particular interest in the interpretation of the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. It will be recalled that these chapters from Acts contain some of the rare instances in which $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ occurs in the New Testament as a Christological title. The primitive character of these passages has been remarked upon,¹⁹⁸ and it is uncertain what meaning was understood by the evangelist, but the Jewish prayers suggest the earliest rendering of 'servant'.¹⁹⁹

As we have suggested, the context in which the Acts quotations occur has to do with Irenaeus' fundamental doctrinal position that maintains a close identity between Christ and God, and here asserts that the same God who

¹⁹⁸ See my introduction, pp. 48ff.

¹⁹⁹ So A. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'" in SAB xxviii, p. 217, M. D. Hooker, p. 108, citing the usage of the title for David in Acts 4:25; cf. Lk. 1:54, 69, and G. H. C. MacGregor, IB IX, p. 61. However, E. Haenchen (following Gewiess), holds that the writer's intended meaning in 3:13, 26, is "Son of God", Die Apostelgeschichte, 1959, pp. 165, 169; cf. Gewiess, Die urapostolische Heilsverkündigung nach der Apostelgeschichte, 1939, espec. p. 55.

promised to send His spirit, is announced by Peter as having fulfilled His own promise :

Deus igitur, qui per prophetam promisit missurum se Spiritum suum in humanum genus, ipse et misit [ei] et ipse Deus a Petro annuntiatur, suam promissionem adimplesse. 200

(God therefore, who by the prophet promised to send His Spirit upon the human race, was both He who did send and God Himself announced by Peter, having fulfilled His own promise.)

This introduces Peter's speech, which, it will be recalled, opens with the reference not to God but to Jesus of Nazareth. 201

Within the quotation that follows there are included the four references to Jesus, the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. Harvey's text renders the four citations, without exception, by filius.²⁰²

In the first instance (Acts 3:13) it is God who glorified Filius suus. Similarly, the words filius suus are found in 3:26, God having raised up 'His Son'. In the next quotation, including the references to Acts 4:27, 30, our writer speaks of sanctus filius tuus Jesus, against whom the people and the leaders had gathered. It may be stated

²⁰⁰ III. 12. 1 (Hv ii, 53).

²⁰¹ Acts 2:22 ff.

²⁰² III. 12.3-5 (Hv ii, 55-58.).

then, that in contrast to the more ambiguous designation puer (which does not exclude the lower meaning) used for David (Acts 4:25), we have here the variant form of filius for all the references to Christ, in our text of the adversus haereses. This represents a contrast with the rendering of the Greek New Testament, and illustrates a more rigidly adopted usage than we find in the Vulgate.²⁰³ It may be concluded therefore that Irenaeus preferred the title ^{υἱός}(filius) to the more ambiguous ^{παῖς}(puer), where there was unmistakable reference to Christ. This was in keeping with his high Christology, that at times expresses actual identity between

²⁰³ The textus receptus in the Greek for these passages gives παῖς in all four cases referring to Jesus, as well as in the reference to David. Harnack (p. 217) held that in none of these cases was παῖς understood by Luke to mean "Son", and he attributed the usage to the old prayer formula.

The Vulgate gives filius for Acts 3:13, 26 and 4:30, but puer for Acts 4:27. Harnack (p. 218), from an examination of the old Latin versions, observed that the original translation was always puer, but that at a very early time this was replaced by filius. For example, except for Cod. d and e, Act 3:13 renders filius; only Cod. d. gives puer in Acts 3:26. The retention of puer referring to Jesus in Acts 4:27 is out of accord with this general pattern, which Harnack could only explain by noting its proximity to the similar title referring to David (Acts 4:25), and conjectured that the translators hesitated to change it here.

Except for α, e, p, and Codex Beza, the Vulgate offers filius for Acts 4:30.

Cf. the New Testament texts ed. by Sanday & Turner, N.T. - Iren., pp. 96-97, 99.

God and the pre-incarnate Son, the Word. The identity is so established in Irenaeus' thought, that what is true for One may be predicated similarly for the others. It therefore was possible for Irenaeus to say that "... He who did send and God Himself is announced by Peter, having fulfilled His own promise".²⁰⁴

Of particular importance for this study were Irenaeus' citations of Matthew 12:18 and the speeches in Acts 3 and 4. We noted with interest that in quoting from Matthew, the Latin Irenaeus rendered the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ by filius, and that the quotation was curiously associated with Peter's confession that Christ is the Son of God, divorced from its context in the Gospel which dealt with the "Messianic secret". In the case of the Acts passages, the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ in Peter's speeches was rendered without exception by filius, whereas in the original the interpretation of 'Servant' is held by a number of commentators. Clearly, whatever $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ may have meant in the earlier tradition, by the time of Irenaeus those New Testament passages in which it is found were understood as referring to the Son of God, and the title was treated as a designation in keeping with His exaltation.

²⁰⁴ III. 12. 1, cited above.

The Virgin Birth and the Significance of Christ's Humanity. In concluding our examination of Irenaeus' interpretation of the $\mu\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$, we now undertake a more detailed examination of the Incarnation, which, indeed, is at the core of his doctrine of the Atonement. This analysis will provide an important vantage point from which the writer's Christology can be viewed as it is related to our subject, for if he believed that the Incarnation was genuine, we must determine if this implies any lowering in his view of Christ's exalted position. We have touched on this matter briefly in our examination of Irenaeus' use of certain verses from the Kenotic Hymn in Philipians. There, from the contextual evidence adduced, it appeared that the writer found the hymn to be an important witness to the act of the Incarnation, but Kenosis seemed to have been regarded as an ontological change from divinity to humanity, which was unacceptable. Now, however, we must inquire into this matter further. In the fact of Christ's human birth, in His suffering and death, in the Incarnation as a whole, is there implied an element of subordination, or lowering of His divine status so that He actually stands merely on the level of man? This is to ask, did the Word become flesh signify for Irenaeus subjugation, even if only temporarily, of Him

who was "with the Father from the beginning" ²⁰⁵

There are several strands of thought in Irenaeus' doctrine of the Atonement which bear on our problem. In the first place, we have already found that he was at pains to assert that the Incarnation was genuine. ²⁰⁶ The need for a strong affirmation against the position of the Docetists would have been sufficient to warrant this, but the fact is that Irenaeus' thought goes deeper than a mere polemic. Basic to his position is his grasp of "the fundamental truth of the 'solidarity of humanity'" as Bethune-Baker has pointed out. ²⁰⁷ Individual man does not live in isolation: what one man does touches, and is shared by, the totality of humanity. ²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ IV. 20.7.

²⁰⁶ See, especially, III. 22.1-2; cf. Epid. 38 and 33.

²⁰⁷ J. F. Bethune-Baker, pp. 333-4; or, expressed with a slightly different emphasis: the solidarity of mankind in every age resides in men's common origin in God (Creation), and their common destiny (Last Judgement), (W. Hunger, "Der Gedanke der Weltplaneinheit und Adameinheit in der Theologie des Irenäus", Scholastik, 1942, pp. 171 ff..)

²⁰⁸ The Pauline expression of $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, as applied to a group of individuals, meant a living organism. As it refers to the called (and redeemed) community, this represents a Hebraic rather than a Hellenistic derivation, (G. Ernest Wright, The Biblical Doctrine of Man in Society, 1954, espec. pp. 81-83.) Paul could liken individuals as being as closely inter-related as the members of the human body (I Cor. 12:12 ff.). In Christ Jesus, they are one person (Gal. 3:28). Moreover,

Hence, it is not that Adam's sin becomes unjustly the legacy of the human race, nor that Adam only 'typifies' man (although this comprises a part of the conception), but rather that Adam's sin is our sin: 209

For in the first Adam we stumbled, not doing His command; but in the Second Adam we were reconciled, showing ourselves obedient unto death. 210

As Adam is the representative of the human race in its vanquished condition, so Christ represents humanity in its victorious condition. However, Christ is not solely the Victorious Man, He also follows the path of 'Vanquished Man'

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he speaks of the worshipping community as the *σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (I Cor. 10:16-17), thus, corporately, they are members of the body who share in Christ's sacrificial act, but also in its benefits. In this respect the Hebraic concept of the community incorporate in its leader doubtless had an influence, see n. 228.

209 If we follow Paul (cf. Rom. 5:12 ff.) this is not a theory of seminal transmission, but rather the realistic acknowledgement of the fact that after the Fall, man is not born into a 'neutral' society, but a society that is basically inimical. Thus, the doctrine of original sin holds not that humanity is dealt an "injustice" on account of Adam's fault, but rather that one man's sin forever taints human society as a whole, and that what is true for Adam is true for all of mankind, (see C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, 1962, pp. 19-20).

210 Adv. haer. V. 16.2, cf. II. 33.2.

but instead of suffering Adam's defeat, he has overcome it.²¹¹ Therefore it is appropriate that Christ was born "of the substance of flesh from a human being",²¹² and that He has walked the human path in its entirety that every man must walk.²¹³ The conception bears an interesting reflection to Paul's understanding of Christ as the great representative of the human race, in whom are summed up all its ripe experiences as they were contained seminally in Adam.²¹⁴ Expressed in another way, the relationship between Christ and Adam could be apprehended typologically: Adam is the *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος*.²¹⁵ In this sense, Christ both

211 Wingren offers that when Jesus lived, He therefore lived the humanity of Adam that God created, not of the Adam who was defeated, (p. 102).

212 III. 22.1: Irenaeus adds that if He were not born of the flesh, "He did no great thing in what He suffered or endured" (cf. I. Cor. 15:21), thus the Word "recapitulates in Himself His own creation" (citing Gal. 4:4 in testimony that God sent His Son, made of woman).

213 III. 18.6. G. Wingren (p. 86), commenting on the "natural endowments" in Jesus Christ, observes "according to Irenaeus, there is not a single part of humanity lacking in Him," cf. adv. haer. III. 31.2, V. 1.2, etc.

214 Cf., for example, Rom. 5:12-21; I Cor. 15-20-22; see n.2

215 "A type of the Man to come", as C. K. Barrett translates Rom. 5.14 (p. 92), When a "type" of the New Covenant is seen in the Old, Irenaeus maintains it contains a reference of what is to come, but this in no way destroys the uniqueness of the Incarnation, (Wingren, p. 73 cf. f.n. 89.).

accomplishes and restores what had been done by Adam.²¹⁶

Thus the writer can say:

Ostendimus enim, quia non tunc coepit Filius
 D^ei, existens semper apud Patrem: sed quando
 incarnatus est, et homo factus, longam hominum
 expositionem in seipso recapitulavit, in
 compendio nobis salutem praestans, ut quod
 perdidderamus in Adam, id est, secundum imaginem
 et similitudinem esse Dei, hoc in Christo Jesu
 reciperemus. 217

(For we have shown, that the Son of God did not
 then [*italics mine*] originate, since He exists
 always with the Father; but when He was incarnate,
 and made man, he summed up in Himself the long roll
 of humanity, securing for us all, comprehensively, 218
 salvation, so that we should recover in Christ Jesus
 what we lost in Adam, that is, [*a nature*] according
 to the image and likeness of God.)

Christ is Adam restored, that is, Adam as he was to be in

216 J. Daniélou (From Shadows to Reality, pp. 30-37),
 accepting Eph. 1:10 as genuine, considers Irenaeus' Adamic
 typology to derive from Paul, but cf. F. Loofs, "Theophilus
 von Antiochen adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen
 Quellen bei Irenäus" (TU 4:1, 1930), who held that Irenaeus'
recapitulatio was not related to Ephesians.

217 III. 18.1 (Hv ii 95), Bethune-Baker adds a notation
 that the thought of recapitulare, recapitulatio, applied in
 this way to Christ provides the chief clue to the full
 conception of Irenaeus, both as to the Incarnation and as
 to the Atonement. "The doctrines are one and the same: the
 Incarnation effects the Atonement. It brings to completion
 the original Creation, and is its perfecting as much as its
 restitution," (p. 334, f.n. 2.).

218 I have so rendered in compendio; literally: "in that
 which is balanced together" (L & S, p. 387 f.). Cf. Harvey,
loc. cit., f.n. 4.

the economy of God. Further, as Wingren has observed, "the miraculous birth of our Lord testifies ... to his connexion with Adam",²¹⁹ that is, to His humanity in the sense that it is the restoration of the True Adam.

It is interesting that Irenaeus uses the title "Son of Man" in this connection,²²⁰ which appears to be related to the Pauline concept of Christ as the True Adam, but it will be recalled that Paul avoided "Son of Man" as a title designating Christ.²²¹ The evidence of Irenaeus' use of the title in relationship to the recapitulation of the original creation is clear from the following quotation:

This, therefore, the Word of God was made /referring to His being made man/, recapitulating in Himself His own creation; and on this account does He confess Himself the Son of Man ... 222

²¹⁹ G. Wingren, p. 96, cf. p. 97. See adv.haer. III. 21.10.

²²⁰ Cf. III. 19.2: the miraculous birth was not by human will of Him who "is the Son of Man, this is Christ, the Son of the Living God;" also, III. 19.3: "He, therefore, the Son of God, our Lord, being the Word of the Father, and the Son of Man, since He had a generation as to His human nature from Mary ...".

²²¹ For Pauline reference to Christ as the Last Adam, and related to the Son of Man figure, see S. E. Johnson, "Son of Man", IDB III, espec. p. 416.

On this whole subject, see M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam", SJT 7 (1954), pp. 170-9; and cf. C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, pp. 76-103.

²²² III. 22.1, following with quotations of Mt. 5:5, Gal. 4:4, and Rom. 1:3, 4.

On another occasion, Son of Man is identified with the Heavenly Man apocalyptic figure of Daniel 7:13:

Then too is this same individual beheld as the Son of Man, coming in the clouds of heaven, and drawing near to the Ancient of Days, and receiving from Him all power and glory, and a kingdom. 223

Principal Black has pointed out that the Son of Man concept of primitive Jewish Christian tradition was the bridge between the Man Jesus and the Lord Jesus, and further that the phrase from the Kenotic Hymn of Philippians *σχήματι εὐρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος* is traceable to the text of the Danielic passage.²²⁴

If Irenaeus thought of Son of Man as a Christological reference depicting both the Lord's miraculous human birth as well as the apocalyptic Figure whose kingdom is established eternally, it may be seen that the divinity and humanity of

223 IV. 20.11, following with a quotation of Dan. 7:14. For a comparison of Justin's use of the Son of Man Figure, see Ch. II. pp.184ff.

224 M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate", *BJRL* 45:2 (1963), p. 315 f., citing passages in the Fourth Gospel, as well, that employ the verb *ὕψωθῆναι* referring to Christ's exaltation. This term, along with *δοξασθῆναι*, occurs in the LXX rendering of Isa. 52:13, and Dr. Black poses the question of whether we have here the original foundation in the O.T. of the Christology of the suffering and exalted Servant of the Lord, (p. 316, f.n. 1.).

Christ are not two separate and opposed conditions.²²⁵

In like manner, man and God are not fundamentally opposed in his thinking.²²⁶ Therefore the Incarnation restores what should have been true for the original creation:²²⁷ the unbroken relationship between God and His creatures. Thus, the Incarnation both symbolizes and is the embodiment of this unity to a perfect degree: humanity and divinity are united in Christ.

The importance of recapitulatio for this perception of our writer can be appreciated. It may be that to some extent the roots of the thought derive from the ancient Jewish concept of the community incorporate in its leader.²²⁸

²²⁵ III. 19.2; III. 20.4; III. 21.4: "The Holy Spirit has pointed out ... His birth from a Virgin, and His essence, that He is God (for the name Emmanuel indicates this); and He shows that He is man ..."; cf. V. 17.3. G. Wingren remarks: "Irenaeus does not regard the divinity and the humanity of the Incarnation as being mutually exclusive concepts," (pp. 105-6.).

²²⁶ G. Wingren, pp. xiii-xiv.

²²⁷ For Irenaeus salvation bestowed by Christ is a "return to the natural condition of human life", Wingren, p. 128.

²²⁸ Perhaps the clearest exposition of the Hebraic concept of "corporate personality" was given by H. Wheeler Robinson, Religious Ideas of the Old Testament, p. 87 f., and Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, pp. 70-71, The concept included a sense of the "true representation"

It certainly is by way of the Pauline expression of the redeemed community living "in Christ" that we can comprehend the depth of Irenaeus' thought of recapitulation. It is to bring together that which was unnaturally separated, that Christ summed in Himself the 'long roll of humanity'.²²⁹ Because Christ is God as well as man, man's true semblance, which is the similitudo Dei, is restored. Thus, from man's point of view, the Incarnation may be apprehended both

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of a people in their leader, so that the leader's sin was the people's sin, and his glory was their glory. For other literature on this subject, see J. Pedersen, Israel III-IV, p. 76 f., A. R. Johnson, The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God, pp. 1-15, and C. R. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 103-110, 202-207.

Related to the Messianic concept, T. W. Manson, The Servant Messiah, p. 74, offered the succinct observation: "Where the tendency to think of the social group as a single organism ('one flesh') is powerful, there is often also a strong tendency to see the corporate personality as embodied or expressed in an individual It is at this point that the transition from Son of man as a name for the people of the saints of the Most High [recalling the Daniellic apocalyptic Figure] to Son of man as a messianic title becomes possible".

²²⁹ As Harnack observed, DG II, Eng. tr., p. 238, and acknowledged influence on the writer by Ephesians, Romans and Galatians.

As to whether this meant the recovery of an original "pristine unity" or the gathering of objects now apart into a final unity, see S. D. F. Salmond on Eph. 1:10 in EGT III, p. 260 f. In either case, the final result meant restoration of unity with God.

objectively and subjectively: Christ incarnate has manifested the true image of God, but He also re-established the true, original similitude of man, "assimilating him to the invisible Father by means of the visible Word."²³⁰ Objectively, we behold the visible Word, this is the Incarnation; subjectively, we are gathered and restored, completing the original creation, this is the Atonement.²³¹

This completes the relationship of the physical creation to mankind's redemption. The end leads to the beginning, as Bousset suggests,²³² but only in the sense that the true end of mankind is God; therefore the world, the universe,

²³⁰ V. 16.26; cf. V. 16.2a (Hv ii, 367): "... autem hoc Verbum ostensum est, quando homo Verbum Dei factum est, semetipsum homini, et hominem sibimetipsi assimilans, ut per eam quae est ad Filium similitudinem, pretiosus homo fiat Patri."

