The background of the entire page is a photograph of the Library of Celsus in Ephesus, Turkey. The image shows several tall, weathered stone columns supporting a partially ruined entablature. The architecture is classical, with intricate carvings and a grid-like ceiling structure visible through the openings. The sky is a clear, bright blue.

The witness of history

A Sourcebook for the Identification of the Early Church

- *Over 100 quotations from 25 ancient sources, all dated prior to 417 AD.*
- *More than 150 pages of quotations.*
- *With comments and explanations to help in sharing them with others.*

Brent Hunter, Editor
cbhunter53@gmail.com

THE WITNESS OF HISTORY

How to understand and properly use this powerful evangelistic tool

By Brent Hunter, evangelist for the Kirkland church of Christ

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This sourcebook provides supplementary material after having presented Ken Craig's "The Big Picture of the Bible" to a truth seeker, or after having presented the basic gospel using some other evangelistic method. This material is not inspired and therefore should never be used by itself as *authoritative evidence* in place of scripture. However, I have found it to be very useful when studying with someone about the New Testament church and especially, the apostasy and reformation. You may want to use these historical facts as an additional validation of what the scriptures are teaching. This material is especially useful when a person is doubtful about the importance of these issues, or the proper Biblical interpretation. One way to validate the Biblical arguments is to simply ask, **What did the early Christians, who were under the tutelage of the early apostles, believe and practice? Surely they knew and understood these principles correctly, after all, they had the apostles and their students to use as a reference point.** My philosophy has always been, when in doubt as to what a Biblical text means, look to the very early historical documents that have been preserved for guidance.

It is important to emphasize that while studying these quotes and sharing them with others, we do not quote these early Christians because their *opinions* are important. We quote them, rather, to show what the *historical facts* were concerning the nature of the early church. Alexander Campbell, while himself quoting early Christians in his book, "The Christian System," said it best:

"Here again I would remind the reader, that it is as witnesses in question of fact, and not of opinion, we summon these ancients. It is not to tell their opinions, nor the reasons for them, but to depose what were the views of Christians on this institution in their times."

An effective soul winner needs to be knowledgeable in the area of early church history in order to be the most persuasive. If you are like me, you will find it not only a valuable resource in teaching others. but a personal faith builder.

This source book is simply a compilation of research done from scores of sources that are readily available, with very little human comment. I give special thanks to Glenn McClister and others who assisted with much of the behind the scenes research. **This material has never been copyrighted and is not available for sale.** If you would like extra copies, make as you need!

The presentation of this material is best done as needed, given the prospect's background, rather than presenting this to them all at once. This is not a sterile, disinterested, intellectual inquiry into early church history. It is intended to prove to the lost and others what the New Testament church was like, so that, after identifying these truths, we may all unite upon them to the glory of God. Use these quotes, only after the relevant Bible passages have been taught, to show what it means to follow the apostolic pattern. When used in this way the impact can be very powerful.

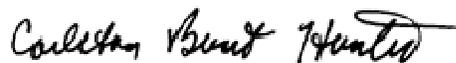
This book is photo-copied rather than printed, with the entire page and the original source materials visible so one may go to any public library and check out these sources. This way, people can see that these quotes are in context and have not been “doctored.” This documentation does not come from members of the churches of Christ, but from reputable historians with no particular doctrinal bias. As a result, you will find these particularly persuasive to any sincere truth seeker.

I also want to recommend several excellent resources by Mr. David Bercot. His classic book, “Will the Real Heretic Please Stand Up,” is a real eye-opener along with his challenge to the Christian lifestyle and teachings about the kingdom in his book *“The Kingdom that Turned the World Upside Down.”* He also has a fascinating reference work I have found useful entitled “A Dictionary of Early Christian Beliefs.” You can find a complete catalogue of helpful materials on early church history by visiting his website www.scrollpublishing.com. Obviously, these references are not endorsed 100% by me, but I have found them honestly done, accurate, and helpful. I believe they will take your study of early church history to an entirely new level!

I want to thank you, the reader, for your interest and willingness in studying “The Witness of History.” I believe it shows your love for truth and for the souls of others. Many additional helpful resources for the soul winner can be found at www.kirklandchurchofChrist.com. Click on the “Big Picture of the Bible” icon which reads: “Resources for those interested in learning and sharing the Big Picture of the Bible.” One tab is for the soul winner, and the other for the truth seeker. I hope you will find these resources helpful in your evangelistic efforts! Feel free to email me if you have any suggestions as to how these resources might be made more useful.

In closing, I dedicate this new edition of the “Witness of History” to those whom I am currently mentoring in sharing the gospel through “The Big Picture of the Bible” flip charts, at the Kirkland church of Christ. They have been an inspiration to me and have made my labors here especially rewarding. My special thanks to them, and to all that use this humble resource as a way to truly serve as lights in the world, in order to help lead people to Jesus Christ, our Savior and guide in all things!

Your brother in Christ,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "C. Brent Hunter". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "C".

C. Brent Hunter

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LIST OF ANCIENT SOURCES QUOTED

1. Augustine- Homily VI, On John (416 A.D.)
2. *The Babylonian Talmud- tractate Sannhedrin, 43a (200-500 A.D.)
3. Barnabas- Epistle of Barnabas (120-150 A.D.)
4. Basil- Homily IV, On the Spirit (370-374 A.D.)
5. Clement- First Epistle, (97 A.D.) (see Phil.4:3)
6. Clement of Alexandria- Exhortation to the Greeks, The Instructor, Miscellanies (185-194 A.D.)
7. Chrysostom- (means "golden voice") Homily XXXVI, XXV, XXIX, XL, VI, Exposition of Psa.XLI, On the Priesthood (370-398 A.D.)
8. Cyril of Jerusalem- Catechetical Lecture III, XVII (348 A.D.)
9. Ignatius- Epistle to the Magnesians, Trallians, Smyrneans, Polycarp (107 A.D.)
10. Irenaeus- Against Heresies (182-188 A.D.)
11. Jerome- Letter 106 (392-405 A.D.)
12. *Josephus- Antiquities of the Jews (90-96 A.D.)
13. Julius Africanus- Writings (226 A.D.)
14. Justin Martyr- First Apology, Dialogue with Trypho (114-165 A.D.)
15. *Lucian- The Passing of Peregrinus (165 A.D.)
16. *Mara bar Serapion- Letter to his son (73-160 A.D.)
17. Origen- Against Celsus (250 A.D.)
18. *Pliny the Younger- Letter to Trajan (111-117 A.D.)
19. Polycarp- Epistle (130-150 A.D.)
20. *Seutonius- Lives of the Twelve Caesars (120 A.D.)
21. Shepherd of Hermas- (160 A.D.)
22. *Tacitus- Annals (115-117 A.D.)
23. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles- (80-120 A.D.)
24. Tertullian- Apology, Answer to the Jews, Against Marcion, Treatise on the Soul, On Baptism, On Modesty (190-210 A.D.)
25. Theophilus- To Autolytus (168 A.D.)