(... so this Word was manifested when the Word of God was made man, assimilating Himself to man, and man to Himself, so that by means of this similitude /italics mine/ to the Son, man might become precious to the Father.).

²³¹ Cf. J. F. Bethune-Baker's comment (p. 334, n.2), which regards the Incarnation as essential in effecting the Atonement. "It brings to completion the original creation, and is its perfecting as much as its restitution", which is included in Irenaeus' recapitulatio.

²³² W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, 1921, p. 356, held that recapitulatio combined evolution with supernatural intervention. We might question the reference to evolution, but what is clear in the thought of Irenaeus is that the Atonement is God's Act, as creation and humanity are part of this act, that is expressed personally in Jesus, but is cosmic in its effects.

man, and all that relates thereto, arises in God and finds its ultimacy in Him.

As to the means of man's redemption, there is no development in Irenaeus' thought of the idea of ransom paid to the Devil which appeared later in Origen.²³³ To our writer, the ransoming of the soul was the Word acting with sheer power in bringing the soul back from its condition of estrangement. This power was not applied with naked force on the individual, but with persuasion that would not infringe on the principle of justice, and individual freedom. To achieve the end for which he was destined by God, man must render perfect obedience. Whereas Adam through his disobedience became a debtor to God, Christ through obedience, even to the Cross, reconciled man to God.²³⁴

²³³ This error in Origen's thought was followed by Gregory of Nyssa as well as Gregory Thaumaturgus, cf. Bethune-Baker, p. 336 f. On the trace of the idea in V. 1.1, it is acknowledged that the writer took seriously man's bondage in sin, but he does not dwell on any compensation paid to Satan, who has no right to it, since he has taken what is not his own, (V. 2.1). Cf. Harnack, p. 290.

²³⁴ See V. 2.3; V. 16.3 using the analogy of the disobedience at the tree in the Garden of Eden with the perfect obedience on the tree at Calvary, cf. V. 17.4.

The obedience of Christ, the True Man, recalls Rom. 5:19; cf. adv. haer. III. 18.7.

For Christ's Lordship to have existed even at the Crucifixion seems a contradiction, but as Wingren observed, Irenaeus held that His dominion is revealed, yet hidden, in this final act of His passion.²³⁵ Even when Christ submits to the Crucifixion the government is upon His shoulders.²³⁶ The Word of God governs all things, was made visible, and yet hung upon the tree, to sum all things in Himself.²³⁷

We have discussed in some detail Irenaeus' thinking in regard to the Atonement. It was seen that the Incarnation was viewed as the completion of the original creation, indispensable in effecting the Atonement. Moreover, Christ incarnate is at once the manifestation of God and the restoration of True Humanity. In this sense, "True Humanity" was viewed as man in the similitude of God, the natural condition in which he was destined to be by the Creator. Clearly, while this doctrine combines the divine and human in Jesus Christ, the 'human element' infers no degree of lowering or subjugation, for, ideally, it was humanity in

²³⁵ G. Wingren, p. 137-8. See Epid. 62 and cf. adv. haer. II. 43.1.

²³⁶ Epid. 56 (cf. Isa. 9:6); adv. haer. V. 18.2

²³⁷ V. 18.3.

the state of perfection. In addition, while accepting the truth of His Crucifixion, there is no diminishing of Christ's exalted status. Indeed, it is by this Mighty Act that the extent of His power is made manifest: the Power that overcame evil and death.

Irenaeus' thinking on the Atonement represents a carefully wrought out conception, based on many of the great thoughts expressed by Paul and the Synoptic writers. It sought an expression of the divine and human elements in Christ incarnate, but avoided the concept of Servant as having achieved its greatest expression in the way of the Cross.

C. Summary

In our examination of the Christological aspect of Irenaeus' theology, we found an emphasis in maintaining the essential unity of the Godhead, while at the same time the writer asserted Christ's pre-existence and active power by way of his exposition of the Logos doctrine. Because of the Word's true divinity (which meant the true divinity of the Son pre-existent, incarnate, and resurrected), and because he accepted the monotheistic principle, Irenaeus could predicate equally activity of the Son, the Word, or the Father. Thus, the title θεός could apply to Christ functionally, or to His true identity, following Ignatius,

although as with the earlier writer it cannot be proved to have been used in an absolute sense. Illustrations of equivalent predication of the Father and Son were found also in designating both by the term "Lord", and by an interesting usage of Philippians 2:11. Here, confession is made to Christ the Judge, instead of giving the New Testament sense of the confession that Christ is Lord to the glory of God.

Related to the Logos doctrine, Irenaeus' acceptance of the divine unity was in contrast with Justin's "Second-God" formulation, necessitated by the apologist's speculation on God as utterly transcendent^e and the consequent need for a mediator with the material world. However, like Justin, Irenaeus saw the activity of Christ, the Word, manifest in theophanies recounted in the Old Testament, witnessing to the exalted position of the Logos. All of this pertains to the writer's high Christology and illustrates a theological presupposition that would affect the writer's interpretation of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ as a Christological title.

Since our analysis was based on the Latin translation of the adversus haereses, word studies of the various renderings of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ were of primary interest. Although the translation is generally regarded as a faithful

rendition of the original, the possibility of influence of the translator's theological bias cannot be ruled out, accordingly, the context of quotations was of comparable importance as a guide to the writer's original intent. A quotation from Deutero-Isaiah was cited where puer rendered $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, in contrast with the Vulgate, which at this point used servus. Although the quotation occurred outside of the "Servant Songs" there is no indication that the "Songs" were separate from the remainder of the prophecy in Irenaeus' time, and the quotation was clearly a Christological reference. Further, the context did not imply subordination, having to do with the Father and Son's mutual interdependence. We compared this with Irenaeus' consistent use of ^{υιός} (filius) ^{as a substitute for} ~~to translate~~ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ in the Acts 3 and 4 passages, and noted the trend ^{in the Latin translation} from servus to puer to filius, where the concern to avoid ambiguity seemed to be exerting progressively greater influence in passages that were unmistakably a Christological reference. The Acts passages were dealt with in more detail in our later discussion of references having to do with advent of Christ.

A wide variety of passages were considered that related to the true divinity of Christ, the Word. In the context of this emphasis on His divinity, we encountered references to the Kenotic Hymn of Philippians, specifically, verse 8

of the second chapter of this epistle. In all three cases, the phrase "he humbled himself", occurring in the original, was omitted. When this is considered in the light of the primitive character of the Hymn, and the inclusion of the phrase in the original, it is clear that we have important evidence of a theological reinterpretation in respect to the person of Christ. Emphasis

on divinity is obscuring the essence of Kenosis: that Jesus, the incarnate Lord, has freely offered His life for the benefit of man, taking the form of a slave to suffer death on a cross. If, as some

scholars maintain, the Servant doctrine was imposed by the Church, we are left without explanation of why, after one generation, it should have reversed itself, now to deny a servant Christology.

Among those passages that gave equivalent expression to the identity between Christ incarnate, the Word and God the Creator, we cited the interesting usage of Deuteronomy 28:66. The passage was useful in Melito's Homily for expressing the typological relationship between the Old and New Dispensations, but here it was employed to justify the unity between the "Founder and Creator, the Word" and the Redeemer who was hanged upon the tree.

A similar identity between Christ pre-existent, the Word, and God was expressed in the activity of creation. Here, the Divine Logos was regarded as the Mediator in

the creation of the material universe. As distinct from the Philonic Logos, conceiving of an ancient inanimate Power that stands between the Self-Existent and His world, which bore some reflections in Justin's speculation, Irenaeus assumed a Biblical understanding of Christ's pre-existence, and the Logos' activity follows from this assumption. Indeed, the concept of Schöpfungsmittler is correlated in our writer's thinking between God's providence in the redemption of man and the completion of His creation. The essential continuity of the divine act that created the material world and redeemed mankind is thereby at once expressed and fulfilled in the person of the Word, Christ pre-existent, who became incarnate. In all respects, this is a revealing of God and His saving love. Likewise, this view asserts that matter is not alien to God or His purposes (against the Gnostics); redemption, therefore, has a cosmological as well as a personal aspect. In contrast, however, with earlier writers such as Clement and Barnabas, where emphasis on the cosmic Christ tends to obscure His personal relationship to mankind, Irenaeus here strikes a balance between cosmology and soteriology. The Word active in creation can never be separated from the Word who became incarnate effecting the Atonement. As some commentators have observed, the Incarnation is therefore the expression in

time of an eternal relationship that exists in the Godhead. That this oneness is extended to mankind is part of the truth and the necessity of His Incarnation. This speaks in the highest terms of the goodness of the Creator. For our particular interest, this aspect of Irenaeus' theology illustrates the exalted position of the Logos, but also shows the concern for a genuine Incarnation; yet he still avoided expressing Christ's humanity through the figure of the Servant.

In our concluding section on Irenaeus' Christology, we considered the Incarnation as essential to the Atonement, completing the creation, and the related prophecies of Christ's human advent. Where references from Deutero-Isaiah were cited, they invariably occurred within the context of the writer's assertion of Christ's sovereign status. The frequency of citations from this prophecy affirmed the importance of the texts, but the context in which they were employed demonstrated an unwillingness to think in terms of a Servant Christology. A citation of Acts 8:32, with its reference to Isaiah 53:7, 8, omitted the phrase expressing the Lord's humiliation, and followed it with the explicit confession that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, placed in the mouth of the Eunuch. A reference to Christ's suffering is cited only to give emphasis to the true identity of the One who suffered: it was "Christ the

Son of the Living God". At this point it was clear that suffering was unrelated theologically to substitutionary Atonement. It was not the Christ despised and rejected, who has borne our chastisement in His voluntary act of self-abasement, rather the emphasis consistently is on Christ glorified.

Traces of the Two Advents doctrine, which was stressed in Justin, were found, and like Justin the emphasis is placed on Christ's Second Advent, which demonstrates His true authority. This was justified with citations from Daniel 7 and the Messianic prophecy of Isaiah 11. ^{In/} ~~the~~ quotation from the Third Servant Song in an apocalyptic vision of the writer ^{the Latin} rendered $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ by puer. The citation of this text recalled its earlier usage by Barnabas which included the word $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, and a similar reference found in Melito, but the Homily omitted explicit reference to the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. In addition, Irenaeus gave a quotation of Matthew 12:18, with its reference to Isaiah 42:1, where ^{the Latin Irenaeus renders $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ by filius.} ~~filius is used to render $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$,~~ in contrast with the Vulgate's rendering of puer, which was cited previously. This passage was particularly important on account of its curious association with Peter's confession of Christ as the Son of God in its context in the adversus haereses, which is practically the exact

opposite of the context surrounding the citation in the New Testament. There it justifies Christ's command of silence to His followers by an association with the Servant figure who avoids self-aggrandizement.

Similar to the use of filius in the Matthean quotation was its occurrence in all four instances in the quotation of Peter's speech in Acts 3 and 4, where $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ was a reference to Christ. It will be recalled that the Vulgate alternated between puer and filius, so that here again the Latin Irenaeus gives evidence of a fixed form that excluded the possibility of a lower connotation. Likewise, the term filius was in contrast to the Lord's $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, David, which was rendered by puer. The examination of other usages in contrast showed that our writer had no hesitation in referring to Old Testament hero figures by the term servus, which translated $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in the LXX. The context in which the Acts passages occurred was as a witness to Irenaeus' position that it was Christ who sent His Spirit into the world, as proclaimed by Peter. Here, as elsewhere, Irenaeus counters adoption Christology with the strongest possible assertion of His pre-existence: Christ was He who did promise and who in His Incarnation fulfilled this promise.

In those passages related to the Atonement, Christ is

found to be at once the true revelation of God, and the restoration of True Humanity. In this sense, 'True Humanity' was viewed as man in the similitude of God, the natural condition of his destiny by the Creator. Accordingly, while Christ became human to actualize and gather in Himself all humanity, this does not mean reduction of His position, for it is perfect humanity that appears at the Incarnation. Rather than inferring a lowering of the person of our Lord this amounts to an elevation of humanity. In addition, while asserting the reality of the Crucifixion, even at this point Christ's true power is manifested as the Power which overcame evil and death.

The frequent citations from Deutero-Isaiah attest that this scripture was valued by our writer. However, the connection between the understanding of Christ's person and work and the Figure of the Servant whose voluntary self-abnegation and vicarious suffering is effective in redemption has been lost. The preservation of Isaianic testimony, and some important New Testament passages referring to it ~~has~~ been preserved in form, but the theological content of this connection has been obscured. In fairness to Irenaeus, the heretical tendencies of the time must be taken into account.

The Ebionite heresy of Jewish Christianity which denied Christ's divinity, and the more iniquitous influence of a wide variety of redeemer myths circulating in gnostic circles had to be countered by a strong assertion of Christ's uniqueness and true divinity. It was part of the merit of our writer's thought that this divinity was always affirmed in the context of a monotheistic understanding of the God whose creation and providence were known in Jewish history. Avoiding speculation that could give a philosophic explanation to the history of revelation, Irenaeus was essentially an interpreter of religious views. As such, he was perhaps the most considerable Biblical theologian of the age.

Chapter IV - Additional Notes

IV.1. An understanding of Irenaeus' development of the theme of ἀνακεφαλαίωσις - recapitulatio is fundamental to an appreciation of his view of the Atonement. Considering the etymology of the term, we may note in particular the classical usage in Quintilian 6.1 cited by S. D. F. Salmond in his discussion of Eph. 1:10 (EGT III, p. 261), where the noun is explained as rerum repetitio et congregatio. The Pauline (accepting Ephesians as authentic) derivation is clear in Irenaeus (cf. adv. haer. III. 16.6), and we may trace the term to Eph. 1:10, but the concept is enunciated by Paul in various ways, cf. Rom. 5:12-21; I Cor. 15:22, 45-49. It has to do with the final ingathering of humanity in Christ: the accomplishment of ~~the destiny~~ in the οἰκονομία of God of ^{the destiny of} originally created man.

In discussing Adam and Christ in Irenaeus' theology, Pere Jean Daniélou observes: "the Adamic typology, broadly enunciated by St. Paul, finds its fullest development in St. Irenaeus," (From Shadows to Reality, p. 30). To Daniélou, this theme of the Adamic typology is expressed in Irenaeus' use of recapitulatio. In Paul, parallelism between Adam and Christ bore the two-fold aspect of both accomplishment and restoration of what had been done by Adam. In his original state, man was created in the imago Dei and the similitudo Dei. By the former, Irenaeus referred to man's reason and free will, by the latter he meant endowment of the Spirit (adv. haer. III. 23.5). The Spirit endowment does not refer to righteousness, rather he was but the creature of God (see J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 171 f.). Where we refer to the 'perfection of design, which necessarily is distinguishable from perfection in actuality. The two are brought together in the theme of recapitulatio, which signifies the reunion of all things in Christ in the fullness of time. The summary (κεφάλαιον) is a resumption of the original creation, but also its restoration, surpassing the original work in accomplishing it (Daniélou, loc. cit.). Daniélou held that recapitulatio "expresses the fact that Christ is the 'head' (κεφαλή) of the new (ἀνά) creation" (p. 37). However, Salmond traces the verb ἀνακεφαλαίωσασθαι not to κεφαλή, but to κεφάλαιον (loc. cit.; cf. Bauer, p. 431) which stresses not summing under a head, but gathering in Christ. This accords with Paul's redeemed man being "in Christ". If we refer to the οἰκονομία τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν at the first of the verse (Eph. 1:10), the significance is found in that the ultimate in-gathering in Christ occurs

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as a definite part of God's plan, in accordance with His providence, cf. Dial. 45, 120; adv. haer., I. 10; c. Cels. II.9.

All men participated in Adam's deed (adv. haer. V. 16.3), and in Adam, wilful man suffers the consequences (V. 34.2). But Christ is the "Second Adam" (V. 16.3), and recapitulates the first event in its entirety, gathering the dispersed peoples dating back to Adam (III. 21.10; III. 22.3). In the Incarnation, Christ summarizes in Himself the whole long sequence of mankind, including Adam (III. 18.1; cf. II. 22.4; Kelly, p. 173).

We have referred to J. F. Bethune-Baker's statement that recapitulatio is the clue to understanding the relationship of the Incarnation to the Atonement. As he puts it, "the Incarnation effects the Atonement", bringing to completion the original creation, and perfecting its restitution (Early History of Christian Doctrine, p. 334, f.n. 2).

J. N. D. Kelly (p. 173) warns against the acceptance of such a statement as misleading, and cites the central fact of Christ's perfect obedience even to the Cross, effecting Man's restitution (p. 174, cf. adv. haer. III. 21.10; IV. 14.1; IV. 17.1-5; V. 16.3; V. 17.1, etc.). However, the two viewpoints are not mutually exclusive, and when Bethune-Baker affirms the connection between Incarnation and Atonement he clearly refers to the Incarnation in its entirety, citing the fact of Christ's obedience to the extent of the death on the Cross as effecting man's righteousness, and destroying the power of death (Bethune-Baker, p. 335, citing Rom. 5:19 and Heb. 2:14; cf. adv. haer. III. 18.7; III. 21.10).