*-a nonbeliever

THE HISTORICITY OF JESUS

Flavius Josephus, Works, Antiquities of the Jews, XVIII, 3, (90-96 A.D.) trans. by W. Whiston S.S. Sranton:Hartford, 1910, p.548

not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them, also, used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bade the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous and those that were not, nor did they spare them in the least; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded; and thus an end was put to this sedition.

Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works,—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ; and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross,* those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day;† as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About the same time, also, another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder; and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina—one who, on account of the

cause of the enmity between Herod and Pilate (says he) seems to have been this, that Pilate had intermeddled with the tetrarch's jurisdiction, and had slain some of his Galilean subjects, (Luke xiii. i.) and, as he was willing to correct that error, he sent Christ to Herod at this time."

* A. D. 33, April 3.

† April 3.

dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation: she was also very rich; and, although she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her 200,000 Attic drachmæ for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to furnish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now, Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, (for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others,) and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than 50,000 drachmæ for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: she went to some of Isis's priests, and, upon the strongest assurances of [concealment], she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of 25,000 drachmæ in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to

Flavius Josephus, Works, Antiquities of the Jews, XX, 9, (90-96 A.D.) trans. by W. Whiston S.S. Sranton:Hartford, 1910, p.613

gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with himself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high-priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

CHAPTER IX.

Albinus procurator of Judea—the Apostle James slain—Edifices built by Agrippa.

AND NOW Cæsar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator; but the king deprived Joseph of the high-priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report goes, that this elder Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests; but this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high-priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees,* who are very rigid in judging offenders, above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others [or some of his companions]; and, when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified; nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus as he was upon his journey from

* It appears that Sadducees might be high priests in the days of Josephus, and that these Sadducees were usually very severe and inexorable judges, while the Pharisees were much milder and more merciful.

Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent;* whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which King Agrippa took the high-priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, high priest.

Now, as soon as Albinus had come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the "sicarii;" but as for the high priest Ananias, he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner; for he was a great hoarder up of money. he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high priest [Jesus], by making them presents; he also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high priests acted in like manner, as did those his servants, without any one being able to prohibit them; so that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

But now the "sicarii" went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananus (Ananias) the high priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to Ananias, and said they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so Ananias was plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived

* The sanhedrim condemned Christ, but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator; nor could, therefore, Ananias and his sanhedrim do more here, since they never had Albinus's approbation for putting this James to death.

Pliny the Younger, Letter to Trajan, (111-117 A.D.)
 Letters, X, 96, trans. by Dorjann
Latin Literature in Translation, ed. Guinagh and Dorjann
 Longmans Green and Co.:New York, 1952, p.691

LETTERS

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should be treated like those of more mature years; whether pardon should be granted for repentance, or whether a man who has once been a Christian should have no advantage from giving up his faith; whether a person who merely bears the name of Christian, but is not guilty of any crime, should be punished, or only the crimes accompanying Christianity.

Meanwhile, in the cases of those who have been reported to me as Christians, I have pursued the following method: I asked them, whether they were Christians. If they confessed, I asked them a second and a third time, threatening them with death. If they persisted, I ordered them to be put to death. For, whatever their creed might be, I felt no doubt that their perverseness and unyielding stubbornness ought to be punished. There were others infatuated with a similar madness, but, since they were Roman citizens, I remanded them to the city. So, because of the very handling of the matter, as usually happens, the accusations have spread and many kinds of cases have come up. A list was posted, without the author's signature, containing the names of many people. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians, and who repeated an invocation to the gods, as I dictated it, and who offered wine and incense before your statue, which I had ordered to be brought in for this purpose along with the images of the gods, and who cursed Christ, none of which acts, it is said, true Christians can be compelled to perform: these persons, I thought, should be dismissed. Others, whose names appeared on the list, said that they were Christians, but soon denied it, asserting that they had once been Christians, but had later ceased to be such, some three or more years ago and one man twenty years ago. All worshipped your statue and the images of the gods and reviled Christ. They affirmed, however, that the full extent of their sin, or error, consisted of their habit of meeting on a fixed day before sunrise and singing a song antiphonally to Christ, as a god, and binding themselves by an oath, not to do any evil deeds, but to commit no theft, robbery or adultery, nor to break their word, nor to refuse to return deposited moneys, when called upon. When these ceremonies had been performed, it was their custom, they said, to depart and later to reassemble for the purpose of partaking of food of an ordinary and innocent sort. Even this they had ceased to do subsequent to my edict in which, according to your orders, I had forbidden the existence of fraternal organizations. And so I thought it all the more necessary to determine the truth even by torture in the cases of two female servants, who were called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing more than a base and excessive superstition.

Consequently, I have adjourned the inquiry and betaken myself to your counsels. For the matter appeared to me worthy of consultation, especially in view of the large number of those involved. Indeed, many of all ages and ranks, and even of both sexes are now and will be called to stand trial. For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only through the cities, but also through the villages and the farms; it seems possible, however, to stop it and

Tacitus, *Annals*, 15:44 (115-117 A.D.)
trans. by A.J.Church and W.J.Brodribb
Random House:New York, 1942, p.380-1

centre and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.

Nero offered his gardens for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or stood aloft on a car. Hence, even for criminals who deserved extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.

45. Meanwhile Italy was thoroughly exhausted by contributions of money, the provinces were ruined, as also the allied nations and the free states, as they were called. Even the gods fell victims to the plunder; for the temples in Rome were despoiled and the gold carried off, which, for a triumph or a vow, the Roman people in every age had consecrated in their prosperity or their alarm. Throughout Asia and Achaia not only votive gifts, but the images of deities were seized, Acratus and Secundus Carinas having been sent into those provinces. The first was a freedman ready for any wickedness; the latter, as far as speech went, was thoroughly trained in Greek learning, but he had not imbibed his heart with sound principles. Seneca, it was said, to avert from himself the obloquy of sacrilege, begged for the seclusion of a remote rural retreat, and, when it was refused, feigning ill health, as though he had a nervous ailment, would not quit his chamber. According to some writers, poison was prepared for him at Nero's command by his own freedman, whose name was Cleonicus. This Seneca avoided through the freedman's disclosure, or his own apprehension, while he used to support life on the very simple diet of wild fruits, with water from a running stream when thirst prompted.

46. During the same time some gladiators in the town of Praeneste, who attempted to break loose, were put down by

He fixed on the marshes of Ostia for the reception of the rubbish, and arranged that the ships which had brought up corn by the Tiber, should sail down the river with cargoes of this rubbish. The buildings themselves, to a certain height, were to be solidly constructed, without wooden beams, of stone from Gabii or Alba, that material being impervious to fire. And to provide that the water which individual license had illegally appropriated, might flow in greater abundance in several places for the public use, officers were appointed, and everyone was to have in the open court the means of stopping a fire. Every building, too, was to be enclosed by its own proper wall, not by one common to others. These changes which were liked for their utility, also added beauty to the new city. Some, however, thought that its old arrangement had been more conducive to health, inasmuch as the narrow streets with the elevation of the roofs were not equally penetrated by the sun's heat, while now the open space, unsheltered by any shade, was scorched by a fiercer glow.