Recapitulatio must retrace its steps over the course of the first creation to restore and elevate it (J. Daniélou, p. 44, cf. Epid. 31-33). Recapitulatio is the accomplishment of God's plan of salvation, an accomplishment within history, in a time sequence, but not an episode isolated to a particular point of time (G. Wingren, Man and the Incarnation, p. 81). Christ must have a complete human history to accomplish this, His biography is not that of a "cosmic aeon swooping to earth for awhile, but never identifying itself with humanity" (J. Pelikan, The Shape of Death, p. 102 f.). Yet this utterly individual historical person must contain within Himself the common history of mankind. His history is His alone, but in this history one sees one's own; His death is His alone, but by it comes our crucifixion unto life (cf. Rom. 6:6, Gal. 2:20, and see also adv. haer. III. 23.6-7; V. 16.3; the concept was dramatized in the play by R. H. Ward, The Figure on the Cross, see espec. p. 28). With his exposition of recapitulatio, Irenaeus has grasped the

IV.1 (con't)

concurrence of both the unique and the universal in Christ.

IV.2. The question of his doctrinal system has occupied writers for more than a century. The first of these, L. Dunker, envisaged Irenaeus' doctrinal system as a coherent unity in which his Christology occupied the center, with Johannine ("theological") and Pauline ("anthropological") conceptions merging in its formation, (Des heiligen Irenaeus Christologie im Zusammenhang mit dessen theologischen und anthropologischen Grundlehren, 1843).

Since Dunker, a number of writers have contested the "systematic" character of the adv. haer.:

H. Ziegler, Irenaeus der Bischof von Lyon. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altkatholischen Kirche, 1871, found contradiction in Irenaeus' dogmatic ideas. He regarded Irenaeus' thought not as representing a personal system, but as a reflection of the common doctrine of the Church. Ziegler was concerned with the birth of the ancient Catholic church, and therefore centered his study on the ecclesiastical problems of the period, in particular the Ebionite and Gnostic heresies. A. Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte 1:4, 1909, pp. 550 ff., suggested a syncretistic approach. To Harnack, it would not be true to the thought of Irenaeus to construct a solid theological system. Rather, Harnack felt that the bishop was bringing together streams of contemporary thought: Western (Roman) tradition, evidence from the primitive Jewish and Christian literature, apologetic interests, a contrast between gnostic and Christian ideas of salvation, and primitive eschatological hopes. There are passages suggesting that all of these elements may be found at some place in the massive adv. haer., but it is wrong to suggest that Irenaeus' central position is dictated by syncretism. Cf. Harnack's DG II (Eng. tr.), p. 263, where Irenaeus' Christology is viewed as occupying a middle position between that of the Valentinians and Marcion on the one hand, and the Logos of the Apologists on the other. P. Beuzart, Essai sur la théologie d'Irénée, 1908, placed the thought of Irenaeus in its actual situation as an anti-gnostic polemic, without attempting to resolve paradoxes and difficulties within the work.

F. R. M. Hitchcock, Irenaeus of Lugdunum, a Study of His Teaching, took a thematic approach to the adv. haer., citing those passages that related to the subjects under discussion. Hitchcock organized his analysis around the two basic themes of the Incarnate Word and the Incarnation and Atonement. Although written in 1914, this study does justice to

IV.2 (con't)

Irenaeus' main position. F. Loofs, Theophilus von Antiochien Adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenaeus (TU 46:2), 1930, accepted the paradoxes in the work, while primarily exploring the theological sources for Irenaeus' thought, in an attempt to isolate the essential traits of the writer himself. J. Lawson, The Biblical Theology of Saint Irenaeus, 1948, maintained that Irenaeus was "not an exact and systematic writer" (p. 20). Lawson's approach takes the form of idealizing the various themes in the adv. haer., and deals in generalities. As a critical examination of Irenaeus' thought, it leaves much to be desired.

Among recent works, A. Houssiau's La Christologie de Saint Irénée, 1955, represents a thorough inquiry, taking into account the anti-gnostic polemic, but going much further, as he seeks to give positive emphasis to the doctrines which are especially set forth in Books III - V of the adv. haer.. In making a synthesis around the problems arising from the heresies of the Ptolemaen and Marcionite systems, Houssiau believes his organization coincides with the intention of Irenaeus in the composition of the work, (p. 21). Houssiau does not attribute to our writer the logical approach of the modern systematician, but sees Irenaeus' form of interpretation as a theological reflection. He did not regard the adversus haereses as a treatise which methodically expresses the faith of the Church (p. 8). He correctly observes that when Irenaeus refers to the Scriptures, he means the doctrinal content of the books, and this is viewed in the context of the whole body of truth, (p. 23). Stylistically, Houssiau observes that "il se complait dans les harmonies et les convenances plutôt que dans les deductions logiques" (loc. cit.). It will be seen that the harmonies are sometimes stressed at the expense of sound exegesis.

Houssiau regards Irenaeus' theology of the Word as a certain manifestation of the Father, but above all, as the Epiphany of the Word itself (p. 254). The eternal unity of Christ is found in the fact that the Word which was active in O.T. history is also the unique subject of the actions of Christ incarnate (p. 255). In summing up the writer's Christology, Houssiau finds it could be said to be contained in the celebrated formula: "invisible, the Word became visible; the Son of God became the Son of Man," (loc. cit.).

G. Wingren, Man and the Incarnation, (Eng. tr. of Manniskan och Inkarnationen enligt Irenaeus, 1947) bases his work on the theme of man and the "becoming-man" in Christ as represented in Irenaeus. If Wingren is correct

IV.2 (con't)

in emphasizing the prominence of this evolutionary scheme in Irenaeus' theology, we may have an early precursor to the late Alfred North Whitehead. Whitehead held that the fundamental reality in the universe is the fact of "becoming", or change, and for him this excluded the possibility of a static Creator. Irenaeus, however, is careful to safeguard God's transcendence. The revealing Word is also the Word which preserves God's final invisibility, (cf. Houssiau, pp. 40, 54 f., 254, and J. Daniélou, Message Évangélique et Culture Hellenistique, p. 330). It is necessary that God remain Master, and man, the disciple. But there is another reason for the mystery of God; it is that man has always to progress (J. Daniélou, p. 331). God gives and man receives, otherwise man would be self-sufficient. Metaphysically speaking, it is the essence of man to become, while that of God is to be - consequently progress is constitutive of the nature of man, (cf. adv. haer. IV. 11.2; Daniélou, loc. cit.). G. Wingren defended Irenaeus as a systematic theologian (p. 104), and it is clear that the writer exceeded the efforts of his contemporaries in working out a structured doctrinal system. e/

IV.3. On the subject of knowledge of God in the Fourth Gospel, C. H. Dodd has provided a compact summary, citing the conclusions in Rudolf Bultmann's article "γινώσκειν" in TWBNT I, pp. 711 ff., and the relationship of views on the concept in Hebraic prophecy as well as in Hellenistic literature (The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 151-169). Certain observations made by Dodd and others may be enumerated briefly in examining the Biblical presentation of the subject of knowledge of God, which affords an interesting comparison with Irenaeus' position. In his exposition, the subject relates both to the unity of Christ with the Father and to a definition of salvation. According to Irenaeus, knowledge of the Father through Christ is at once acceptance of evidence of his eternal generation and essential unity with the Godhead (adv. haer. IV. 6.7; IV. 7.3-4), as well as belief in His being the self-revelation of God (IV. 6.3 ff.). Related to salvation, it is the hire of the labourers in the vineyard (cf. Mt. 20:1 ff.), which is immortality (IV. 36.7).

For the Hermetists, saving knowledge meant disciplined cosmological, theological and anthropological speculation culminating in the mystical vision, which is deification, (C. H. Dodd, p. 151). For Philo, γνῶσις is attained through the understanding of divine revelation through the Scriptures; it is awareness of "pure being", but it also meant communion with God (C. H. Dodd, loc. cit.). As Bultmann pointed out,

IV.3 (con't)

the basic difference between the Greek and the Hebraic view on the process of knowing is the difference between objective apprehension and subjective experience, or communion. The root $\gamma\tau$ refers to that awareness of something that vitally affects oneself (Dodd, p. 152; cf. Isa. 53:3, 47:8; Ezek. 25:14); related to knowing God, it often involved obedience and worship (BDB p. 394). For the Greek, to know God meant to lose oneself in contemplation of the ultimate reality.

In the LXX, $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ is often used to render the Hebrew $\gamma\tau$, but sometimes $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ is found, although there seems little difference in meaning (see Isa. 59:8; Ps. 78 (79):6, Dodd, p. 152, f.n. 3.). The substantive $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ assumed importance in Gnostic speculation as expressing that higher knowledge which in its ultimate form was really a gift of the divinity (see R. P. Casey's essay, "Gnosis, Gnosticism and the N.T." in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology), but the substantive is never used in the Fourth Gospel (C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, pp. 68, 135). It is of interest that Irenaeus affirms that "knowledge of the Son of God" ($\eta\ \gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ - agnitio Filii Dei, Hv. ii, 284) is immortality. It would seem at this point that verbal similarities between Irenaeus and the Fourth Gospel are lacking. Conceptually, however, we may reach a different conclusion.

It can be shown that the Johannine expressions draw upon O.T. ideas of objective knowledge, as well as knowledge that expresses relationship. From a survey of the teaching of the 4th Gospel in respect to knowing God, we deduce the following: the people of God ought to know their Owner and Sustainer, but do not (Isa. 1:3 cf. Jer. 9:6; 10:25, and see Jn. 1:10, 17:25). On the negative side, we see that the failure of man's knowledge of his Creator is set over against the positive emphasis of the Father and Son's knowledge of the creature, according to the Johannine testimony: The people have not known ($\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$) the Father (Jn. 8:55), but Jesus knows ($\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$) Him. The leaders of the synagogue will persecute the faithful, because these apostate leaders do not know ($\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$) the Father (Jn. 16:3). But Jesus, the Saviour, knows ($\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$) his sheep and knows ($\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$) the Father, and He lays down His life for the sheep, (Jn. 10:14 ff.). They should at least believe His works that they might know ($\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ in the aorist subjunctive) that the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father (Jn. 10:38). If the people had known ($\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$, some MSS offer the perfect) the Son, they would have known (MSS vary between $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ and $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$) the Father (Jn. 14:7, cf. 9-11). In the Final Day they will know ($\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$) that Jesus is in the Father, and will be incorporate in the Son as He is in them (Jn. 14:20).

IV.3 (con't).

In the "High Priestly Prayer" it is asserted that Eternal Life is that they may know (γινώσκειν in the present subjunctive) the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom God has sent (Jn. 17:3; cf. adv. haer. IV. 1.2 and IV. 14.1). At the conclusion of the prayer, the same verb is repeated four times in the aorist and once in the future: the world did not know the righteous Father, but Jesus knew Him, and the disciples knew He had sent Him. He made known to them the Father's name, and will make it known that the Father's love for Him may be in them. C. K. Barrett (p. 68) in citing the parallel usage of πιστεύειν with γινώσκειν (cf. Jn. 6:69; 17:3 with 3:15) points out that such knowledge implies relationship in addition to cognition, giving evidence of the Hebraic influence, and that Jesus' knowledge of the Father issues in a relation of love, obedience and mutual indwelling, (p. 136).

The teaching in John can be summarized as follows: It is not stated that man knows (in the indicative) the Father, although Jesus knows Him. Through the mediation of the Good Shepherd they may know the Father, which is eternal life. It is not through human striving, but through the Son that man may arrive at this knowledge. The "knowledge" includes relationship, which is manifested in love, obedience and mutual indwelling.

With Irenaeus, it is impossible for man to know God through his own efforts, but God can freely reveal Himself to man: Father and Son are equally inaccessible to human striving, yet equally accessible if they wish to show themselves (cf. J. Daniélou, Message Évangélique et Culture Hellenistique aux IIe et IIIe siècles, p. 330). A further reflection of Johannine teaching is evident when Irenaeus affirms that only the Lamb who was slain can know the Father (adv. haer. IV. 20.2), and no one can know the Father except by the Son (IV. 6.3). When the Word already present in creation and in the old dispensation becomes visible, the vision of God proclaimed by the prophets is realized (A. Houssiau, La Christologie de St. Irénée, p. 40). Here is the fulfillment of the divine promise to make known His salvation (adv. haer. III. 10.2).

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF ORIGEN IN RESPECT TO *ΠΑΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ*

A. Prolegomena

The Place of this Examination in the Study

Our interest thus far has been centered chiefly on three works of the latter half of the second century which provided varied illustrations of the interpreters' approach to scripture during this period. In spite of wide divergencies of style, the writers exhibited a common theological bias in that they had significantly modulated the Servant Christology of the New Testament. It was admitted in the first chapter that roots for this change may go back at least as far as the early sub-apostolic period, but from the standpoint of considered theological reflection the major evidence for the reinterpretation falls near the mid-second century.

As a conclusive chapter in this field of inquiry, we will examine certain works of the eminent third-century exegete, Origen, in order to provide a basis for comparison with the views of Justin, Melito, and Irenaeus. Further, our purpose will be to determine whether the theological

reinterpretation of the $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ -Ebed Figure had, in fact, crystallized by the opening of the third century, or, if not, to discover what further modifications may be seen to have taken place.

In considering Origen's Christology from this standpoint, several questions arise which constitute our main area of interest: Following the pattern exhibited in the apologists (which may have derived from an early tradition), did Origen make use of prophecy from Deutero-Isaiah as Old Testament evidence for the prefiguration of Christ? If so, did he rely on the Servant Songs, especially Isaiah 53, in this respect, and how was this adapted to fit his total Christological scheme? If this scripture was employed, was it merely used as a proof-text, or is there evidence that he explored its theological significance in regard to the person and work of our Lord? Finally, did $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ connote the relationship of "Son" or "Servant", in the writer's view, and is it found as a Christological title?

Some have regarded Origen's doctrinal views to evince a tendency toward subordinationism,¹ so that it will be

¹ Among Origen's early followers, Dionysius of Alexandria may be cited in testimony, but it should be recalled that Dionysius' objective was the rebuttal of the Sabellian form of Modalism and therefore he would emphasize the personal distinction between Father and Son, cf. Athanasius

necessary to investigate the validity of this charge in the light of the thesis which we have maintained. If Origen's views are in reality characterized by subordinationism, it will be seen to have bearing on our position which found in the second century increasing emphasis on an exalted Christology that obscured the role of Christ as Servant. On the other hand, it may be found that certain statements of Origen were seized upon by the Arians² to justify their position, but which, in fact, are less representative of his Christology in its totality than a 'higher' form. Such a usage by the followers of Arius, as well as by others, could have contributed to the charge of subordinationism, which actually may be contrary to Origen's views, if taken as a whole.

1 (con't)

de sent. Dion. 5. J. Daniélou, Origen (Eng. tr. by W. Mitchell, 1955), p. 261, holds that through his idea of the superiority of the Father to the Logos, Origen falls into subordinationism, but cf. E. de Faye, Origen and His Work, (Eng. tr. by F. Rothwell, 1929) p. 103, who denies this. On the basis of passages in the text, this will be discussed further below.

² E.g: "The Father is *αὐτόθεος* ... /He is/ the principal goodness, while the Son is the image of goodness', c. Cels. V.39; de princ. I.2.13, Also in discussing the subjection of world government to the Creator, Origen says "... the Son is not mightier than the Father, but inferior to Him", (c. Cels. VIII.15). On the other hand, the explicit affirmation of the eternal generation of the Son almost seems to anticipate the refutation of the Arian heresy, (de princ. I. 2.9 f; IV. 4.1; comm. in Rom. I.5.).

Significantly Harnack found that "to Origen the highest value of Christ's person lies in the fact that the Deity has here condescended to reveal to us the whole fulness of his essence ...", DG II (Eng. tr.), p. 374.

The problem, with such a prolific writer as Origen, is to limit the field of inquiry.³ It falls beyond the scope of this study to expound the total dogmatic system of the patristic author. We therefore approach the subject by first mentioning certain facts of Origen's life⁴ and intellectual orientation that provide an introduction to the main area of interest which is the author's "idea of Christ"⁵ and his use of texts from the Old Testament in application to Jesus of Nazareth.

³ Jerome, who knew of a list of Origen's writings, numbered them at 2000 (adv. Ruf. 2.22), but Epiphanius believes there were 6000, (Haer. 64.63). We have knowledge of some 800 titles, (Jerome, Epist. 33). The fact that many of his writings have perished, and others are available only in fragments or Latin translations, gives evidence of the later condemnation of his teaching.

⁴ Origen's life is recorded in considerable detail, thanks to the special interest of Eusebius of Caesarea, cf. H.E. VI. See also the panegyric on Origen by Gregory Thaumaturgus, published in Migne, PG 10.

⁵ It is to be noted that Harnack avoids the use of the term "Christology" in reference to Origen's views. This is founded on the principle that the advanced believer knows no such 'theory' or 'Christology', as Origen saw it, "but only an indwelling of the Logos in Jesus Christ, with which the indwellings of this same Logos in men began", p. 369 f.. My employment of the term in the chapter title, et passim, is not necessarily to dispute this view, but merely provides a convenient reference by which is inferred Origen's doctrinal understanding of the scriptural presentation of Jesus Christ.

Perhaps the most considerable apokesman for Church orthodoxy in the ante-Nicene period, Origen should provide significant evidence of theological trends with which our conclusions thus far may be compared, and we may expect such an undertaking to provide a profitable yield, whether this yield is agreeable to our estimate of the Christological trends of the period or not.

Origen the Man

"It was Origen," wrote Harnack, "who created the dogmatic of the Church, and did more than any other man to win the Old World to the Christian religion."⁶ In the opinion of Père Jean Daniélou, Origen, not unlike Blaise Pascal, "belongs at once to the history of thought and science and to the history of the spiritual life."⁷ A man of many parts, Origen comes to us "as an active Christian, as a learned exegete, as a philosophical

⁶ Quoted by H. R. Mackintosh, The Person of Jesus Christ, 1913, p. 164. Harnack regarded Origen as "the father of ecclesiastical science in the widest sense ... the founder of that theology which reached its complete development in the fourth and fifth centuries, and which in the sixth definitely denied its author, without, however, losing the form he had impressed on it," p. 332.