44. Such indeed were the precautions of human wisdom. The next thing was to seek means of propitiating the gods, and recourse was had to the Sibylline books, by the direction of which prayers were offered to Vulcanus, Ceres, and Proserpina. Juno, too, was entreated by the matrons, first, in the Capitol, then on the nearest part of the coast, whence water was procured to sprinkle the fan and image of the goddess. And there were sacred banquets and nightly vigils celebrated by married women. But all human efforts, all the lavish gifts of the emperor, and the propitiations of the gods, did not banish the sinister belief that the conflagration was the result of an order. Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their

Suetonius, Lives of the Twelve Caesars, Claudius, (120 A.D.) trans. by J.Gavorse
Random House:New York, 1931, p.226

226 THE LIVES OF THE TWELVE CAESARS

people of Ilium perpetual exemption from tribute, on the ground that they were the founders of the Roman race, reading upon the occasion an ancient letter of the Senate and people of Rome written in Greek to King Seleucus, in which they promised him their friendship and alliance only on condition that he should keep their kinsfolk of Ilium free from every burden. Since the Jews constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus,¹ he expelled them from Rome. He allowed the envoys of the Germans to sit in the orchestra, being moved to do so by their naïve self-confidence. For, when they had been taken to the seats occupied by the common people and saw the Parthian and Armenian envoys sitting with the Senate, they moved of their own accord to the same part of the theater, protesting that their merits and rank were no whit inferior. He utterly abolished the cruel and inhuman religion of the Druids among the Gauls, which under Augustus had merely been prohibited to Roman citizens. On the other hand, he even attempted to transfer the Eleusinian rites from Attica to Rome, and had the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, which had fallen to ruin through age, restored at the expense of the treasury of the Roman people. He struck his treaties with foreign princes in the Forum, sacrificing a pig and reciting the ancient formula of the Fetial Priests.² But these and other acts, and in fact almost the whole conduct of his reign, were dictated not so much by his own judgment as that of his wives and freedmen, since he nearly always acted in accordance with their interests and desires.

He was betrothed twice at an early age: to Aemilia Lepida, great-granddaughter of Augustus, and to Livia Medullina, who also had the surname of Camilla and was descended from the ancient family of Camillus the Dictator. He put away the former before their marriage, because her parents had offended Augustus. The latter was taken ill and died on

¹ Roman and Greek form of Christ. But Jesus Christ was supposed to have been crucified in Tiberius' reign. A good example of how hazy the early Jewish-Christian question was in the minds of contemporary enlightened Romans.

² They ratified treaties and formally declared war after satisfaction had been refused.

Mara ben Serapion, letter to his son Serapion, (73-160 A.D.) Evidence of Tradition, D.J. Theron Baker Book House:Grand Rapids, 1957, p.21

MARA,¹ THE SON OF SERAPION,
TO HIS SON, SERAPION²

12

"For what else have we to say, when wise men are forcibly dragged by the hands of tyrants, and their wisdom is taken captive by calumny, and they are oppressed in their intelligence without defence? For what advantage did the Athenians gain by the murder of Socrates, the recompense of which they received in famine and pestilence? Or the people of Samos by the burning of Pythagoras, because in one hour their country was entirely covered with sand? Or the Jews by the death of their wise king, because from that time their kingdom was taken away? For with justice did God make recompense to the wisdom of these three: for the Athenians died of famine; and the Samians were overwhelmed by the sea without remedy; and the Jews, desolate and driven from their own kingdom, are scattered through every country. Socrates is not dead, because of Plato; neither Pythagoras, because of the statue of Juno (Hera); nor the Wise King, because of the laws which he promulgated."

¹Probably a Syrian Stoic of the first or second century.

²An extract from the letter written probably between A. D. 73-160. Translated by William Cureton, *Spicilegium-Syriacum*, p. 73 (with notes).

THE INSCRIPTION OF TIBUR¹

13

Publius Sulpicius son of Publius Quirinius² consul

praetor proconsul obtained the Province Crete and Cyrene

legate propraetor of the divine Augustus obtaining Syria and Phoenicia waged war with the nation of the Homonadenses which had killed Amyntas the King³. *Which having been restored to the power of the Emperor, Caesar Augustus, and of the Roman*

¹Mommsen says: "I do not put forward a new and recondite opinion; but agreeing with the same learned men (Sanclément, Borghesi, Henzen, Nipperdey), I shall demonstrate briefly first that the inscription cannot refer to C. Sentius Saturninus; then, in respect to Quirinius, not only that nothing opposes but that the indications considered above and chiefly the double Syrian legation so converge on him that the attribution by Sanclément [to Quirinius] is to be regarded not only as probable but as clearly proven."

²Cf. Lk. 2:2.

³Of the Galatians; slain by the Homonadenses in 25 B. C.

Lucian, *The Passing of Peregrinus*, (ca.165 A.D.)
Works, Loeb Classical Library, vol.5, trans. by A.M.Harmon,
 Harvard University Press:Cambridge, 1955, p.13,15

THE PASSING OF PEREGRINUS

"It was then that he learned the wondrous lore of the Christians, by associating with their priests and scribes in Palestine. And—how else could it be?—in a trice he made them all look like children; for he was prophet, cult-leader, head of the synagogue, and everything, all by himself. He interpreted and explained some of their books and even composed many, and they revered him as a god, made use of him as a lawgiver, and set him down as a protector, next after that other, to be sure, whom¹ they still worship, the man who was crucified in Palestine because he introduced this new cult into the world.

"Then at length Proteus was apprehended for this and thrown into prison, which itself gave him no little reputation as an asset for his future career and the charlatanism and notoriety-seeking that he was enamoured of. Well, when he had been imprisoned, the Christians, regarding the incident as a calamity, left nothing undone in the effort to rescue him. Then, as this was impossible, every other form of attention was shown him, not in any casual way but with assiduity; and from the very break of day aged widows and orphan children could be seen waiting near the prison, while their officials even slept inside with him after bribing the guards. Then elaborate meals were brought in, and sacred books of theirs were read aloud, and excellent Peregrinus—for he still went by that name—was called by them 'the new Socrates.'

¹ The sense of the unemended text here is "protector; that great man, to be sure, they still worship," etc.

² *ὁ* Harmon: not in MSS.

³ ταῦτα ΓΧ.

⁴ ἐνὶ ΓΧ.