⁷ Daniélou, p. 310, cf. F. L. Cross (ed.) ODCC, p. 991.

genius, /and/ as a great master of the spiritual life."⁸

Modern sources are plentiful which review the life of Origen⁹; for our purposes it will suffice to state some pertinent facts which typify the zeal of the man and the heritage upon which he drew. He was born in Alexandria, of Christian parents (ca. 185 A.D.) and died at Tyre ^{c. 254} (243/4). When his father was arrested in the persecution of Severus, the young Origen wrote to him exhorting him not to recant,¹⁰ and would gladly have joined his father in martyrdom. After the persecutions ceased, Origen succeeded Clement as head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. The period of greatest literary production occurred after his removal from this position, which would be in the last twenty to thirty years of his life, when he ^{probably lived in} ~~lived both in Egypt and Caesarea~~ in Palestine.

⁸ Danielou, p. 310, cf. F. L. Cross (ed.) ODCC, p. 991.

⁹ Most of these draw largely on the account of Eusebius, H.E. VI. The biography by E. R. Redepenning, Origenes, Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre, (2 vols., 1841-46), is perhaps the most complete treatment. A summary, with current viewpoints, is found in J. Daniélou, pp. 3-26. See the bibliographical list in J. Quasten, Patrology, Vol. II (1962), pp. 40-41.

¹⁰ Eusebius, H.E. VI 2.2-6.

Origen's Intellectual Outlook and Methodological
Considerations of his Interpretation

Among those studies which have attempted to categorize the intellectual orientation of Origen, the recent examination by Fr. de Lubac emphasizes the biblical foundation of his thought,¹¹ while older works by De Faye¹² and Hal Koch¹³ regarded Origen's theology as essentially a systemization based on the principles of Middle Platonism. This controversy still continues over whether our writer is to be regarded primarily as a biblical theologian, or as a neo-Platonic philosopher whose dominant interest was the Christian Faith. Adolph von Harnack considered that Origen did not adhere to a fixed philosophical system, but, as an idealistic philosopher, he transformed the whole content of ecclesiastical faith into ideas.¹⁴

¹¹ H. de Lubac, S.J., Histoire et esprit. L'Intelligence des Ecritures d'apres Origene, 1950.

¹² E. de Faye, Origene, sa vie, son oeuvre, ses pensees, (3 vols., 1923/28).

¹³ Hal Koch, Pronoia und Paideusis. Studien über Origenes und sein Verhältniss zum Platonismus, (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 22, 1934).

¹⁴ Harnack, DG II, Eng. tr., p. 336. The point is, however, that Origen proceeded to an inquiry of Greek philosophy from a starting point of having been reared in the Christian faith. This was the reverse of the situation of Justin, Tatian and Clement, (L. Duchesne, Early History of the Christian Church, Eng. tr., Vol. 1, p. 249).

Harnack admits that Origen was an exegete who believed in the Holy Scripture, and who, in the final analysis, "viewed all theology as a methodical exegesis of Holy Writ,"¹⁵ but his view that (Christian) Gnosis is a philosophy of revelation that underlies Origen's approach to scripture is applied too broadly. In so doing, Harnack makes Origen appear more susceptible to the influence of Hellenism than is warranted.¹⁶ As one who was conversant with the Greek classics, Origen was ~~ably~~ equipped to deal with the attack of his learned opponent, Celsus, but as a biblical theologian, ^{he believed that} ~~the~~ ultimate knowledge was to be derived from the scriptures. Hence, Daniélou can say of Origen that

¹⁵ Harnack, p. 335.

¹⁶ E.G., so that he can say regarding the Logos, "the content of Origen's teaching ... was not essentially different from that of Philo and was therefore quite as contradictory", p. 352. Harnack seems to compromise, however, when he observes, regarding Origen's approach to Scripture, "/Origen/ rather adopted, to its widest extent, the critical method employed by the Gnostics particularly when dealing with the Old Testament; but the distinction he made between the different senses of Scripture and between the various legitimate human needs enabled him to preserve both the unity of God and the harmony of revelation," (n. 1, pp. 339-40).

"all of his writings are really commentaries on the Bible".¹⁷ Using what our own age would call the "scientific method", Origen was concerned initially to ascertain the correct text.¹⁸ However, since Scripture was essentially spiritual, the exegete's specific task was to remove obscurities in order to discover the spiritual meaning and transmit it to others, as Daniélou judges it.¹⁹

Considering this in more detail, we may note the "three senses of scripture": the literal, the moral, and the intellectual (or spiritual), which characterized Origen's understanding of the content of Holy Writ. Daniélou holds that this idea of the three senses (corresponding to the three-fold division of man into body, soul, and spirit) is derived from Philo, but R. P. C. Hanson objects that there is nothing precisely corresponding to this treatment of

¹⁷ Daniélou, p. 311; cf. Harnack, p. 346, who finds that while Origen held that the speculations of Greek philosophers contained truths, the only real certainty is offered in the Holy Scriptures "which are a witness to themselves in the fulfillment of prophecy".

¹⁸ While his monumental work on the Hexapla is well known in the case of the OT, it is interesting that the writer, so far as we know, did not employ the critical method to discern the most accurate form of the newly gathered writings which formed the NT, cf. Daniélou, p. 137.

¹⁹ Daniélou, p. 139.

scripture in Philo's writings.²⁰ It is to be noted that Origen's understanding of the three-fold yield of meaning from Scripture is supported by an interpretation of Proverbs 22:20 f., giving biblical sanction to his method, as he sees it.²¹ Broadly speaking, the 'literal' sense of Scripture tends to be associated with Judicialistic interpretation and with its meaning for the unintelligent.²² It is significant for our particular field of interest that Origen ascribes certain passages of the Bible to the necessity of its being understood by the less enlightened proletariat, as when the Logos, who, in the form of God, 'emptied Himself' that men might be able to receive Him.²³

²⁰ R. P. C. Hanson, Allegory and Event, 1959, p. 236, but he acknowledges that some instances of Origen's use of allegory may be traced to Philonic borrowings, pp. 249 ff., also p. 323.

²¹ De princ. IV. 2.45, see Hanson, p. 235.

²² Hanson, p. 237.

²³ C. cels. IV. 15, but Origen is careful to add that this implied no change from 'good to bad' nor from 'beautiful to shameful', for the immortal divine Word only assumes a body ... but remains Word in essence.

He only comes down to the level of those who are unable to behold "the radiance and brilliance of the Deity," as an accommodation, to lift these unenlightened to a higher state. (loc. cit.).

Harnack, p. 346 f. cites among other c. Cels. VI.6, and comm. in Joh. 12.59, in illustration of the deeper meaning of Scripture which Jesus imparted only to a few.

In consequence, we will see that in certain cases, the Servant passages are explained in this sense: that the literal meaning is to be taken as a form of Divine accommodation 'to get down' to the meaner level of mankind, but this does not infer any real lowering of the true nature of Christ.²⁴

With reference to Origen's regard for historicity, Hanson finds that the writer exhibited undue readiness to dissolve historical events into allegory,²⁵ but avoids saying that

²⁴ Introducing a quotation of Isa. 52:13 ff. Origen points out " ... it was said that he shall be seen with a form dishonorable as men regard it /italics mine/ ..." (c. Cels. I.54). Again, he asks " ... how did /Celsus/ fail to notice that /Christ's/ body differed in accordance with the capacity of those who saw it, and on this account appeared in such form as was beneficial for the needs of each individual's vision?" (c. Cels. VI.77a., Chadwick's tr., cf. II. 64). The suggestion of the Lord's unattractive countenance (Isa. 52:14) is confuted by applying Ps. 44:2 (45:2) as a Messianic predication (c. Cels. VI. 75). These significant passages are discussed further below.

²⁵ Hanson, pp. 264, 272, 275, opposing the theory of De Lubac (pp. 102 ff.) that Origen sacrifices the literal sense only on minor points or to preserve symmetry, (p. 269). See Origen's view on the Resurrection appearances, c. Cels. II. 63-6. Cf. also the numerous examples in the commentaries e.g., Comm. in Matt. 11.16, where Origen spiritualizes the meaning of Jesus' retirement to the "borders of Tyre and Sidon". P. Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol. II, p.244, remarks on the tendency of the Alexandrians to allegorize citing the feeding of the multitude in illustration.

such dissolution was complete:

The fact is that he believed that most of the narratives were accounts of events which did happen /although there exists a considerable list of exceptions/, but he believed that what was significant about these events was not that they happened, but the non-historical truths of which they were parabolic enactments.²⁶

R. M. Grant²⁷ attributes Origen's theory that the evangelists had interwoven spiritual and non-historical statements with historical event to a similar treatment in Greek traditional myths, and regards the influence of the Greek rhetorical writers as constituting the most persuasive force on Origen's method. However, Hanson will not discount Philonic influence in this respect, and finds that "Philo was the chief influence upon Origen in his attitude to historicity",²⁸ and we accept this position.

In the earlier chapter of this study on Justin, we discussed the relationship of typology and allegory and their bearing on the interpretation of scripture. Daniélou is careful to distinguish the two, and remarks regarding

²⁶ Hanson, p. 277.

²⁷ R. M. Grant, The Letter and the Spirit, pp. 99 ff.

²⁸ Hanson, p. 269, see n. 32 below.

the relationship of the Old and New Testaments that Origen's views "represent the tradition we have already met with in Justin, Irenaeus and Clement".²⁹ On the development of this tradition he adds:

From the Pseudo-Barnabas to Justin and from Justin to Irenaeus and Clement, the idea gradually emerged that the difference between the Testaments was that one was imperfect and the other perfect. . . . Once the New Testament was in force, the Old Testament lapsed as far as its literal meaning was concerned, but kept its value as a figure. 30

Daniélou has also found this conception of the reality which is preceded by the figure, or type, to be represented in the Adamic typology of Irenaeus.³¹ Similarly, as Origen conceived it, the figure, when it has served its purpose, is destroyed, to be followed by the reality fulfilling it. The manner in which one economy gave way to the other is

²⁹ Daniélou, p. 140 f..

³⁰ Cf. Melito, Homily 2.1-2, 11-13, et passim; the former is the old, being the τύπος, while the latter is the new, the ἀλήθεια. Daniélou finds that this provided the Church with a reason for the retention of the OT as well as the NT in the Canon, and it enabled the apologists to reconcile statements which appeared to be in conflict in the two, cf. the approach of Justin, p.143f.

³¹ J. Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, (Eng. tr. by Dom W. Hibberd, 1960) p. 31, finds this illustrates Irenaeus' emphasis on the aspect of progress. He adds, "typology . . . can only be expressed in a theology of this kind, for its basic principle is that there is an imperfect order which prepares for and prefigures an order of perfect."

illustrated in a sermon which compares Moses, who has died, to Jesus, who is the substance of life itself and has replaced the temple sacrifice.³² This is a recurring feature in Origen's thought, and is found with different types referring in one way or another to Jesus Christ.³³ The conception of the imperfect order which is succeeded by the higher, perfect order, will be seen to have a parallel in Origen's interpretation of Isaiah 53. In treating this prophecy, in particular the Figure's marred or lowly guise, the writer explains that this is a form of divine accommodation which is assumed in Jesus' First Advent, to be followed by his true divinity in the Second.³⁴ The explanation recalls Justin's 'Two Advents', but it will be found that Origen has enlarged upon the concept by

³² Hom. in Jos. 2.1. The text may be found in Sources Chrétiennes, 71: Origène, Homélie sur Josue, recently (1960) edited by A. Jaubert, p. 110, Cf. the view that regards Jesus' miracles as far superior to the wonders performed by Moses, c. Cels. II. 52 f.

³³ See hom. in Lev. 10.1, which deals with Jerusalem and the temple in comparison with the true Temple, which is Christ's body (cf. Jn. 2:19). Further, if a new covenant is to be made with God, the existing one must first be abrogated, (hom. in Gen. 6.3, hom. in Jos. 1.3). Cf. also the view that the OT is valuable as preparation in the rudiments of faith: we are to "appreciate it highly, but not abide in it", (comm in Matt. 10.10, J. Patrick's trans. in ANF X, p. 419).

³⁴ C. Celsus I.54 ff., VI. 76 ff.; comm. in Matt. 12.29-30.

emphasizing the marred appearance in the First as but an assumed (and therefore not real) aspect of Christ. The suggestion here is that we have a relation between historic content and methodology: the genuine nature of Christ follows the temporary or assumed guise, much as the reality follows the figure in Origen's typology.

Christ is therefore prefigured in the Old Testament, and essentially the writer would find only two meanings in scripture: the Christological and the literal. It will be seen that the Christological can be subdivided into as many aspects (*ἐπίνοιαι*) as there are aspects in Christ Himself. This enabled the author to find Christological significance in a multitude of Old Testament narratives, where such an interpretation might be found questionable to modern exegetes.

The author considered that it was Christ who dispensed the innermost understanding of scripture, the "knowledge of the most real part of its content."³⁵ However, not only was Christ subjectively encountered in the search for truth, but the content of scripture was also Christ-centered. He "is also the Object of this spiritual understanding, for all scripture is about him and him alone." ³⁶

³⁵ J. Daniélou, Origen, p. 160

³⁶ Ibid.

It was through the attainment of this final Truth, that Origen found the soul of man marks his progress in the search for God. In a mystical way, it seems our author regarded the attainment of true spiritual understanding as union with Logos, and that this union is the final outcome of a series of stages through which the soul passes in its apiritual pilgrimage.³⁷

With a scholarly approach to Biblical criticism, it may be seen that Origen was ahead of his time in applying the 'scientific method' to ascertain the correct text. We have noted, however, that the writer's tendency to allegorize scripture often resulted in the reading of a spiritualized meaning into facts recorded in the Bible that fails to take seriously the historicity of recorded events. Perhaps more important for the interests of this study, has been the observance that Origen emphasized the typological relationship between the Old and New Testaments. Thus the old, imperfect order was but a shadow of the reality to follow. From the methodological standpoint, any prophecy that was out of harmony with the writer's concept of Christ

³⁷ On this subject, see W. Volker, Das Volkommenheitsideal des Origenes, 1931, and cf. Harnack, p. 348. Fr. A. Lieske regarded Origen's views on the spiritual life as dependent on his theology of the Logos, and redemption meant the union of the soul with Logos, (Die Theologie der Logosmystik bei Origenes, 1938).

the divine Logos could be explained away, and it will be observed that this has particular bearing on his interpretation of the Servant texts. From the standpoint of content, Origen's view of the imperfect as opposed to the perfect order is used in explanation of the humble guise of the Servant Figure as it referred to Christ.

B. The Interpretation of Παῦς θεοῦ
in the Context of Origen's Christology

The Writings

For our field of interest, the most important of Origen's works are his de principiis (περὶ ἀρχῶν),³⁸ the commentaries on John³⁹ and Matthew,⁴⁰ and the great apologetic work,

³⁸ Our primary source is the edition by the Benedictines of St. Maur, Charles de la Rue and C. Vincent de la Rue, published in Paris between 1733 and 1759, and reprinted by J. P. Migne, PG (1857), Vols. 11 to 17, (the de princ. : PG 11). Migne has been used due to availability, but reference has been made to the more recently edited critical texts in GCS. For the English reader, a translation is found in ANF IV, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Amer. ed. rev. by A. C. Coxe, 1951.

³⁹ The text: PG 14; Eng. tr. in ANF X, ed. Alan Menzies. For a history of the MSS, see A. E. Brooke's essay in Texts and Studies I:4 (1891), pp. 1-30.

⁴⁰ The text: PG 13; Eng. tr. in ANF X, by J. Patrick.

contra Celsum.⁴¹ The writer's interests spanned a wide variety of subjects, from textual criticism and exegetical studies, to theological expositions, sermons and practical orations. Due to the limits of space, we will deal with representative passages from these works which illustrate the development of his Christology, paying particular attention to the interpretation of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$.

Generally regarded as Origen's most important theological production, de principiis contains certain texts which will be helpful in approaching our subject, but two things must be kept in mind in evaluation of this work. In the first place, all that remains of the Greek text are some fragments in the Philocalia and in several edicts of the Emperor, Justinian I. Jerome's translation of the original is also lost, so we are dependent upon the free rendering of Rufinus (ca. 345-410), who evidently tampered with the text, removing dubious passages at will. The second noteworthy fact is that de principiis belongs to the earlier period of Origen's literary activity.⁴² This is also true for the first five books of his commentaria in Evangelium

⁴¹ The text: PG 11; or GCS 1, 2 (1899), ed. P. Koetschan. For the English reader, the edition by H. Chadwick, Origen: Contra Celsum (1953) is superior to anything that has appeared in this form.

⁴² B. F. Westcott's art. "Origenes", in DCB IV (1887), p. 103, based on Eusebius, H.E. VI. 24. See F. L. Cross,

Joannis.⁴³ Decidedly, these works were written before the great apologetic treatise, contra Celsum.⁴⁴ The point is, that whereas some mention of Christ as "Servant" may occur in the earlier writings, judgement of the writer's interpretation should be withheld until all of the relevant material is examined. It will be seen that a particular explanation as to the interpretation of the Fourth Servant Song occurs in contra Celsum.⁴⁵

It may be observed, as well, that with Origen's atomistic exegesis, we must be on our guard to avoid the difficulty of misrepresenting the exegete, by summarizing his thought on the basis of one or two isolated passages. It is

42 (con't)
The Early Christian Fathers, p. 124; C. Bigg, The Origins of Christianity (1909), p. 425. This would be between 220 and 231 A.D., before Origen's compulsory withdrawal from Alexandria.

43 Eusebius, H.E. VI.24.

44 Origen was over 60 years of age when this treatise was written, or, not before 245 A.D., (Eusebius, H.E. VI.36.1). Cf. F. L. Cross, p. 130; J. Quasten, p. 53; H. Lietzmann, A History of the Early Church, Vol. II, trans. 1950, p. 301.

Henry Chadwick regards the contra Celsum "as the culmination of the whole apologetic movement of the second and third centuries," (p. ix).

45 C. Cels. I. 54 ff., cf. VI. 15 f., which are discussed below.

significant that there may have been just such a misrepresentation when the Arians seized on isolated phrases to justify their position, resulting in the widespread view that Origen's teaching was characterized by subordinationism.⁴⁶

Our approach, as indicated, will be on a ~~on~~ thematic basis. First, we must give attention to the Logos doctrine, after which we will consider the writer's understanding of the incarnation and the atonement. The order follows naturally, since in Origen's thinking the subject of the incarnation grew out of his answer to the problem of how the all-permeating Logos could gather Himself into an earthly life. The taunt of Celsus about a crucified God is of particular relevance to our topic, and we will see how Origen answered this attack, citing the Servant passages of Isaiah, but giving a somewhat novel explanation

⁴⁶ Based on passages such as de orat. 16.1, or comm. in Joh. 13.25. B. J. Kidd noted the distinction Origen made between the Father and Son, but remarks upon the readiness with which the Arians took isolated phrases out of context, considering the writer's teaching as a whole, /A History of the Church Vol. I. (1922), p. 422/. Kidd adds that the subordinationism which was taught by Origen is no more than what we encounter in the NT, cf. Mk. 10:18; Jn. 14:23; 17:3, (p. 423).

See J. Quasten, p. 77: "subordinationism /in Origen/ has been both affirmed and denied. "Jerome accuses him of it, while Gregory Thaumaturgus and Athanasius clear him of all suspicion.

for the relation of the passages to Christ.

The Logos Doctrine

In Origen's system, the Logos plays an essential part in God's self-revelation to His creation, both in the realm of the heavenly beings, and in the material world of men. The controlling importance of the ideas of the Logos⁴⁷ will become apparent, as we begin our detailed study where all theology must take its inception, with the doctrine of God. God as transcendent Being, was the one true essence in Origen's view, but He is not confined to essence, being above both thought and essence.⁴⁸ He alone is very God (*αὐτόθεος*), alone He is ingenerate (*ἀγγένητος*).⁴⁹ The

⁴⁷ J. Daniélou, p. 251: "the theology of the Logos, ... an essential element in Origen's system"; and E. de Faye, Origen and His Work (tr. 1929), p. 99 f.: "the doctrine of the Logos, at that time current among most philosophers, constitutes the very essence of our author's Christology."

⁴⁸ God is 'absolute unity and simplicity'; above thought and substance. Cf. comm. in Joh. 1.20, de princ. I. 1.6, and c. Cels. VII. 38. See Harnack, p. 350: "the omnipresence of God . . . suffers no limitation . . . he neither encompasses nor is encompassed."

⁴⁹ Only the Father is God 'in His own right' the primal goodness, c. Cels. V.39, cf. comm. in Joh. 2.2. The contrast is remarked upon by J. Daniélou, p. 253: God is *ὁ θεός*, but the other gods "are *θεοί* only by participation". Daniélou believes this is based on Philo, de somn. I. 2.30.

created spirit, belonging to God as the unfolding of His essence "after fall, error, and sin must ever return to its origin, to being in God."⁵⁰ Although God the Father is absolute being and unknown, He may become comprehensible through the Logos, who is Christ.⁵¹ Logos is the intermediary between God, absolute unity, and the multiplicity of creation.⁵² Thus, the central problem that Origen seeks to solve is the same as that of Middle Platonism, namely, of how God is related to the many. The solution for our writer is to be found in the Logos, where Logos forms the intermediary between God and the cosmos of created rational beings. As T. E. Pollard suggests,

The Logos concept was demanded by his cosmology, as also were his two key doctrines concerning the Logos. 53

Since God is perfect goodness and power, it was necessary that He have objects on which to exercise these attributes, thus He brought into being a world of spiritual beings,

⁵⁰ Harnack, p. 346, cf. pp. 344, 349. See de princ. pref. 4.

⁵¹ De Princ. I. 2,8; c. Cels. VII. 17. The Logos, Christ, is the figura expressa substantiae et subsistentiae.

⁵² Daniélou, p. 256 f., cf. c. Cels. III.34.

⁵³ T. E. Pollard, "Logos and Son in Origen ..." Studia Patristica Vol. II, pt. II /TU lxiv (1957)/, p. 282.

(τὰ λογικά), coeternal with Himself.⁵⁴ In Origen's metaphysics, the underlying structure of thought represents a borrowing from the contemporary form of Platonism. Daniélou has cited Albinus' teaching in reference to the world soul, which, provided with its constitution, in turn made the rules for the remainder of creation. This recalls Origen's thought of the Word (i.e., Wisdom) who was in the beginning, containing all things in idea before they existed.⁵⁵ The fact that creation is regarded as an eternal process, and hence that the generation of the Logos is considered to be eternal, does not destroy its connection with the cosmos. This teaching is found in Middle Platonism.⁵⁶ Not only the Son (= Word) was regarded as existing coeternally with the Father, but also the λογικά.⁵⁷ Their relation to the Word parallels the

⁵⁴ J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, 1958, p. 128, citing de princ. I. 2.10, 4.3; II. 9.1.

⁵⁵ Daniélou, p. 257. Albinus taught that a first god, indescribable himself, called the soul of the world from its sleep, this world soul then provided the pattern for creation, (Epitome 10.4), In comm. in Joh. 1.22, the word (Wisdom) was in the beginning, containing all things in idea before they existed, and Origen also states that Christ's character as Wisdom is prior to His other characters.

⁵⁶ Daniélou, loc. cit..

⁵⁷ Cf. comm. in Joh. 1.22. To Origen, there never was a time when Logos did not exist, this is in contrast with

relationship of the Word, at a higher level, to the Father.⁵⁸ The Logos is the mediator, who is active in creation: "the immediate creator and, as it were, direct maker of the world ...".⁵⁹ The parallels between our writer's system and conceptions in Philo can not be overlooked.⁶⁰ The reasoning that the Father must always

57 (con't)

Tertullian and Hippolytus who saw neither Logos nor λογικά as eternal, (Daniélou, p. 255 f.); see c.Cels. III.41, but cf. VI. 63.

58 Daniélou, p. 252; Kelly, p. 131. See comm. in Joh. 2.2 and cf. A. Lieske, p. 186.

59 C. Cels. VI. 60 (Chadwick's trans. p. 375). It is added that the Father was "primary creator" since He commanded His Son, the Logos, to make the world. The various ways that Christ is Logos are enumerated in comm. in Joh. 1.42; cf. 1.40 where He is called in addition to Righteousness, Agent of the Good God, etc.. Origen's Logos, says de Faye, "existed long before Jesus Christ, and was at first quite independent of him. /Logos/ has always been God, the divine principle immanent in the cosmos", (Origen and His Work, p. 103).

Numenius taught that a first god was absolute, while the second is the Demiurge, (in Eusebius, Praep. Ev. XI. 17f.).

60 Philo knows a transcendant Logos with infinite powers (de sacrif. 15.59), but also represents Logos as the place where ideas for the world to be created are residing; in this sense, Logos is uncreated and eternal (de opif. mundi 5.20, cf. 4.16). It should be noted that Philo regarded the act of creation by the Divine Mind as taking place before the entry of time, (de opif. mundi 7.26). For the created Logos occupying an intermediate place between God and the world, see Philo's leg. alleg. III. 61.175 ff., and cf. II. 21.86. In leg. alleg. II. 1.1-3, we find that God was alone and anything besides Him must have been brought into being by Him, cf. Origen, c. Cels. VI. 60.

Regarding a similarity to Origen's λογικά, we find

have had a world of spiritual beings on which to exercise His power is a borrowing from Middle Platonism, "but its effect is to undermine the Christian idea of a triune God who transcends the contingent order," as J. N. D. Kelly has observed.⁶¹

If the Logos originated from the need for an intermediary between God, the absolute, and the created realm of spirits and matter, we may properly ask what is the point of contact between this exalted Being and humanity? It is in the solution of this problem that Origen develops his doctrine of the incarnation.

The Logos and the Incarnation

To answer the problem of how the creative and all-permeating Logos could gather Himself into an earthly life, Origen explains that the human (and pre-existent) soul of Jesus provided the link. It was His soul that was the mediating bond uniting the infinite Logos to finite flesh.⁶²

60 (con't)
from Philo's de plant. 2.8-9 that the totality of spiritual beings are called the Powers or angels, and are sometimes spoken of as the Logos; further the function of harmonising opposites is attributed to Logos (quaest. in Ex. II. 68), there is a two-fold Logos both in the cosmos and in man, (de vita Mos. II. 13.127).

⁶¹ Kelly, loc. cit...

⁶² De princ. II. 6.3.

Origen makes reference to Christ (= the Word), whom he calls the "Only-begotten of God ... through whom all things were made, visible and invisible, ..." and states the relationship of the mediator both to transcendent God and to the flesh:

This substance of a soul / Haec... substantia animae/, then, being intermediate between God and the flesh - it being impossible for the nature of God to unite with a body without an intermediate instrument - the God-man ⁶³ is born ..., that substance being the intermediary to whose nature it was not contrary to assume a body.⁶⁴

In his understanding of the incarnation, Origen makes reference to his belief in the world of spiritual beings, in which he held that all souls existed from eternity.⁶⁵

⁶³ As Quasten observes (p. 80), Origen is the first to use the designation 'God-man' (in the original, doubtless θεάνθρωπος, cf. hom. in Ez. 3.3), which remained in the terminology of Christian Theology.

⁶⁴ De princ. loc. cit., (PG 11, 211c).

⁶⁵ This theory of the origin of the soul was probably suggested to Origen by Platonism, although he defended it on the basis of Jn. 9:2 and the allegorical account of the fall of the finite pre-existent spirit (cf. Rom. 8:19 f.). The theory accounts for 'original sin', but it makes the soul the reality of human nature, the body being but a temporary prison (a Gnostic conception), and destroys the solidarity of humankind. It was condemned in Constantinople in 540 A.D., see J. F. Bethune-Baker, The Early History of Christian Doctrine, p. 302 f..

One of these souls (the one destined to be the soul of Jesus and a human soul like the rest) was from the beginning attached to the Logos with mystical devotion, desiring to pour forth love and exercise justice.⁶⁶

The other souls fell away, but this unique soul was indissociably united with Logos.⁶⁷ The flesh into which this soul of Christ entered was uncontaminated. To justify this doctrine Origen employs a citation from the Fourth Servant Song. In this context, it is certainly a novel use of Isaiah 53:9.⁶⁸ But since the soul was very closely united with the Logos,⁶⁹ and yet properly belonged to the body, it formed the ideal meeting point between the

⁶⁶ Kelly, p. 155, citing de princ. II.6. 3-5.

⁶⁷ De princ. II. 6.3 f.. Here and in comm. in Joh. 1.23 the beginnings of a δέυτερος θεός conception: the Logos not a mere attribute of God, but a separate Person. Cf. Justin, pp.196ff.

⁶⁸ De princ. II. 6.4 cites Isa 53:9b ("He did no sin neither was any guile found in His mouth ...") as scriptural evidence of Christ's sinlessness, also combining parts of Isa. 8:4 and 7:16.

⁶⁹ G. Cels. V.39: "... We say that this Logos dwelt in the soul of Jesus and was united with it in a closer union than that of any other soul, ...".

Infinite Word and finite human nature.⁷⁰ Origen insists on the duality of natures, speaking of Christ's manhood as well as His divinity,⁷¹ but his metaphysical speculations have kept the Christological discussion in the realm of the theoretical, obscuring the fact that Christ became a pure person, subject to all the whims of the flesh.

As to how, or why, this exalted Being became man, Origen affirms that it was to provide the intermediary between the created things and God, "whom the Apostle Paul styles 'the first-born of every creature'".⁷² Emphasizing that the Word as Reason, "this Wisdom, this Truth, is known to no other but the Father",⁷³ he regards it as extraordinary

⁷⁰ C. Cels. VI. 47: the perfect man is joined to "the true Lord, the Logos and wisdom and truth", and they are one spirit, (cf. I Cor. 6:17, and c. Cels. II. 9). In VI. 48 we find the rhetorical question: "... what difficulty is there in supposing that the soul of Jesus, indeed Jesus without qualification, by virtue of his supreme and unsurpassed communion with the very Logos himself, was not separated from the only begotten and first born of all creation, and was not distinct from him?"

⁷¹ See comm. in Joh. 10.6, and cf. c. Cels. III. 28; III. 41.

⁷² De princ. II. 6.1 citing Col. 1:15. Origen's Schöpfungsmittler is derived (cf. supra, p.420), as distinguished from Irenaeus, who assumes Christ's pre-existence and activity in creation, based on what scripture teaches of the Word's mediatorial role.

⁷³ De princ. loc. cit.

that the Son of God, being of "such a nature, pre-eminent above all others, should have divested ^{Himself} ~~itself~~ of ^{His} ~~its~~ condition of Majesty and become man".⁷⁴ However, the truth of the incarnation and its importance for the atonement is lost at the deepest level to our writer, for there is little evidence that he perceived Jesus as having fully entered the condition of men. Instead, the mediatorial function is described with reference to the divine Logos and his relation to creation. Cosmology rather than soteriology dominates the thought.

Of further interest is the occurrence of language that is reminiscent of the Kenotic Hymn in the de principiis, but in the context of a description of Christ as the governor of the world. The Author and Creator Himself had to restore discipline and obedience, and it is Christ as a model of exemplary obedience that was obedient unto death, thus restoring the rule and government which had been corrupted:

Unde unigenitus Filius Dei qui erat Verbum et sapientia Patris, cum esset in ea gloria apud Patrem quam habuit antequam mundus esset, exinanivit semetipsum, et formam servi accipiens efficitur obediens usque ad mortem, ut obedientiam doceret eos qui non aliter nisi per obedientiam salutem consequi poterant; ... 75

⁷⁴ De princ. loc. cit.

⁷⁵ De princ. III. 5.6 (PG 11, 331A), the trans. follows Roberts and Donaldson, ANF IV.

(And hence the only begotten Son of God who was the Word and Wisdom of the Father, when He was in possession of that glory with the Father which He had before the world was, divested Himself of it, and taking the form of a servant, was made obedient unto death, that he might teach obedience to those who could not otherwise than through obedience obtain salvation; ...)

Nuances in the language of this quotation can not be pressed, for, as we have observed, the translation of Rufinus is a free rendering of the original. Of significance for our study is the fact that the Kenosis is cited in illustration of the Lord's obedience, through which world government, that had become corrupted, is restored. At this point, there is no reference to that extremity of obedience which is the work of the Great Servant par excellence, His sacrifice on the Cross, as we have in Philippians 2:8; it is consequent that there is no relation of the Servant's death to the atonement. Mention of the death on the Cross follows later in the section, but its effects are viewed as the cosmic re-ordering of creation. This universal aspect of the redemptive process is biblical (Colossians 1:15 ff. cf. Rom. 8:22), as we found in Irenaeus, but the difference is that in Origen the cosmic effects tend to be emphasized at the expense of that which is personal: the restoration of humanity. Indeed, it is found in the teachings of Jesus that the rescue of the individual man is of central

importance.⁷⁶ But it is possible to lose the balance that is maintained in the Old and New Testaments which witnesses to the essential continuity of the divine act that both created and sustains the cosmos, and redeems mankind. In Irenaeus, the Schöpfungsmittlervorstellung was correlated with the view of the redemption of man seen in its wider context: the completion of creation. Throughout, the Bible portrays this as a revelation of God and his saving, sustaining love. Creation and redemption are wrought by Christ who embodies this love. Both are done through Christ's mediation, which is cosmic as well as personal in its effect.

Origen may speak of Christ "embracing in Himself all whom he subjects to the Father" and of "all things subsisting in Him" without relating the efficacy of the sacrifice to the individual, but as the Kenotic Hymn is found in the Pauline corpus, this aspect is an important sequel to the Servant's self-emptying which results in glorification.⁷⁷ For Origen preoccupation with the cosmological has obscured what was done when the Word became flesh, and was regulative in

⁷⁶ The parables of the Lost Coin, the Lost Sheep, etc.

⁷⁷ De princ. III. 5.6; cf. Phil. 2:12, 13.

forming a conception of the Logos,⁷⁸ which is now carried over into his ideas of salvation. From this point of departure, 'salvation' must strain to touch humanity.

The deviation noted here almost inevitably would follow when the process of the atonement is limited to the vanquishing of hostile powers. Atonement occurs for Origen when all Christ's enemies are "put under his feet", and the cosmic warfare in which Logos emerges as victor is the principal element in the atoning process. The incarnation is acknowledged, but it constitutes more a setting for the battle on the plane of history than it does as divine-human encounter. The world of humanity becomes the battleground in which the crisis action occurs, victory follows when the Logos wrests from the Powers authority over the nations.⁷⁹ There is no denying the

⁷⁸ As T. E. Pollard has observed, see above, n. 53.

⁷⁹ See Daniélou, pp. 269 ff., and cf. p. 233. Origen's basic position is that mankind is under the yoke of evil Powers until Christ became incarnate, the Powers being the whole company of wicked angels (cf. hom. in Jer. 10.6, hom. in Jos. 22.3). Christ's life was a struggle with the alien Powers (hom. in Luc. 13, comm. in Joh. 12.50, cf. c. Cels. VI. 45). He incurred the wrath of the Powers since he despoiled their authority over the nations, (hom. in Gen. 9.3). He himself, the Great Power, weakened them, gaining the final triumph at Calvary, (comm. in Matt. 12.40).

There is much that the N.T. has to say about soteriology in respect to victory over the Powers, see Ernest Best, The Temptation and the Passion, The Markan

considerable part that demonology plays in the New Testament thought, but to limit understanding of the atonement solely to the cosmic war with the Powers, makes man but a pawn in a struggle in whose outcome he has little, if any, part or involvement.