THE PASSING OF PEREGRINUS

"Indeed, people came even from the cities in Asia, sent by the Christians at their common expense, to succour and defend and encourage the hero. They show incredible speed whenever any such public action is taken; for in no time they lavish their all. So it was then in the case of Peregrinus; much money came to him from them by reason of his imprisonment, and he procured not a little revenue from it. The poor wretches have convinced themselves, first and foremost, that they are going to be immortal, and live for all time, in consequence of which they despise death and even willingly give themselves into custody, most of them. Furthermore, their first lawgiver¹ persuaded them that they are all brothers of one another after they have transgressed once for all by denying the Greek gods and by worshipping that crucified sophist himself and living under his laws. Therefore they despise all things indiscriminately and consider them common property, receiving such doctrines traditionally without any definite evidence. So if any charlatan and trickster, able to profit by occasions, comes among them, he quickly acquires sudden wealth by imposing upon simple folk.

"However, Peregrinus was freed by the then governor of Syria, a man who was fond of philosophy.² Aware of his recklessness and that he

¹ From the wording of this sentence the allusion is so obviously to Christ himself that one is at a loss to understand why Paul, let alone Moses, should have been suggested. For the doctrine of brotherly love cf. Matt. 23, 8: πάντες οὗ ἑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστέ.

² The Roman governor of the province of Syria is meant. Identification is impossible because the date of the imprisonment of Peregrinus cannot be fixed.

The Babylonian Talmud, vol.3, tract "Sanhedrin", 43a.
(Mishnah, ca.200 A.D., Gemara, ca.500 A.D.)
Soncino Press:London, 1935, p.281

SANHEDRIN

43a

How do they [the judges] know?¹—Abaye said: Two Rabbis are sent with him: if his statement has substance, he is [brought back]; if not, he is not [brought back]. But why not do so in the first place?²—Because being terrified, he cannot say all he wishes.³

MISHNAH. IF THEN THEY FIND HIM INNOCENT, THEY DISCHARGE HIM; BUT IF NOT, HE GOES FORTH TO BE STONED. AND A HERALD PRECEDES HIM [CRYING]: SO AND SO, THE SON OF SO AND SO, IS GOING FORTH TO BE STONED BECAUSE HE COMMITTED SUCH AND SUCH AN OFFENCE, AND SO AND SO ARE HIS WITNESSES. WHOEVER KNOWS ANYTHING IN HIS FAVOUR, LET HIM COME AND STATE IT.

GEMARA. Abaye said: It must also be announced: On such and such a day, at such and such an hour, and in such and such a place [the crime was committed], in case there are some who know [to the contrary], so that they can come forward and prove the witnesses *Zomemini*.⁴

AND A HERALD PRECEDES HIM etc. This implies, only immediately before [the execution], but not previous thereto.⁵ [In contradiction to this] it was taught: On the eve of the Passover Yeschu⁶ was hanged. For forty days before the execution took place, a herald went forth and cried, 'He is going forth to be stoned because he has practised sorcery and enticed Israel to apostacy. Any one who can say anything in his favour, let him come forward and plead on his behalf.' But since nothing was brought forward in his favour he was hanged on the eve of the Passover!⁷—'Ulla retorted: Do you suppose that he was one for whom a defence

(1) Whether his statement has substance. (2) I.e., as soon as he starts out for the place of execution, so as to avoid an unnecessary return even the first time. (3) Therefore the first two times he receives the benefit of the doubt. (4) V. Glos. (5) E.g., not forty days before. The two passages that follow have been expunged in all censored editions. [As to the historical value to be attached to them, v. Klausner, *Jesus*, p. 27ff.] (6) [Ms. M. adds 'the Nazarean'.] (7) [A Florentine Ms. adds: and the eve of Sabbath.]

Joseph Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth,
trans. by Herbert Danby,
Beacon Press: Boston, 1925, p.28

Talmudic authorities do not deny that Jesus worked signs and wonders, but they look upon them as acts of sorcery.¹⁰ We find the same thing in the Gospels: "And the Scribes which came down from Jerusalem said, He hath Beelzebub, and, By the prince of the devils he casteth out devils" (Mark iii. 22); and in Matthew (ix. 34; xii. 24) the Pharisees speak in similar terms.

That it was as a seducer and beguiler that Jesus was put to death was clear to the *Tannaim*, for in their days his disciples had become a separate Jewish sect which denied many of the religious principles of Judaism; therefore their teacher, Jesus, had beguiled them and led them astray from the Jewish faith. But it is noteworthy that the *Baraita* stresses the fact that they made no haste in putting Jesus to death in spite of his being a beguiler, and that they delayed the execution of his sentence for forty days, in case anybody should come to plead in his favour (a matter of surprise to the Amora 'Ulla).

This is the exact opposite to the Gospel accounts, according to which the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin was finished very hurriedly and the sentence hastily carried out by the Roman Procurator. In the opinion of the present writer the statement about the herald has an obvious "tendency," and it is difficult to think that it is historical.

Over against this, the *Talmudic* story agrees with the historic fact that Jesus was put to death on the eve of Passover (which fell on the eve of the Sabbath) as recorded in the Fourth Gospel: "On the eve of that Passover" (John xix. 14), with which should be compared the statement in Mark: "At the feast of the killing of the Passover," which contradicts what goes before: "the first day of unleavened bread" (Mark xiv. 12); a condition of things which is also proved from the fact that on the first day of the week, after three days, he was not found in his tomb. The *Talmud*, however, speaks of hanging in place of crucifixion, since this horrible Roman form of death was only known to Jewish scholars from Roman trials, and not from the Jewish legal system. Even Paul the Apostle (Gal. iii. 13) expounds the passage "for a curse of God is that which is hanged" (Deut. xxi. 23) as applicable to Jesus.¹¹

(c) Immediately after this *Baraita* comes a second (Sanh. 43a):
Jesus had five disciples, Mattai, Naqai, Netser, Buni and Todah.

This is at once followed by a late *Amoraic* addition, recognizable as such by the Aramaic language and the punning witticisms:

¹⁰ See L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberen*, Budapest, 1898, p. 29. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone Judaeo*, c. 69, shows that at that time the Jews spoke of Jesus as a sorcerer.

¹¹ See Laible, *op. cit.* 81-83.

Justin Martyr, First Apology, XXXIV-XXXV, (114-165 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
WM. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.174-5

LOGY OF JUSTIN.

THE FIRST APOLO

(Saviour) in the Greek tongue. Wherefore, too, the angel said to the virgin, "Thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins." And that the prophets are inspired by no other than the Divine Word, even you, as I fancy, will grant.

that crucified Him parted it among them. And that these things did happen, you can ascertain from the Acts of Pontius Pilate.¹ And we will cite the prophetic utterances of another prophet, Zephaniah,² to the effect that He was foretold expressly as to sit upon the foal of an ass and to enter Jerusalem. The words are these: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass."³

CHAP. XXXIV. — PLACE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH FORETOLD.

CHAP. XXXVI. — DIFFERENT MODES OF PROPHECY.