In the quotation cited from de principiis (III. 5.6), Christ is spoken of as having taken the form of a servus, and we must evaluate to what extent Origen exhibits here a Servant Christology. First, we need to ask whether the original here would have been $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$; or $\delta\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. In another work which the writer produced at about the time the de principiis was written, we find quotations from Isaiah 49:3-6 which include both terms.⁸⁰ It will be recalled, as well, that $\delta\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (which is found in Isaiah 49:3,5 referring to Israel) is supplied by Aquila and Symmachus in place of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$; in Isaiah 52:13.⁸¹ Moreover, Lucien Cerfaux regarded the occurrence of $\delta\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in the Kenotic Hymn (which he attributed to Paul)

79 (con't)

Soteriology, 1965. But the point is that the N.T. teaching on the subject does not confine itself to the supra-historical, but is concerned with the Christ event as divine-human encounter, on the personal level.

⁸⁰ Comm. in Joh. 1.23; the first five books of the commentary belonging to Origen's earlier writings (Eusebius, HE vi. 24).

⁸¹ See F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum I, p. 533.

as a choice imposed on account of the implicit antithesis with $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$,⁸² which would be a parallel to the dual theme in the Fourth Song of abasement and exaltation, and which we have remarked upon earlier.⁸³

Some traces of this dual theme are found in Origen's commentary, for he has introduced these quotations by referring initially to the Word's eternal existence, equating Word and Wisdom, and stating that Christ's character as Wisdom is prior to His other characters. These titles clearly belong to exalted categories for our writer adds that this is the Divine Wisdom, which contained all things in idea before they existed.⁸⁴

⁸² Recueil Lucien Cerfaux, Tom. II, 1954, pp. 427-8.

⁸³ Cf. L. Cerfaux, p. 426; and K. F. Euler, who traced the usages in the LXX; where $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ occurs, it may be a reference to a court official or a designation describing the master-servant relationship, (Die Verkündigung vom leidenden Gottesknecht, 1934, p. 86 f.). Euler believed that the substitution by Aquil., Sym. and θ resulted from an anti-Christian polemic (p. 88), but for Origen the choice would obviously result from other considerations. It may be that he follows here the terms of the N.T. Kenotic Hymn, or that the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ simply does not carry the meaning formerly attached to it.

⁸⁴ Comm. in Joh. 1.22. For a cosmogony which holds that the intelligible world had its location in the Divine Mind, cf. Philo, de opif. mundi 5.20, also 4.17 and 7.26.

The variety of appellations which Origen cites from the Fourth Gospel show that "Word" is not the only title he recognized as fitting for the Son of God.⁸⁵ Such a variety of titles is paralleled, Origen suggests, in prophecy,

So that He calls himself a chosen shaft /Isa. 49:2/, and a slave of God /Isa. 49:3,5/ and a light to the Gentiles /Isa. 49:6/. 86

Following this, the author gives a quotation from Isaiah 49:1 ff., where the title δούλος occurs. Then we have the following citation from Isa. 49:6 :

Μέγα σοί ἐστὶ τοῦ κληθῆναι σε παῖδα μου, 87

It is a great thing for thee to be called my Child/servant).

⁸⁵ Here, the writer seems to be struggling to reaffirm the centrality of 'Son of God' as the basis for his Christological formulation, as compared with Logos, but as T. E. Pollard observed, "the cosmological basis of his system prevents him from effectively replacing the Logos concept with the Son-concept," (p. 283).

⁸⁶ Comm. in Joh. 1.23: ὅτι βέλος ἐκλεκτὸν εἰς αὐτὸν καλεῖ, καὶ δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φῶς ἐθνῶν (PG 14, 61A).

⁸⁷ Ibid., PG 14, 61B, following the LXX, which, it will be observed, reverses the meaning of the MT.

It is a matter of interest that the LXX rendered Ἰσραὴλ by δούλος where the term was found in apposition with the nation Israel, while παῖς was used where the reference is to the Figure who was mediator to the Nation, whether it be the righteous remnant or an individual. Yet, Origen added that "Isaiah knows Christ to be spoken of under the names of Jacob and Israel when he says, 'Jacob is my παῖς,'" comm. in Joh. 1.23, (PG 14, 64D).

It is not certain whether Origen understood the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$, in this quotation as "Child" or "Servant", but the former would seem the likely choice on the basis of what follows, and in view of the fact that there is an occurrence of $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ outside of quotations where the context demands the translation of "Child".⁸⁸ Origen first describes Christ's role as mediator ($\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$), using such exalted terms as Wisdom ($\sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and Power ($\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$). He then turns to the question of how that Being which is said to be "Word" ($\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$) can be a Son ($\acute{\upsilon}\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$). Apparently, the writer is struggling to assert the filial relationship, which provides reasonable grounds for our deduction that $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$, in the quotation cited here meant "Child", along with the usage elsewhere that demands this interpretation. It may be added that the preoccupation of the writer is still with the exalted Logos, even though he is attempting to return to the category of "Son" for the basis of his Christology.⁸⁹ This is obvious since he digresses with the observation that "Word is not one of the names by which Christ designates Himself, but which the evangelist

⁸⁸ G. cels. 1.61: Origen making reference to the angel's intervention of Herod's plot, when he told Joseph to withdraw with the $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ and His mother into Egypt.

⁸⁹ See n. 85 for Pollard's observation in this respect.

nevertheless records:

the Word who was in the beginning with God
(ὁ θεός), God (θεός) the Word. 90

Our inquiry of the usages found in Origen's commentary on John was undertaken in order to determine the original form which was translated by servus in the allusion to the Kenosis of Philippians, cited in de principiis.⁹¹ Thus far, our examination of the quotations from Isaiah occurring in the commentary is inconclusive, since both παῖς and δούλος are found. The probable answer to this question will be found in a further reference to the Kenosis where Origen gives an exposition to the various titles of Christ.⁹² Here, the context of the discussion unmistakably has to do with that of a servant, in the sense of a menial, or one who ministers to the needs of others. At this point we have the closest approximation to the New Testament

⁹⁰ Comm. in John. 1.23, PG 14, 65A. The title (without the article) occurs in other places referring to the Word (= Christ pre-existent), cf. c. Cels. I.60, III.41.

⁹¹ De princ. III. 5.6 quoted above.

⁹² Comm. in Joh. 1.37, following an exposition of numerous Christological titles such as Light, Resurrection, Way, Truth, Life, Door, Shepherd, King, Teacher, etc., (1. 24-36).

doctrine of the Servant:

Again let anyone consider how Jesus was to His disciples: not as He who sits at meat, but as He who waits on the table, ~~how though~~ the Son of God taking the form of a slave (οὐκ ὡς ὁ ἀνακειμείνος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ διακονῶν, μορφήν δούλου ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ... λαβῶν) for the sake of the liberation of those enslaved in sin; and He will be at no loss to account for the Father's saying to Him, 'Thou art my slave' (Δούλος μου εἶ σύ). 93

To the writer, the goodness of Christ appears in a greater light because He humbled Himself, rather than if He had judged it a thing to be grasped to be equal with God and had shrunk "from becoming a slave for the salvation of the world". (ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίᾳ γενέσθαι δούλος).⁹⁴

So far, the evidence in this citation in favor of a genuine Servant Christology seems convincing. It recalls the theme of Mark 10:45. Further, the position of servitude which He assumed is seen in the light of its benefits for mankind: "if He had not become a slave, He would not have raised up the tribes of Jacob."⁹⁵ The connection of this thought with the similar passage which we cited from the de principiis seems to indicate that δούλος was the word

93 Comm. in Joh. 1.37, (PG 14, 85B, C).

94 Ibid., PG 14, 85C.

95 Ibid., following with a quotation from Isa. 49:3.

translated there by servus.

In what follows, it is important to take note of the terms which our writer uses to describe this "Kenosis":

ὁ πᾶσι τοῦ λόγου κορηγός, ὡμοιωθεὶς ἀμνῶ
ἐνώπιον τοῦ κείραντος ἀφώνως, ὅπως τῷ θανάτῳ
αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες καθαρθῶμεν.

(the One who supplies reason (λόγος) to all is made like a lamb which is dumb before its shearer, that we might be purified through His death.)

The use of the verb ὁμοιοῦν in the context found here is significant. Being found in a variety of pagan literature and in Philo,⁹⁷ the word often occurs in the New Testament to connote a comparison of form.⁹⁸ Its derivative, the noun ὁμοίωμα (likeness or resemblance) is found in the Kenotic Hymn, but there referring to Christ's being born 'in the likeness of men'.⁹⁹ Here, He is made like a

⁹⁶ Ibid., PG 14, 85D.

⁹⁷ Herm. Wr. 1.26a; Diodorus Siculus 1, 86.3; Philo, Q.D.S.I. 48.

⁹⁸ E.g. Mt. 13.24; 18:23 and 11:16, cf. Lk. 7:31; also Mk. 4:30. But in Acts 14:11 the word is found on the lips of the pagan crowd at Lystra who consider the apostle as a god come down in the form of men.

⁹⁹ Phil. 2:7, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων / some later witness giving 'of man' (sing.)/, instead of: 'in the likeness of the ἀμνός'.

lamb;¹⁰⁰ the author may be combining a part of the Servant Song with the work of the ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in John 1:29, who takes away the world's sin. Interestingly, instead of referring to this removal (αἶρειν) of sin, the word used is "to purify" (καθαρίζειν), with the thought of sacrificial (ritual) purification probably underlying our writer's conception.¹⁰¹ What is clear, however, in spite of the fluctuation of terms, is that the writer conceives of Christ taking on the form or likeness of the lamb, and uses this sacrificial imagery in reference to Christ's assumption of a form that would accomplish the redeemer's task. With the mixture of terms it is difficult to determine if the writer is considering the Kenosis as the act of incarnation, similar to Irenaeus, or whether his thought is governed by the sacrificial language. Whatever it may be, he has prefaced with the remark, ὁ ... τοῦ λόγου κρηγῆς (the One supplying reason), showing that Christ's entry into the world is not characterized by lowering or subordination. As to the "form" He took, this is but an

¹⁰⁰ Origen combines the ἀμνὸς, the Figure before the shearers (Isa. 53:7), with the slaughtered πρόβατον, since it is by His death we are purified. Cf. chap. III, n. 94.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Heb. 9:23, where the reference is to the copies of heavenly things purified by the rites of the Old Covenant, cf. 9:22 and 9:14, purification by the blood of sacrifice, and Christ's blood, respectively. Cf. the liturgical emphasis in Justin, pp.162ff., and Melito, pp.244ff.

outward manifestation, it does not imply the humble condition of a servant. As we may find in the

interpretation of the Servant prophecy, this guise would not be representative of Christ's true nature.

It may be helpful at this point to provide a brief summary of our inquiry concerning the Logos and the incarnation. Having noted that Origen emphasizes the cosmic aspect of the Logos' position, and that, in fact, he is a God ($\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$) /but not the God ($\delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$)/, we observed that Origen may have understood Kenosis as the outpouring of divinity to enter the role of humanity. However, on this basis the problem of exclusion of divinity would have been formidable to the writer, so he meets this by explaining there was no change from divine to human, and Logos remains Logos in essence. We found certain servant texts employed in a discussion of the Philippians passage, and were closely related to it, in our writer's view. The employment of terms was of interest, since in the material examined only the title $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ appeared in this connection outside of quotations, but not $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, where the position of slavery or servitude was intended.

There is reason to question whether Origen exhibits a true Servant Christology, for in explaining the citation which combined the sacrificial imagery of Isaiah 53:7 with language from the hymn of Kenosis, the writer opened with a reference to Logos in His cosmic role: "the One who supplies reason". Further the content of the writer's Christology emphasizes the role of the divine Logos.

We deduced that the writer has misinterpreted the Kenosis as solely a divesting of divinity to enter the plane of humanity. Logically, therefore, the consequent problem of loss of divinity had to be met by presenting the incarnation as but an outward guise, assumed for man's benefit, but not implying a truly human person in Jesus of Nazareth. This interpretation is related to the writer's exposition of the prophecy of Isaiah 53, with an explanation for the Figure's marred countenance being attributed to one of a variety of aspects which the Lord may assume. It was consequent that the Kenosis, the outpouring of the Great Servant's life on the plane of true humanity, was also lost to our writer.

An Interpretation of the Servant Passages

Contrary to Emphasis on Jesus' Humanity

Since the Commentary on the Gospel of John, or at least the material included in the first five parts, belongs to Origen's earlier literary activity, the interpretation of the Servant which was suggested in those passages must remain tentative pending our examination of his further (and later) treatment of the subject. There is, in fact, an extensive discussion on the subject in the contra Celsum, citing passages from Deutero-Isaiah, and there is also reference made in the Commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew. These two works belong to the latter period of the writer's life,¹⁰²

¹⁰² According to Eusebius, H.E. VI.36, when Origen was about 60 years of age (e.g., 246-248 A.D.). From the standpoint of internal evidence, references in the comm. in Matt. to comm. in Joh., hom. in Luc., and other works, confirm this.

and as such should provide us with the results of his reflections on the scripture.

Speaking of the coming of the Son of Man in His glory in the commentary on Matthew,¹⁰³ Origen refers to the words of the Fourth Song:

he had no form nor beauty ...
he was dishonored and not esteemed.¹⁰⁴

He adds that it was necessary for Him to come in such a manner, since it was not fitting for Him to come in glory to bear our sins.¹⁰⁵ Origen follows by asserting that He also comes in glory, and then goes on to explain how Christ in His glory could be spoken of in the paradoxical terms of Isaiah 53.

Discussing the Word's appearance in different forms he says:

But if you will understand the differences of λόγος, which by foolishness of preaching (I Cor. 2:21) is proclaimed to those believing, ... you will see in what way the word had the form of a δούλος to those who are learning the rudiments, so that they say 'we saw him and he has no form or beauty' (Isa. 53:2). But to the perfect he comes in the glory of his own Father (Mt. 16:27)... For indeed to the perfect appears the glory of λόγος ... 106

¹⁰³ Comm. in Matt. 12.29.

¹⁰⁴ Comm. in Matt. 12.29 citing Isa. 53:2 f.

¹⁰⁵ Comm. in Matt. (loc. cit.)

¹⁰⁶ Comm. in Matt. 12.30, following J. Patrick's trans., (ANF X, p. 466), cf. PG 13, 1049A. ~~The italics are mine.~~

Thus, the form of a Slave can be explained as a certain manifestation, or one among several aspects which the divine Word assumed for the benefit of those with limited understanding, as represented in 'Celsus'. The very fact that Origen feels the necessity of the explanation is indicative of the paradox which the problem poses for him. The exposition must be developed further, and our writer does not neglect to do so in his apologetic treatise. In the contra Celsum, he leaves no doubt of his understanding of the Isaiah passages, which indeed he has associated with the exalted Word. They are not to be construed as inferring any negation of the exalted Word's status:

If the immortal divine Word assumes both a human body and a human soul, and by so doing appears to Celsus to be subject to change and remoulding, let him learn that the Word remains Word in essence. He suffers nothing of the experience of the body or the soul (italics mine). But sometimes He comes down to the level of him who is unable to look upon the radiance and brilliance of the Deity, and becomes as it were flesh, and is spoken of in physical terms, until he who has accepted Him in this form is gradually lifted up by the Word and can look even upon, so to speak, His absolute form. 107

The negation of a genuine Kenosis expressed here is reflected in a later passage which, with rather complex

107 C. Cels. IV.15, H. Chadwick's trans., pp. 193-4. It is noteworthy that these remarks occur in an exposition of Phil. 2:6 f., as Origen undertakes to explain in what sense He who was in the 'form of God', because of his love for 'men, emptied Himself'.

logic, goes further to explain away the original emphasis on the voluntarily accepted suffering of the Great Servant:

... even if it is really true that the prophets foretold such things about God's Son, it would be impossible to believe in the predictions that He should suffer and do these things ... 108

He adds further:

The prophecies did not foretell that God would be crucified when they say of him who accepted death: And we saw him and he had not form or beauty; but his form was dishonorable, deserted more than the sons of men; being a man in affliction and trouble and knowing how to bear sickness (cf. Isa. 53:2-4). Notice how they clearly say that he who suffered human sorrows was a man ... Surely, His essence as Logos is understood to be of a different order than that which concerns Jesus' humanity. 109

In order to grasp the writer's intention, two things must be taken into account: first, what he believes about the Logos, and second, what inference is contained when it is said that Christ has assumed various 'aspects'.

We have devoted some space to an analysis of Origen's intellectual orientation. It is clear that categories of thought that are prominent in neo-Platonism exercised importance for Origen's metaphysics. Frequently, we encountered parallels of expression with Philo's exposition of scripture. In these works which represent the mature

108 C. Celsum VII.15.

109 C. Celsum VII.16 (PG 11, 1444 C).

stage of Origen's theological reflection, there are several points made about the Logos which have bearing on our subject.

From the quotation just cited, it is manifestly evident that, while Logos assumed a human body and soul, it was still Logos, who at the deepest level suffers nothing of human experience. This view, running close to adoptionism, finds parallels elsewhere in the contra Celsum, as Origen has affirmed,

... in our opinion, it was the divine Logos and Son of God of the universe that spoke in Jesus, saying (I am the way, the truth ... etc.). 110

He adds that the Son of God was not confined

only in the place where Jesus' body was visible ... 111

and that

after the incarnation the soul and body of Jesus became very closely united with the Logos of God. 112

In addition, where the writer struggles with the aspect of humanity, it is not a lowering to the ordinary walks of life of man that is regarded as important, but rather a certain raising of this 'humanity' to a quasi-divine state:

110 C. Cels. II.9, see H. Chadwick, p. 73 f.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

We affirm that His mortal body and the human soul in Him (referring to Him whom we 'have believed to be God and Son of God from the beginning ... the very Logos') received the greatest elevation not only by communion but by union and intermingling so that by sharing in His divinity He was transformed into (a) God. 113

That the humanity which He bore was far from being the true experience of the flesh is manifest in another passage:

Even supposing that it appears that Jesus ate, He only ate because He had assumed a body. 114

With regard to the diverse "aspects", it is clear that Origen's somewhat mystical conception of the nature of Jesus incarnate was of a different order from ordinary humanity.¹¹⁵ Denying that an argument for the physical resurrection of the flesh could be based on Jesus' resurrection as recounted in the Gospels, Origen, as Henry Chadwick observes, maintains

¹¹³ C. Cels. III.41, (H. Chadwick, p. 156). There are numerous other references emphasizing the Figure's divinity: "He was $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, saviour of the descendants of men, raised far above all the angels ..." (comm. in Matt. I.60, PG 11 772B); the image of God is "the firstborn of all creation, the very Logos and Truth and very Wisdom Himself" (c. Cels. VI.63, cf. de princ. I. 2.6); all things are made by the Logos (c. Cels. VI.71, cf. de princ. II. 6.3); and "... we worship the Father of the truth and the Son who is the Truth", (c. Cels. VIII.12).