And hear what part of earth He was to be born in, as another prophet, Micah, foretold. He spoke thus: "And thou, Bethlehem, the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a Governor, who shall feed My people."⁴ Now there is a village in the land of the Jews, thirty-five stadia from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born, as you can ascertain also from the registers of the taxing made under Cyrenius, your first procurator in Judæa.

But when you hear the utterances of the prophets spoken as it were personally, you must not suppose that they are spoken by the inspired themselves, but by the Divine Word who moves them. For sometimes He declares things that are to come to pass, in the manner of one who foretells the future; sometimes He speaks as from the person of God the Lord and Father of all; sometimes as from the person of Christ; sometimes as from the person of the people answering the Lord or His Father, just as you can see even in your own writers, one man being the writer of the whole, but introducing the persons who converse. And this the Jews who possessed the books of the prophets did not understand, and therefore did not recognise Christ even when He came, but even hate us who say that He has come, and who prove that, as was predicted, He was crucified by them.

CHAP. XXXV. — OTHER FULFILLED PROPHECIES.

CHAP. XXXVII. — UTTERANCES OF THE FATHER.

And how Christ after He was born was to escape the notice of other men until He grew to man's estate, which also came to pass, hear what was foretold regarding this. There are the following predictions:⁵ — "Unto us a child is born, and unto us a young man is given, and the government shall be upon His shoulders;"⁶ which is significant of the power of the cross, for to it, when He was crucified, He applied His shoulders, as shall be more clearly made out in the ensuing discourse. And again the same prophet Isaiah, being inspired by the prophetic Spirit, said, "I have spread out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walk in a way that is not good. They now ask of me judgment, and dare to draw near to God."⁷ And again in other words, through another prophet, He says, "They pierced My hands and My feet, and for My vesture they cast lots."⁸ And indeed David, the king and prophet, who uttered these things, suffered none of them; but Jesus Christ stretched forth His hands, being crucified by the Jews speaking against Him, and denying that He was the Christ. And as the prophet spoke, they tormented Him, and set Him on the judgment-seat, and said, Judge us. And the expression, "They pierced my hands and my feet," was used in reference to the nails of the cross which were fixed in His hands and feet. And after He was crucified they cast lots upon His vesture, and they

And that this too may be clear to you, there were spoken from the person of the Father, through Isaiah the prophet, the following words: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, and My people hath not understood. Woe, sinful nation, a people full of sins, a wicked seed, children that are transgressors, ye have forsaken the Lord."⁹ And again elsewhere, when the same prophet speaks in like manner from the person of the Father, "What is the house that ye will build for Me? saith the Lord. The heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool."¹⁰ And again, in another place, "Your new moons and your sabbaths My soul hateth; and the great day of the fast and of ceasing from labour I cannot

4 θεοδοσιῶνας, lit. are borne by a god — a word used of those who were supposed to be wholly under the influence of a deity.
5 Micah v. 2.
6 These predictions have so little reference to the point Justin intends to make out, that some editors have supposed that a passage has here been lost. Others think the irrelevancy an insufficient ground for such a supposition. [See below, cap. xl.]
7 Isa. ix. 6.
8 Isa. lix. 2, lviii. 2.
9 Ps. cxlii. 16.

¹ Error. These Acts of Pontius Pilate or regular accounts of his procedure sent by Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius are supposed to have been destroyed at an early period, possibly in consequence of the unanswerable appeals which the Christians constantly made to them. There exists a forgery in imitation of these Acts. See Frolope.
² The reader will notice that these are not the words of Zephaniah, but of Zechariah (ix. 9), to whom also Justin himself refers them in the Dial. Tryph., c. 53. [Might be corrected in the text, therefore, as a clerical slip of the pen.]
³ Zech. ix. 9.
⁴ Isa. i. 3. This quotation varies only in one word from that of the LXX.
⁵ Isa. lvi. 1.

Tertullian, Against Marcion, IV, 7. (ca. 207 A.D.)
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 3
 Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1951, p. 352

suming that he came down. For we must not be too nice in inquiring¹ whether it is supposed that he was *seen* in any place. To come into view² indicates³ a sudden unexpected glance, which for a moment fixed⁴ the eye upon the object that passed before the view, without staying. But when it happens that a descent has been effected, it is apparent, and comes under the notice of the eyes.⁵ Moreover, it takes account of *fact*, and thus obliges one to examine in what condition, with what preparation,⁶ with how much violence or moderation, and further, at what time of the day or night, the descent was made; who, again, saw the descent, who reported it, who seriously avouched the fact, which certainly was not easy to be believed, even after the asseveration. It is, in short, too bad⁷ that Romulus should have had in Proculus an avoucher of his ascent to heaven, when the Christ of (this) god could not find any one to announce his descent from heaven; just as if the ascent of the one and the descent of the other were not effected on one and the same ladder of falsehood! Then, what had he to do with Galilee, if he did not belong to the Creator by whom⁸ that region was destined (for His Christ) when about to enter on His ministry?⁹ As Isaiah says: "Drink in this first, and be prompt, O region of Zabulon and land of Nephtalim, and ye others who (inhabit) the sea-coast, and that of Jordan, Galilee of the nations, ye people who sit in darkness, behold a great light; upon you, who inhabit (that) land, sitting in the shadow of death, the light hath arisen."¹⁰ It is, however, well that Marcion's god does claim to be the enlightener of the nations, that so he might have the better reason for coming down from heaven; only, if it must needs be,¹¹ he should rather have made Pontus his place of descent than Galilee. But since both the place and the work of illumination according

to the prophecy are compatible with Christ, we begin to discern¹² that He is the subject of the prophecy, which shows that at the very outset of His ministry, He came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them;¹³ for Marcion has erased the passage as an interpolation.¹⁴ It will, however, be vain for him to deny that Christ uttered in word what He forthwith did partially indeed. For the prophecy about place He at once fulfilled. From heaven straight to the synagogue. As the adage runs: "The business on which we are come, do at once." Marcion must even expunge from the Gospel, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel;"¹⁵ and, "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs,"¹⁶—in order, forsooth, that Christ may not appear to be an Israelite. But facts will satisfy me instead of words. Withdraw all the sayings of my Christ, His acts shall speak. Lo, He enters the synagogue; surely (this is going) to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Behold, it is to Israelites first that He offers the "bread" of His doctrine; surely it is because they are "children" that He shows them this priority.¹⁷ Observe, He does not yet impart it to others; surely He passes them by as "dogs." For to whom else could He better have imparted it, than to such as were strangers to the Creator, if He especially belonged not to the Creator? And yet how could He have been admitted into the synagogue—one so abruptly appearing,¹⁸ so unknown; one, of whom no one had as yet been apprised of His tribe, His nation, His family, and lastly, His enrolment in the census of Augustus—that most faithful witness of the Lord's nativity, kept in the archives of Rome? They certainly would have remembered, if they did not know Him to be circumcised, that He must not be admitted into their most holy places. And even if He had the general right of entering¹⁹ the synagogue (like other Jews), yet the function of giving instruction was allowed only to a man who was extremely well known, and examined and tried, and for some time invested with the privilege after experience duly attested elsewhere. But "they were all astonished at His doctrine." Of course they were; "for, says (St. Luke), "His word was with power"²⁰—not because He taught in opposition to the law and the proph-

¹ This is here the force of *videtur*, our author's very favourite idiom.