¹¹⁴ C. Cels. VII.13. In our writer's view only the divine Logos could lead men to God (c. Cels. VI.68, cf. comm. in Matt. 12.29.).

¹¹⁵ Cf. c. Cels. II.64 (PG 11, 896C); "Although Jesus was one, he had several aspects ($\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$); and to those who saw him he did not appear alike to all".

a distinctiveness:

For the body of Jesus was sui generis, as is immediately apparent from the consideration of his virgin birth. 116

Chadwick adds that for our writer even before the resurrection, certain things said about Jesus in the Gospels do not in any way correspond with our normal physical experience, as in the Transfiguration:

It is clear to any careful reader of the Gospels that Jesus appeared differently to different people, and had many aspects (ἐπινοιαί), so that his appearance varied according to the spiritual capacity of the beholder. 117

Origen uses the explanation of Jesus' diverse forms, or aspects, in a later chapter which comprises the rationale for the Isaiah passage referred to Christ which says "He had not

116

H. Chadwick, "Origen, Celsus and the Resurrection of the Body", HTR xli:2 (1948), p. 100.

117

Ibid., referring to c. Cels. V.23. Chadwick is in agreement with other students of Origen in that the idea of the varying ἐπινοιαί is fundamental to his Christology, cf. C. Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria (2nd ed. 1913), p. 209 f.; Hal Koch, Pronoia und Paideusis ... (1932), p. 66 f.; E. de Faye, Origene III (1928), p. 138 f.

"In order to make the idea of a resurrection more intelligible to his pagan contemporaries, and to rationalize Christian doctrine ... in terms of Greek philosophy, Origen makes use of the Stoic conception of σπερματικός λόγος (Chadwick, p. 101; cf. c. Cels. v. 23). In the case of Justin, Ragnar Holte traced the "Logos Spermatikos", identified with Christ, to Philonic borrowings, ("Logos Spermatikos: Christianity and Ancient Philosophy according to St. Justin's Apologies", Studia Theologica 12 (1958), p. 127.

form or beauty ...".¹¹⁸ To the writer this is credible since at one time He possesses such a quality, but

at another time a quality so glorious and striking and marvelous that the apostles who went up with Jesus and saw the exquisite beauty fell on their faces. 119

He adds that this doctrine proclaims that the different forms of Jesus are to be applied to the divine Logos. This is a unique explanation to account for the marred appearance of the Servant Figure. Citing the passage we have referred to above,¹²⁰ Jean Daniélou believes that

in essence Origen's theology of the Word is simply a catalogue of the different ἐπίνοιαι, the 'unfathomable riches of Christ'. 121

Further, employing the quotation from contra Celsum II.64, although Jesus was in fact one, there were many ways of looking at him,

118 C. Cels. VI.77, citing Isa. 53:2b.

119 Ibid. (PG 11, 1413-D - 1416A).

120 C. Cels. II.64.

121 J. Daniélou, p. 258, citing Eph. 3:9 and comparing this passage with comm. in Joh. 2.8, finds that some of the names such as "Wisdom, Word, Truth and Life denote the Word as he is eternally in himself; others are bound up with the economy of redemption".

Daniélou adds,

Those who look at Him in a purely natural light think there is no beauty in Him, to use Isaiah's expression (Isa. 53:2); but those who study Him with the eyes of the soul see Him transfigured. 122

We would agree that this is basically Origen's understanding, but there is scant testimony to the conception of degrees or forms of beholding Christ in the Bible. There is not the slightest suggestion of it in the Songs of the Servant.

The final passage to be mentioned in this connection falls near the opening of the writer's argument, and prefaces a quotation, basically conforming to the Septuagint, of Isaiah 52: 13 ff. It reads as follows:

... καὶ λέλεκτο ὅτι εἶδος ἄτιμον ἐν ἀνθρώποις
 φαινόμενον ἔχων ὀφθήσεται ... 123
 (...and it was said that he shall be seen having
 an appearance dishonorable as the form /is/ to men.)

He follows with the quotation

Ἴδοῦ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου ... 124
 (Behold my servant/child shall ^{gain understanding} prosper).

The writer's intention clearly follows the mystical view of Christ's qualities, which, it appears, may be assumed at

122 J. Daniélou, p. 260, citing c. Cels. VI. 77.

123 c. Cels. I.54.

124 Ibid.

will. There is nothing to resemble the teaching that Christ empties Himself of His divinity and truly shares the human experience of mankind, nor is there anything that recalls the Markan teaching of true greatness, which we have cited as one of the evidences in the New Testament of the Servant Christology.¹²⁵ The quotation is followed by a discussion of Christ's two advents, essentially presenting an argument similar to Justin's, but the emphasis throughout the treatise is to deny that Christ's humiliation was anything more than an assumed form, distinguished from His true essence, the exalted Logos.

Occurrences of $\pi\alpha\tau\iota$

There are several occasions when Origen used the word $\pi\alpha\tau\iota$ outside of quotations. These may be mentioned briefly for the light they shed on his interpretation. The first occasion was referred to above, and dealt with the flight into Egypt. Origen describes how an angel intervened and

¹²⁵ Accordingly, there is no evidence for Benjamin Drewery's statement that "Christ was the true Servant of the Isaianic prophecy, who died to heal the sins of all . . ." (Origen and the Doctrine of Grace, p. 121, cf. p. 154).

For the N.T., cf. Mk. 10:45, and Phil 2:6 ff. It is true that Origen follows the quotation by offering that Christ's two advents are prophesied, and that in the first He is subject to human passions, but this occupies no prominent place in his thought.

told Joseph that

... ἀνακωρῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ
τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ¹²⁶

(... he was to withdraw with the child and his mother into Egypt.)

Clearly, from the context, the word *παῖς* can only here mean "child". There is another example where the usage probably is to be understood in the sense of "son". It is found in a discussion refuting Celsus' claim that Christ was a demon. Origen affirms that He who converted so many to God was

... οὐ δαίμων... ἀλλὰ θεὸς Λόγος καὶ
θεοῦ παῖς ¹²⁷

(... not a demon, but God the Logos and Son of God.)

The evidence from these occurrences of the term outside of quotations goes to show that *παῖς* was not understood as Servant. The writer's use of the Servant Songs supports this when he explains away any inference of self-abnegation or real lowering of the pre-existent Christ.

C. Summary

In our approach to Origen's thought we posed several

¹²⁶ C. Cels. I.60. (PG 11, 772 C).

¹²⁷ C. Cels. VII.39 (PG 11, 1576 B), and the translation recorded in Migne is "non ille daemon est, sed Deus Verbum et Dei Filius" (1575 B). Cf. the words of Celsus in VII.9, speaking of God, the *παῖς*, and the Spirit where again the context indicates the interpretation of "Son".

questions as a guide to our inquiry. In the first place, we were interested to determine if prophecy from Deutero-Isaiah, especially Isaiah 53, was used as one of the proof-texts from the Old Testament to justify the prefiguration of Christ. The answer from the evidence we have available is clearly in the affirmative. But how this prophecy was used is the more important question.

Origen's methodology provides us with the first clue. Broadly speaking, the writer seemed to approach scripture with the presupposition that it contains both a literal and a "spiritual" meaning.¹²⁸ The intent of the exegete was to get behind the "literal" meaning and to uncover the "spiritual". In effect, this often took the form of juggling the meaning of texts to suit a pre-determined Christological position, at times reading into a passage a mystical interpretation, advanced as the "spiritual" which lies behind the "literal". This is an unfortunate and at times dangerous legacy to which all have fallen heir.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Or, as J. Daniélou believes (p. 139f.), there were for Origen the three senses of scripture: literal, moral and spiritual, as we discussed previously.

¹²⁹ It is remarkable that this tendency took hold immediately. That Origen's spiritualizing of the Servant passages set the pattern for understanding the aspect of Christ's low esteem, at least until the time of Augustine, is witnessed to in the Third Oration of Gregory of Nazianzus,

In spite of Origen's advanced techniques in the exposition of scripture, there was the tendency to dissolve historical events into allegory, a tendency bearing similarity to the intellectual treatment of traditional Greek myths. In other cases, Origen considered texts from the Old Testament as typological; as he used it, this meant that the shadow or the 'type' preceded the reality, recalling the methods of Justin, and especially Melito. This methodology bore application to the prophecy of Isaiah 53, regarded as the 'type' of the First Advent, with the modification that this prophecy represented but one of a diverse number of "aspects" (*ἐπιβολαί*) that the divine Logos might assume. The doctrine of these various "aspects" was to assume importance in the application of the Fourth Servant Song to Christ.¹³⁰ The

129 (con't)

He comments on the contempt with which Christ's hearers regarded Him: "He had no form nor comeliness in the eyes of the Jews - but to David he is fairer than the children of men. (Isa. 53:2 - Ps. 44 (45):2). And on the mountain he was bright as lightning, and became more luminous than the sun, initiating us into the mystery of the future" (Or. 19 cited in E. R. Hardy, Christology of the Later Fathers, 1954, p. 174, and cf. c. Cels. VI.77 and VI.75.)

¹³⁰ Commenting on Isa. 53:6-8 as evidence of the great loving-kindness of the Word nearly a century later, Athanasius offered: "'For all we', it says 'like sheep have gone astray ... (etc.).' Then, lest any should from his suffering conceive him to be a common man, Holy Writ anticipates the surmises of man, and declares the power (which worked) for him and the difference of his nature compared with ourselves", (de incarnatione, 34).

lowliness of form spoken of in Second Isaiah meant a mask to our writer that was utterly out of harmony with His true nature. Self-abnegation was not seen as part of divine revelation, but essentially as an obscuring of the true nature of God. This propensity lies at the heart of the reinterpretation of the Servant Figure.

Origen's Christology manifests a philosopher's speculative interest in Greek categories of thought as regards the divine intermediary between the Transcendent Absolute and His creation. Yet, as a Christian thinker, he appeared aware of certain inadequacies of the Logos concept to express God's concern and contact with the created beings.¹³¹ As a Biblical exegete, the authoritative Scriptures must be the final court of appeal for truth, and yet still must be made intelligible to the ~~pagan community oriented in Hellenistic philosophy.~~ ^{Hellenized world.} Origen went far towards achieving a presentation of scriptural truth in terms of Neo-Platonism, but in so doing the personal aspect of God incarnate was submerged in an objective apprehension of the divinity that left little room for the subjective experience of the divine-human

¹³¹ T. E. Pollard found that Origen was aware of this, and, although recognizing that the regulative concept for Christian thought and scriptural exegesis must be the Son-concept, he was unable to make it regulative for his own thinking and exegesis, (p. 283).

encounter. It was a natural outcome of this trend that brought the Church to the brink of the Arian controversy, which essentially meant commitment on the side of either soteriology or cosmology.¹³² Further, accusations of subordinationism in Origen can be attributed to the Arians who sought to make a rigid distinction between Logos and Son.

Origen's emphasis on the exalted Logos at the expense of the human Jesus went hand in hand with a reversal of the interpretation of the Servant Texts. It is clear that these texts were regarded as important by our writer, and it is significant that he evidenced a compulsion for dealing with their interpretation. Such a necessity would not have existed if the texts had not already at some period been associated with Jesus Christ. Particularly in the contra Celsum Origen is seen to be grappling with their meaning. The Fourth Servant Song was quoted in Book I, and the writer returns later in Book VII to attempt to develop a logic that would overcome the paradox of the Divine Being who descends

¹³² T. E. Pollard concludes that the Arian controversy "is thus in the arena in which we see soteriology triumphing over cosmology, Biblical faith becoming victorious over philosophical construction, for there the Church was forced to replace the Logos-concept with the Son-concept as the central and regulative concept in Christian thought." (p. 287).

to humanity and suffers. But true suffering of the flesh of Him "who was with the Father from the beginning" is not compatible with the writer's theology. It is therefore no surprise that we see the earlier attempts to solve the problem by application of the Two Advents doctrine, or by denial of Christ's suffering on the plane of humanity.

By seizing on a somewhat mystical explanation of Christ's various "aspects", Origen offers that the Servant figure was but a guise assumed for those with limited understanding.

The genuine Kenosis, the outpouring of life as the Servant's self offering on a truly human level, was lost in this theory, and the idea of an outward guise, contrary to Christ's true nature, runs close to Docetism. Instead of developing a Servant Christology, our writer has

gone far to eliminate it. The trend parallels a preoccupation with metaphysical speculations about Christ's pre-existence and consequent de-emphasizing of His humanity.

Our debt to Origen and the advanced methods of analysis of scripture which he developed will always be considerable. A man of great learning and true piety, his work continually manifested a dedication that few have achieved or equalled. His attempts to bridge the gap with the Hellenistic community were more successful than Justin's, drawing upon an intellectual capacity of a very high order. But the apprehension of Christ incarnate in all the fulness that is expressed in the New Testament was lacking in Origen's

theology, although he struggled for it. The balance between divinity and humanity which paradoxically is asserted without attempts at resolution throughout the Gospels and Epistles was, in the final analysis, lost to our writer. As a result, his Christology was essentially incomplete.

CONCLUSION

Some years ago, Karl Barth pointed out in his Erklärung des Philipperbriefes that Kenosis does not mean loss of divinity, but is the affirmation that God is Lord in the very face of His choice of self-abnegation and outpouring for the sake of others. On these terms, the incarnation of the Son of God is far from a denial of His divinity, but is the truest revelation of His deity, of His truly divine sonship.¹ As Hugh Anderson put it, the essence of faith in the New Testament is that it must live with the scandal of Jesus' humanity.^{1a}

It has been evident from our examination of writings in the second century Church that the tendency was to shrink away from strong assertions of Jesus' full humanity. It is likely that the writers of that period regarded this as a threat to His perfect divinity, having failed to grasp that divine self-emptying poses no such threat, but rather provides one of the truest insights into God's own nature.

¹ K. Barth, Church Dogmatics IV. 1, Eng. tr. by G. W. Bromiley, p. 211.

^{1a} H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, p. 306.

For the Christians of the post-apostolic period, self-abnegation was not seen as part of divine revelation, but as obscuring God's true nature. Psychologically speaking, this tendency may lie at the heart of the reinterpretation of the Servant figure. h/

Those scholars of the last half-century who have no difficulty with seeing the Figure's lowliness as a manifestation of his divinity may have the clearer view, in the final analysis. A fundamental fact in the Christian Kerygma is that voluntary self-offering for the sake of others does not limit the power of God, but provides one of the most effective means for that Power to be fully actualized, founded in humiliation, where strength is made perfect in weakness.² The voice from the Hebrew Exile grasped this fact about God's nature and action very clearly, whatever may have been the model for his interpretation. This is not to suggest that a man living in the fifth century before Christ knew how the prophecy would be fulfilled, for prophecy is not divination nor speculation, but the discovery of God's intention through

² K. Barth, loc. cit.; this fact was perceived by P. T. Forsyth many years ago (The Person and Place of Jesus Christ, 1909, p. 261).

See II Cor. 12:9, I Cor. 1:27, and cf. Isa. 53:3 f., 10, 12.

events of history. It is far less prediction than it is interpretation. There is a sense here of the reality of history that is important for the interpreter of scripture. The Servant figure is a historical figure, whether it was the nation Israel or an individual so committed to God's purposes that in his life poured out for others he manifested the divine nature. It is historical; if it be the nation, there is ample evidence from the massacre of the children of Israel in the twentieth century that this community may have its own part in the redemptive process of mankind, yet it falls short of the final act of atonement. If it is an individual, the interpretation is fully realized in Jesus of Nazareth. But accepting the fluid nature of Isaiah's expression in the original, it is both the Individual and collectively, the people of God in the world, the True Israel, who bear the vocation of God's Servant.³

It was no visionary who made the proclamation, but a man in a real life situation controlled by God's spirit, and acquainted with His power in the face of the most unfavorable circumstances of history. These were not

³ Thus, as Professor Davidson has pointed out to me, a contribution of those who have challenged Jesus' relationship with the Servant may be to have enlarged the scope of the Servant concept: it is not limited to Christ but applies to His Church, corporately, as well.

empty words uttered as a last faint cry of hope, but an accepted certainty by one who was acquainted with the nature of God so that he could make the unbelievable statement,

See, my Servant is victorious!

This is an ^{incredible} ~~incredible~~ affirmation in the face of disastrous events, but it is a historic actuality, and not reserved for the parousia. It is existential, not an objective platitude to be speculated upon. In the center of a historic religion stands the Servant whose life has accomplished the redemption, and all that is required is that God's people apprehend the accomplished fact. The fact is trustworthy because it is God that acted and not man, yet He acted as man. In Luther's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians the fact is stressed that to effect redemption, to conquer the sin of the world and death, is not the work of a creature but of the Almighty.⁴ When justification through Christ is taught, and that Christ is conqueror of sin, death and the curse of man, it is manifest that in His nature He is God.⁵ This

⁴ op. Lat. 30, pp. 22 ff.

⁵ E. Brunner, The Mediator, p. 239, n. 1.

is the doctrine of the incarnation, and in the same sense as Luther, Irenaeus observed

the Redeemer is Jesus Christ, who apart from all other men is called God and Lord... and Word made flesh. 6

As Gustaf Aulén has put it,

the Christian confession of faith in Christ is essentially a confession of faith in the incarnation of divine love, thus the incarnation of God Himself, in the man Jesus Christ. 7

The existentialist emphasis upon love and the possibility of the practical demonstration in life is impossible without Christ, and at that only a very human Christ. It is part of the Christological dilemma that since the earliest days of the Church, the theological pendulum has swung to and fro between full acceptance of divinity and of humanity. However, if, in what is understood to be the "I-Thou" relationship (in Martin Buber's sense), man limits encounter to the this-worldly plain, he may apprehend the Jesus of history, but be

⁶ Irenaeus, adv. haer. III. 19.2 and IV. 1.1; cf. III. 11.1, V. 16.1.