² Apparere.

³ Sapit.

⁴ Impingit.

⁵ Descendisse autem, dum fit, videtur et subit oculis. Probably this bit of characteristic Latinity had better be rendered thus: "The accomplishment of a descent, however, is, whilst happening, a visible process, and one that meets the eye." Of the various readings, "dum sit," "dum it," "dum fit," we take the last with Oehler, only understanding the clause as a parenthesis.

⁶ Suggestu.

⁷ Indignum.

⁸ Cul.

⁹ Ingressuro predicationem.

¹⁰ This is the literal rendering of Tertullian's version of the prophet's words, which occur chap. ix. 1, 2. The first clause closely follows the LXX. (ed. Tisch.): *Ταύρα σπύραρ νις. ραχὺ νοις.* This curious passage is explained by Grotius (on Matt. iv. 14) as a mistake of ancient copyists; as if what the Seventy had originally rendered *ραχὺ νοις*, from the *Αἰψαί* of *Ἰσραήλ*, had been faultily written *ραχὺ νις*, and the latter had crept into the text with the marginal note *σπύραρ*, instead of a repetition of *ραχὺ*. However this be, Tertullian's old Latin Bible had the passage thus: "Hoc primum bibito, cito facito, regio Zabulon," etc.

¹¹ Si utique.

¹² Agnoscere.

¹³ Matt. v. 17.

¹⁴ Additum.

¹⁵ Matt. xv. 24.

¹⁶ Matt. xv. 26.

¹⁷ Praefert.

¹⁸ Tam repentinus.

¹⁹ *Etiam passim adiretur.*

²⁰ Luke iv. 32.

Tertullian, Apology, V, XXI, (ca.190 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.3,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.22, 35

Tiberius' accordingly, in whose days the Christian name made its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the senate, with his own decision in favour of Christ. The senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected his proposal. Caesar held to his opinion, threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians. Consult your histories; you will there find that Nero was the first who assailed with the imperial sword the Christian sect, making progress then especially at Rome. But we glory in having our condemnation hallowed by the hostility of such a wretch. For any one who knows him, can understand that not except as being of singular excellence did anything bring on it Nero's condemnation. Domitian, too, a man of Nero's type in cruelty, tried his hand at persecution; but as he had something of the human in him, he soon put an end to what he had begun, even restoring again those whom he had banished. Such as these have always been our persecutors,—men unjust, impious, base, of whom even you yourselves have no good to say, the sufferers under whose sentences you have been wont to restore. But among so many princes from that time to the present day, with anything of divine and human wisdom in them, point out a single persecutor of the Christian name. So far from that, we, on the contrary, bring before you one who was their protector, as you will see by examining the letters of Marcus Aurelius, that most grave of emperors, in which he bears his testimony that that Germanic drought was removed by the rains obtained through the prayers of the Christians who chanced to be fighting under him. And as he did not by public law remove from Christians their legal disabilities, yet in another way he put them openly aside, even adding a sentence of condemnation, and that of greater severity, against their accusers. What sort of laws are these which the impious alone execute against us—and the unjust, the vile, the bloody, the senseless, the insane?—which Trajan to some extent made naught by forbidding Christians to be sought after; which neither a Hadrian, though fond of searching

as matter of history it deserves attention. Great stress is to be placed on the fact that Tertullian was probably a jurisconsult, familiar with the Roman archives, and influenced by them in his own acceptance of Divine Truth. It is not supposable that such a man would have hazarded his bold appeal to the records, in remonstrating with the Senate and in the very faces of the Emperor and his colleagues, had he not known that the evidence was irrefragable.

done it as well. And yet, nailed upon the cross, He exhibited many notable signs, by which His death was distinguished from all others. At His own free-will, He with a word dismissed from Him His spirit, anticipating the executioner's work. In the same hour, too, the light of day was withdrawn, when the sun at the very time was in his meridian blaze. Those who were not aware that this had been predicted about Christ, no doubt thought it an eclipse. You yourselves have the account of the world-portal still in your archives. Then, when His body was taken down from the cross and placed in a sepulchre, the Jews in their eager watchfulness surrounded it with a large military guard, lest, as He had predicted His resurrection from the dead on the third day, His disciples might remove by stealth His body, and deceive even the incredulous. But, lo, on the third day there was a sudden shock of earthquake, and the stone which sealed the sepulchre was rolled away, and the guard fled off in terror: without a single disciple near, the grave was found empty of all but the clothes of the buried One. But nevertheless, the leaders of the Jews, whom it nearly concerned both to spread abroad a lie, and keep back a people tributary and submissive to them from the faith, gave it out that the body of Christ had been stolen by His followers. For the Lord, you see, did not go forth into the public gaze, lest the wicked should be delivered from their error; that faith also, destined to a great reward, might hold its ground in difficulty. But He spent forty days with some of His disciples down in Galilee, a region of Judea, instructing them in the doctrines they were to teach to others. Thereafter, having given them commission to preach the gospel through the world, He was encompassed with a cloud and taken up to heaven,—a fact more certain far than the assertions of your Proculi concerning Romulus. All these things Pilate did to Christ; and now in fact a Christian in his own convictions, he sent word of Him to the reigning Cæsar, who was at the time Tiberius. Yes, and the Cæsars too would have believed on Christ, if either the Cæsars had not been necessary for the world, or if Christians could have been Cæsars. His disciples also, spread-

APOSTASY AND REFORMATION

the persecution of the Church by Roman rulers is concerned, the motive was not religious zeal or intolerance. In the first century the cruelties of Nero and Domitian sprung from personal spite or selfish interest. Afterwards the chief incentive was political — the desire to suppress a religion that was held to be contrary to law and divisive in its influence. As Mommsen explains, the laws excluding the new religion, as those excluding robbery or any other crime, were always on the statute-book. To what degree they should be enforced was dependent on the will of the local tribunals, or on the prompting, whether it were harsh or gentle, of the central authority at Rome. The same historian thinks that it was made the special business of the chief priest in each province to see that the arrangements for emperor-worship, and other religious obligations, should be carried out.

The first marked instance of heathen enmity on record was the persecution under Nero. It is described by the Roman historian

Tacitus.¹ From his account we see that the Christians
Persecution by Nero. 64 A.D. were then well known as a distinct sect. Nero, who was
justly detested for his brutal tyranny, in order to avert from him-
self what was, perhaps, a groundless suspicion of having set Rome
on fire, accused the Christians of having kindled the flames which
had laid in ashes a great part of the city. "A vast multitude were
 convicted," writes Tacitus, "not so much on the charge of making
 the conflagration, as of hating the human race. And in their deaths
 they were made the subjects of sport, for they were covered with
 the hides of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs, or nailed to
 crosses, or set fire to, and when day declined were burned to serve
 for nocturnal lights. Nero had offered his own gardens for this ex-
 hibition, and, also, exhibited a game of the circus, sometimes ming-
 ling in the crowd in the dress of a charioteer, sometimes standing
 in his chariot." Tacitus adds that at last compassion was felt for
 the victims of Nero's ferocity, culpable though they were deemed
 to be. As to other cruelties which Christians may have suffered in
 the provinces at about this time, we have no authentic information.

The dread and horror inspired by Nero, the fact of his death
 by his own hand—the last of the Cæsarean family—at the early
68 A.D. age of thirty, and of his entombment in a private
 sepulchre, engendered a rumor that he had not really
 perished. Among Christians it took the form that he had retired
 beyond the Euphrates, and would reappear in the character of

¹ Annal xv. 44.

centre and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.

Nero offered his gardens for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or stood aloft on a chariot. Hence, even for criminals who deserved extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.

45. Meanwhile Italy was thoroughly exhausted by contributions of money, the provinces were ruined, as also the allied nations and the free states, as they were called. Even the gods fell victims to the plunder; for the temples in Rome were despoiled and the gold carried off, which, for a triumph or a vow, the Roman people in every age had consecrated in their prosperity or their alarm. Throughout Asia and Achaia not only votive gifts, but the images of deities were seized, Acratus and Secundus Carinas having been sent into those provinces. The first was a freedman ready for any wickedness; the latter, as far as speech went, was thoroughly trained in Greek learning, but he had not imbued his heart with sound principles. Seneca, it was said, to avert from himself the obloquy of sacrilege, begged for the seclusion of a remote rural retreat, and, when it was refused, feigning ill health, as though he had a nervous ailment, would not quit his chamber. According to some writers, poison was prepared for him at Nero's command by his own freedman, whose name was Cleonicus. This Seneca avoided through the freedman's disclosure, or his own apprehension, while he used to support life on the very simple diet of wild fruits, with water from a running stream when thirst prompted.

46. During the same time some gladiators in the town of Praeneste, who attempted to break loose, were put down by

He fixed on the marshes of Ostia for the reception of the rubbish, and arranged that the ships which had brought up corn by the Tiber, should sail down the river with cargoes of this rubbish. The buildings themselves, to a certain height, were to be solidly constructed, without wooden beams, of stone from Gabii or Alba, that material being invaluable to fire. And to provide that the water which individual license had illegally appropriated, might flow in greater abundance in several places for the public use, officers were appointed, and everyone was to have in the open court the means of stopping a fire. Every building, too, was to be enclosed by its own proper wall, not by one common to others. These changes which were liked for their utility, also added beauty to the new city. Some, however, thought that its old arrangement had been more conducive to health, inasmuch as the narrow streets with the elevation of the roofs were not equally penetrated by the sun's heat, while now the open space, unsheltered by any shade, was scorched by a fiercer glow.

44. Such indeed were the precautions of human wisdom. The next thing was to seek means of propitiating the gods, and recourse was had to the Sibylline books, by the direction of which prayers were offered to Vulcanus, Ceres, and Proserpina. Juno, too, was entreated by the matrons, first, in the Capitol, then on the nearest part of the coast, whence water was procured to sprinkle the fane and image of the goddess. And there were sacred banquets and nightly vigils celebrated by married women. But all human efforts, all the lavish gifts of the emperor, and the propitiations of the gods, did not banish the sinister belief that the conflagration was the result of an order. Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judæa, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their

Facitus, Annals, 15,44 (115-117 A.D.)
trans. by A.J.Church and W.J.Brodribb,
Random House:New York, 1942, p.380-1

John D. Cox, Church History,
Dehoff Publications: Murfreesboro, 1980, p.19

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Christians were then well known as a distinct sect. Nero, who was justly detested for his brutal tyranny, in order to avert from himself what was, perhaps, a groundless suspicion of having set Rome on fire, accused the Christians of having kindled the flames which had laid in ashes a great part of the city.³ Fisher quotes from Tacitus who tells how a "vast multitude were convicted . . . And in their deaths they were made the subjects of sport, for they were covered with hides of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs, or nailed to crosses, or set fire to, and when day declined were burned to serve for nocturnal lights."⁴

The persecution of the emperor Domitian reached its height about A.D. 95. Domitian is described by historians as a cruel and worthless ruler with a jealous temper. He caused hundreds of believers to be put to death. Among those who perished was his own cousin. Many were banished and the property of others was confiscated.

SOME PRINCIPAL PERSECUTORS AND SOME PROMINENT MARTYRS AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD

It will be impossible to mention and discuss all heathen rulers who had a part in persecuting the followers of Christ during this period. Reference will be made to some of the principal ones.

About 111 A.D., Pliny, governor of Bithynia, wrote letters to the emperor Trajan calling his attention to a problem that had been created in his district by the increasing number of Christians. He called Christianity a "superstition" and expressed concern because so many had become Christians that the temples of the heathen gods were almost forsaken.

³ George P. Fisher, *History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1945), 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*

George P. Fisher, History of the Christian Church,
Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1920, p.48

tunity to escape. When he was required to curse Christ, he answered: "Six and eighty years have I served him, and he has done me nothing but good; and how could I curse him, my Lord and my Saviour!" Refusing to renounce the faith, he was burned to death. Justin—Justin Martyr, as he is generally styled—whose writings present us with very valuable information concerning the Church of his time, was put to death at Rome. The Gallic churches of Lyons and Vienne suffered most. The details of their persecution are given in a letter from them to the churches of Asia Minor. Slanderous charges of incest and of other abominations practised in their meetings, were propagated and believed. Such rumors were common in the case of Christians and of other sects whose assemblies were private. The severity of the tortures, endured without finching, even by young maidens, at the hands of heathen magistrates, almost surpasses belief. The story of the torments borne by Ponticus, a youth of sixteen, and by Blandina, a female slave, are of this character. Tortures prolonged from morning until night could only elicit from this delicate maiden the exclamation: "I am a Christian; among us no evil is done." Pothinus, the aged bishop, who was past his ninetieth year, was brutally treated, and after two days expired in prison. The tale of an alleged miracle of a shower of rain, falling in answer to the prayers of "the thundering legion," a Christian body of soldiers in the army of Marcus Aurelius, is largely, if not wholly, fabulous. An interval of rest for the Church followed. The cruel Commodus (180-192), the ignoble son of a noble father, was indifferent to religious divisions and rivalries. From the death of Commodus to the accession of Diocletian, a period of ninety-two years, the emperors were appointed and deposed at the pleasure of the soldiers. Their treatment of Christianity depended on their personal character and on the degree of their zeal for the maintenance of the old Roman system of public order. It was not until Decius that a general persecution was undertaken. The closing part of the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211) witnessed a reversal of the mild policy which had marked the preceding years. There was persecution, especially in North Africa, where, among the martyrs, were two women, Perpetua and Felicitas, who evinced beyond most others the power of the Christian faith. To the former, as she said, "the dungeon became a palace." She did not yield to the pathetic entreaties of her aged father that she would recant. The persecution was continued under Caracalla (211-217). The disposition of succeeding emperors to amalgamate different religions, and the in-