⁷ G. Aulén, The Faith of the Christian Church, Eng. tr. (2nd ed.) by E. H. Wahlstrom, 1961, p. 186.

far from Jesus who is the Christ of the Bible.

In the idea of what is meant by incarnation, there is no other Christological concept that has so faithfully preserved the intentions of the Christian faith. It affirms that the essence of God, that is, the divine and loving will, is ^{expressed} ~~incarnate~~ in Christ⁸. This conception of the incarnation preserved the distinctiveness of Christianity. Augustine was right in asserting that the chief failure of neo-Platonism was its inability to understand the incarnation.⁹ It was the incarnation that was integral to preserving the fundamental motif of Christianity during the early centuries, when moralistic or speculative influences threatened to destroy the Christian concept of God. Again, citing Aulén,

The incarnation proclaims the gospel of divine self-giving, and has thus guarded the fulness of the Christian revelation of God. 10

And he adds that the decisive element in the Christian confession of faith is stated in the simple and expressive

⁸ Jn. 1:14.

⁹ As G. Aulén (loc. cit.) has noted.

¹⁰ Ibid.

words of Luther: "we find the heart and will of the Father in Christ." Therein lies the unity of substance with the Father.¹¹ The event of Christ has shown us what God is like.

In contrast with the second and third generation Christians, the difficulty in some current theological trends is not an unwillingness to assert the true incarnation, but a tendency to find that since the incarnation God has annihilated Himself as "being beyond."¹² That is, in the radical speculation of some quarters, strongly influenced by existentialism, which rightly reacts against a pietistic clericalism in the Church, there is no difficulty in accepting the truth of the incarnation. Even though this approach to theology is at the opposite pole from the stress on divinity of

¹¹ G. Aulén, p. 187: "The event of Christ removes the veil and reveals the heart of God." Cf. Heb. 1:3; Jn. 10:30.

¹² I refer to the philosophical speculation known in America as "the death of God." See the series of essays by Thomas J. J. Altizer and William Hamilton, Radical Theology and the Death of God, and more recently in the title with a curious mixture of terms, The Gospel of Christian Atheism, 1966.

the second century Church, it yields a similarly divisive effect. The end result is the same, for both must separate God transcendent from the world of men, and the separation extends to the removal of 'revealed' religion from historical reality. Both fail to find satisfaction with the New Testament's position that in Jesus of Nazareth is true God and true man. The primitive Christians stressed that He is God, and lost sight of the fact that He is man, which grossly weakens the atonement, while contemporary speculations emphasize that He is fully human, but deny His ultimacy. In both positions, God transcendent and God who is imminent are regarded as incompatible. But the New Testament asserts the contrary, that this incompatibility is overcome in Jesus of Nazareth. The figure of the Servant provides an aid to this understanding. As $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ could be an honored but also a humble title, and as the Servant prophecy speaks of a victorious accomplishment from the most unlikely source, so is the assertion of the divine-human paradox in Jesus the Servant.

A similar difficulty besets the Church. The Church, which by definition is a gathering summoned to a specific purpose, is made up of people, humanly speaking, who

would 'see God.'¹³ Origen held that God in all his majesty would be beyond the capability of the vision of the beholder, and so He assumes various aspects to raise progressively the faithful to this level. To desire this divine vision is not unnatural. Since the beginning of civilization the remnants of artificers and craftsmen give evidence that man has desired to see God. But the Church's difficulty is that it has not liked, or has not understood, what it has seen.¹⁴ The difficulty which faced the Twelve is our difficulty, for the task of a menial, or the role of self-destruction for the sake of others is not fitting for the One whom the Church would call Lord and Master.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the root of this tendency is not to be found in a spirit of reverence, but in ὑβρις, for if man lowers God whom he worships he lowers himself, which is unbearable.

The words of scripture exhort us to be imitators of Christ, but they do not call upon us to be divine.

¹³ Jn. 12:21, cf. 14:8.

¹⁴ Jn. 14:9 ff.

¹⁵ Mt. 16: 21 ff.; and see Lk. 9:44 ff.

Essentially the Bible calls on man not to be divine but to be human.¹⁶ By being fully human as God intended him to be human is man holy, even as His Son was holy. A part of the problem since the apostolic age has been a confusion between what it is to grasp at divinity and what is meant by the imitation of Christ. Christ reckoned divinity not a thing to be grasped at, nor jealously guarded. If the Church searches for a vision of God, here is a vision worthy of emulation.

In the Christian literature of the second century we have encountered a variety of methods in treating scripture, most of which had the common goal of making the Bible a Christ-centered collection of literature. Some of the writers, in their zeal towards this basically laudable end, stopped at nothing to read Christ's presence into all the books of scripture. Their means were allegory, typology and at times sheer imagination in giving the texts meanings which would have astonished their authors. The point is, the early interpreters

¹⁶ The impact of this suggestion I owe to my colleague, Rev. Frederick Bronkema.

need not have been preoccupied to force the issue, for the Bible as it stands is Christocentric from beginning to end. The Abraham narratives ~~do~~ speak of God's purpose for the nations; the thought of a future Prince who will restore his people to their heritage can only be God's appointed. The great lament of suffering in Job cries out for a redeemer, who restores the balance of justice in an unjust world. The apocalyptic vision of Daniel sees the perfect manifestation of God's Kingdom on earth. In Second Isaiah the figure of the Servant is a paradox on the human scale of values, even as was Jesus of Nazareth. It is noteworthy, however, that Christian writers of the second century found this paradox unacceptable.

For Origen, the key word related to the interpretation of the Servant figure in reference to Christ is the term *ἐπίνοια*. A hapax legomenon in the New Testament, the word refers to "intent" or "purpose", in the sense of disposition of the heart, as in the Acts usage referring to Simon the magician. In the intertestamental period, the word was used to denote "thought", "conception", or even "aspect." In the latter sense, it occurs in Origen's

apologetic treatise, contra Celsum. While apparently attempting to preserve the unity of divine and human in Christ, Origen uses this term to show how Christ revealed Himself in a variety of *ἐπινοιαί*, as befitted the needs of man. Thus, he could say "the person and essence of the divine Being in Jesus is quite a different matter from that of His human aspect." The explanation is applied to the Servant figure, so that the marred countenance is regarded as one among various "aspects" that Christ may assume.

While holding that Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy is to be understood in reference to Christ, the writer asserted strongly that this did not mean the Lord involved Himself in any real change of self-abasement or servitude. The effect of this explanation is to suggest that Christ as Servant is only a mask or guise which appears to man at an inferior stage of his spiritual development. Logically, it assumes that such a misrepresentation of the true nature of our Lord has no bearing on divine integrity.

By his refusal to acknowledge a genuine Kenosis, Origen's thought has departed at this point from Biblical

foundation. To use the explanation of "guises" or "aspects" does considerable violence to the realities of human experience in the incarnation. In other earlier works of Origen, there are parallels to this idea of the diverse roles of Christ. In the Commentary on John, a widely varied list of Christological titles is found, with accompanying explanations for each. Many of the titles belong to New Testament usage, but there they are functional descriptions, usually in reference to His redemptive work. There is no suggestion in the Bible that Christ assumed any sort of guise that was out of character with His true nature.

Early in the de principiis Christ is spoken of as taking the form of a servant (servus) of the Father to assist in the creation, but the Latin translation contains interpolations, and we cannot be sure of the original. Statements follow that assert although He became man, he remained God which He was. On some occasions, texts such as Isaiah 53:9 are used in support of His sinlessness.

In all these respects, it is clear that Origen could not accept any reduced status of our Lord. The Christology has given way to emphasis on His divinity

that left no place for the Servant. There is specific evidence outside of quotations that *πατρὶς* connoted filial relationship to the writer. Since Origen has used the notion of Christ's several "aspects" to explain the application of the Servant prophecy, it may be noted that his theories of atonement are related to this view. One of his principal considerations is that man must pass through various stages, to which these "aspects" conform, to achieve spiritual perfection. Accordingly, the guise of Christ who suffers was suitable for man at a lower stage of understanding, but the more perfect consideration is to behold Him as divine. He refutes dogmatically the notion that Christ truly suffered. The doctrine of atonement is correspondingly weakened, and Origen holds a form of the ransom theory for this explanation. Certainly one of the most original thinkers of his time, it nevertheless must be stated that Origen's speculation is influenced at times more by Hellenistic philosophy than by the tradition of the Judaeo-Christian heritage.

Irenaeus, perhaps lacking some of the intellectual sophistication of Origen, nevertheless deserves a place in the front rank of Biblical theologians of all time. In his Christology, he struggled with the fact of Christ's divinity as over against his humanity. Maintaining an

exalted Christology, this writer was unable, or unwilling, to explain how the Servant Songs could have relationship to the Divine Son, who is Logos incarnate. Accordingly, key passages referring to Christ's humiliation from the Servant Songs are often omitted, which is similar to what we encountered in Melito's Homily, but distinct from what is found much earlier in Barnabas, where the reference to the Lord's servant is included. In citing certain New Testament quotations $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is translated by puer or filius. Clearly it did not mean "servant", but connoted intimate relationship for our writer.

Irenaeus worked out a theory of the atonement that was in advance of any of his contemporaries since the apostolic age. Although he strongly asserted Christ's divinity and complete unity in the Godhead, necessitated by the prevailing heresies which sought to assign Jesus of Nazareth a place in a whole pantheon of lesser deities, he found it equally important to maintain His identity with humanity. Albert Houssiau has stated that Irenaeus defends monotheism by a Christological consideration: he appeals to the pre-existence of the Son, or rather, the activity of the Word in the Old Testament. It is the pre-incarnate Son's (the Word's) activity that

constitutes a pre-eminent interest for this writer and bears on his doctrine of the atonement. If the human Christ, gathering in himself the whole of humanity, could accomplish the work of universal redemption of mankind, then the cosmic Christ was no less able to redeem matter from chaos, the Saviour's work in Creation. This completes the task of universal creation, and salvation and creation are not seen as two separate and distinct acts, but represent the whole continuous process of divine revelation. Taken together, to use Von Rad's phrase, creation and salvation constitute the major realities of the Heilsgeschichte. Christ's cosmic role as Schöpfungsmittler (the activity of the pre-existent Logos) is equally important to his human role. As God's exalted Word He has fulfilled the task of creation, and as the Word made flesh He has gathered in Himself all the triumphs and failings of human experience, fulfilling the incarnation. Irenaeus has grasped the unique as well as the universal in Christ.

In Melito's Homily, reference to humiliation is omitted in a specific citation from the Fourth Servant song. Although not a theological treatise, the sermon constitutes an exposition of scripture and is significant for our study in that it manifests a concern to relate figures

from the Old Testament to the passion of Christ, but avoids the doctrine of the Servant. It is a mark of continuing interest throughout the works of the four writers with whom we are chiefly concerned that the presence of Christ in the Old Testament is sought or established by diverse means. For Justin, epiphanies recounted in Hebrew history manifest the presence of the pre-existent Logos. For Melito, the narratives offer "types" of Christ. In Irenaeus' interpretation it was Christ, the Logos, really present, and Origen combines the pre-existent Logos with a typological, and occasionally allegorical treatment of the Old Testament. In the case of Melito, the sacrificial imagery was important to develop his theme: the *τύπος* of the passover lamb has been fulfilled in the self-offering of our Lord. *Παῖς* did not mean "servant" to Melito, as is clear from an occurrence which demands the interpretation of "son" or "child."

Justin's Dialogue with Trypho is chronologically the first of the writings constituting our primary interest. Justin combined an inquiry of scriptural content with philosophical speculation, but from the evidence available he lacked the intellectual capacity that enabled Origen to apprehend the body of truth contained in Hellenistic

instruction, and apply it in the development of doctrinal formulations. Significantly, however, Justin was the first of the apologists to use the term Logos in its double sense of philosophical reason and revelatory Word. It may be seen that his was one of the early attempts to bridge the gap between neo-Platonic speculation and the Judaeo-Christian body of teaching about God's self-revelation. For the Logos doctrine, Justin used terms that were compatible with the thinking of the philosophical schools, but which he justified with scriptural references. The discussion of the Logos in the Dialogue has significance for our study in that it intrudes into the discussion at a point where the writer has related the person and work of Christ to the prophetic testimony, in particular, Deutero-Isaiah. If we may assume that the writer has employed the literary form as a structure in which the basic themes are to be cast (an assumption that can be disputed), we could affirm that the reason for the Logos speculation at this point is to assert unquestionably the divine status of Christ. In a remarkable transference of meaning, Justin turned the phrase "who shall declare his generation?"¹⁷ to refer to the exalted Logos' hidden

¹⁷ Isa. 53:8_b

origin, which bears similarity to a primitive tradition that Christ's descent was disguised to deceive the Powers.

Justin made liberal use of prophecy and other Old Testament scripture. But the apologist had a shallow regard for the context of the original when it suited his purpose. His view of sacrifice is affected by the limitations in his understanding of sin. He fails to regard sin as complete moral and spiritual corruption; therefore, he underrates the costliness of redemptive sacrifice. The order in which the themes are developed in the Dialogue follows roughly the following sequence: Christ is proclaimed in the prophets (citing Isaiah 53 with others); a discussion of the merits of sacrifice; the doctrine of Two Advents (the exalted Christ first subject to suffering, and later is glorified); and finally an exposition of Christ pre-existent (the exalted Logos). To Justin the discussion of the last led him to conclude that Christ was a "Second God." He could not afford to think of Christ as Servant, but instead he dwelt on assertions of His divinity. The atonement was wrought by Christ's supreme sacrifice, although there is no evidence of how this took place.

$\Pi\alpha\tau\iota$ in the Dialogue occurs in quotations, but the way these are used suggests it was not understood in a menial sense. Where the context infers the position of subordination, as for Moses, who was God's servant, other terms are employed. Justin's Dialogue was a clever apologetic effort that set out to refute the Ebionites and other Judaizing sects by giving strong assertion to Christ's true divinity, yet using the Jewish scriptures in the process. At the same time, this provided a refutation of the Marcionite tendency to sever the Old Testament from the New. Justin's response was to read Christ pre-existent into practically every recorded theophany in the Hebrew scriptures.

These four writers, as we have mentioned, share a common bond in their emphasis on Christ's presence, actually or symbolically in the Old Testament. Whereas for Justin a series of texts, perhaps a compilation of testimonia, provided the evidence for Jewish acknowledgement of Christ, to Irenaeus it was actually Christ pre-incarnate whose activity is recounted in the pages of scripture. Origen seems to combine elements from both these views: it was Christ foretold of whom the Bible speaks, but this is allegory, Christ's activity

must be understood in its "spiritual" sense. Melito believed that figures in the Old Testament were types of Christ who would come.

As to the Christological development, we need to return to a more primitive period than the time of Justin and Melito in order to ascertain its beginning. In Ignatius we found the title $\delta\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ used for Christ, but only once for God the Father. Earlier writers in the sub-apostolic period addressed prayers to God through Christ the beloved $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$. In the primitive prayer form, perhaps, as Harnack suggested, is to be found an influential factor for the changing interpretation of the term, but this is coupled with the psychological factor that shrinks from calling the true divinity by the name of Servant. The last of the sub-apostolic Fathers to refer to Christ as the Servant (or, Slave) of God may have been Hermas, although the date of the Shepherd is by no means certain. Here the term used is $\delta\delta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, and not $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, which occurs also in Origen, but decidedly there in the exalted context of Christ being God's instrument in creation. In Hermas doubt as to the propriety of the term is expressed, and Hermas is not classified as a doctrinal treatise in the same company with the works of Origen, or Irenaeus' adversus haereses. In form it is apocalyptic, and in doctrinal content it is fragmentary.

Justin dealt with the problem of Christ's suffering by his doctrine of the Two Advents, but this was extended to a form of chiliasm, with the writer's tendency to literalize certain texts. The question of the place of the exalted Christ in the Godhead was met in the Dialogue by the concept of a "Second God." Irenaeus reasserted the unity of the Godhead, which had suffered in Justin's formulation. Emphasizing His divinity, Irenaeus still sought to give expression to His humanity. It is consequent that his doctrine of the atonement was more complete than that of his contemporaries. Origen's views were weakened by a mystical understanding of Christ's "aspects," and an idea of the incarnation that essentially regarded the human Jesus as the habitation of the Logos.

In considering the observable trends it may be seen that the initial stress on Christ's divinity is coupled with a need to fill the role of mediator between God transcendent and His creation. The latter is the product of Greek thought, and as Aulén observed, inevitably yields a separation within the Godhead. Justin's "Second God" is a clear example of this, which was resisted by Irenaeus. The third stage yielded in Origen a Christology running on the borderline of adoptionism.

We have seen that by the third century there was unwillingness to acknowledge any real lowering on the part of Christ, or self-abnegation after the pattern of the Kenosis. There was a consonant refusal to regard Jesus as the Servant. But in all probability the Servant Christology was the first theology of the Cross. From beginning to end the pages of the New Testament witness to our Lord's sense of His vocation as one of service. He actualized in His own life the content of His spoken ministry. Implicitly, the footwashing of the last supper was a symbolic summation of the principal instruction He wished to leave to His disciples. In the figure of the Great Servant we have the impossible but necessary standard of Christian behaviour. As Christ the Great Servant, He has filled the gap between the shortcomings of His followers and the lofty ideals of that standard, which always lie beyond man's striving. But with recognition of the accomplished fact, in just this striving lies the destiny of the Church whose worship is directed not indiscriminately at an ideal, but to a Person, whose sacrificial life gives meaning and content to this ideal.

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