Jesse L. Hurlburt, Story of the Christian Church,
John C. Winston:Philadelphia, 1933, p.57

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crated in 1561 A. D. and still in use for Christian worship. Diocletian abdicated the imperial throne in 305 A. D., but his subordinates and successors, Galerius and Constantius, continued the persecution for six years. Constantine, the son of Constantius, as co-emperor, who was not at that time a professing Christian, issued his memorable Edict of Toleration in 313 A. D. By this law Christianity was sanctioned, its worship was made lawful, and all persecution ceased, not to be renewed while the Roman Empire endured.

evils. The ceasing of persecution was a blessing, but the establishment of Christianity as the state religion became a curse.

Everybody sought membership in the church, and nearly everybody was received. Both good and bad, sincere seekers after God and hypocritical seekers after gain, rushed into the communion. Ambitious, worldly, unscrupulous men sought office in the church for social and political influence. The moral tone of Christianity in power was far below that which had marked the same people under persecution.

(1) Everybody in the Church.

(2) Pagan Usages.

The services of worship increased in splendor, but were less spiritual and hearty than those of former times. The forms and ceremonies of paganism gradually crept into the worship. Some of the old heathen feasts became church festivals with change of name and of worship. About 405 A. D. images of saints and martyrs began to appear in the churches, at first as memorials, then in succession revered, adored, and worshiped. The adoration of the Virgin Mary was substituted for the worship of Venus and Diana; the Lord's Supper became a sacrifice in place of a memorial; and the elder evolved from a preacher into a priest.

(3) A Worldly Church.

As a result of the church sitting in power, we do not see Christianity transforming the world to its own ideal, but the world dominating the church. The humility and saintliness of an earlier age was succeeded by ambition, pride, and arrogance, among churchmen. There were still many Christians of pure spirit, like Monica the mother of Augustine,

evil of infanticide to disappear throughout the empire.

Through all the history of the Roman republic and of the empire until Christianity became dominant, more than half of the population were slaves, without the slightest protection of law. A man could kill his slaves, if he had the whim to do so. Under one of the early emperors, a wealthy Roman was murdered by one of his slaves, and by law all the three hundred slaves in his household were put to death, regardless of their sex or age, their guilt or innocence. But with Christianity in control, the treatment of slaves at once became more humane; legal rights were given them never possessed before. They could bring accusation of cruel treatment against masters; and emancipation was sanctioned and encouraged. Thus everywhere the condition of slaves was ameliorated and slavery was gradually abolished.

The gladiatorial games were interdicted. This law was enforced in Constantine's new capital, where the Hippodrome was never defiled by men slaughtering each other for the pleasure of the spectators; but the combats lingered in the Roman amphitheatre until 404 A. D., when the monk Telemachus leaped into the arena and endeavored to part the gladiators. He was slain, but from that time the killing of men for the enjoyment of a crowd ceased.

But while the triumph of Christianity resulted in much that was good, inevitably the alliance of the state and the church also brought in its train many

lated the city of Constantinople. In the Greek Church it was called *Ἐπισημὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*, the meeting (*occursus*) of the Lord and His mother with Simeon and Anna. The Armenians call it: "The Coming of the Son of God into the Temple", and still keep it on the 14th of February (Tondini di Quaracchi, *Calendrier de la Nation Arménienne*, 1906, 48); the Copts term it "Presentation of the Lord in the Temple" (Nilles, *Kal. man.*, II, 571, 643). Perhaps the decree



CANDLES LEFT AT THE HOUSES OF DISTINGUISHED VIRGINS (MS. ON THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINE, UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE)

of Justinian gave occasion also to the Roman Church (to Gregory I?) to introduce this feast, but definite information is wanting on this point. The feast appears in the Gelasianum (manuscript tradition of the seventh century) under the new title of Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The procession is not mentioned. Pope Sergius I (687-701) introduced a procession for this day. The Gregorianum (tradition of the eighth century) does not mention it. The fact proves that the procession of Sergius was the ordinary "station", not the liturgical act of to-day. The feast was certainly not introduced by Pope Gelasius to suppress the excesses of the Lupercalia (Migne, *Missale Gothicum*, 691), and it spread slowly in the West; it is not found in the "Lectionary" of Silos (850) nor in the "Calendar" (731-741) of Sainte-Geneviève of Paris. In the East it was celebrated as a feast of the Lord; in the West as a feast of Mary; although the "Invitatorium" (*Gaude et letare, Jerusalem, occursus Deo tuo*), the antiphons and responsories remind us of its original conception as a feast of the Lord. The blessing of the candles did not enter into common use before the eleventh century; it has nothing in common with the procession of the Lupercalia. In the Latin Church this feast (*Purificatio B.M.V.*) is a double of the second class. In the Middle Ages it had an octave in the larger number of dioceses; also to-day the religious orders whose special object is the veneration of the Mother of God (Carmelites, Servites) and many dioceses (Loreto, the Province of Siena, etc.) celebrate the octave.

KELLNER, *Heortologie* (Freiburg, 1906), 128; DUCHESNE, *Christian Worship*, tr. (London, 1904); PROBST, *Sacramentarium* (Münster, 1892); HOLWECK, *Festkalender* (Freiburg, 1892), 16.

BLESSING OF CANDLES AND PROCESSION.—According to the Roman Missal the celebrant after Tierce, in stole and cope of purple colour, standing at the epistle side of the altar, blesses the candles (which must be of beeswax). Having sung or recited the five orations prescribed, he sprinkles and incenses the candles. Then he distributes them to the clergy and laity, whilst the choir sings the canticle of Simeon, "Nunc dimittis". The antiphon "Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tue Israel" is repeated after every verse, according to the medieval custom of singing the antiphons. During the pro-

cession pieces which, text and music, have been borrowed by the Roman Church from the Greeks. The other antiphons are of Roman origin. The solemn procession represents the entry of Christ, who is the Light of the World, into the Temple of Jerusalem. It forms an essential part of the liturgical services of the day, and must be held in every parochial church where the required ministers can be had. The procession is always kept on 2 February even when the office and Mass of the feast is transferred to 3 February. Before the reform of the Latin liturgy by St. Pius V (1568), in the churches north and west of the Alps this ceremony was more solemn. After the fifth oration a preface was sung. The "Adorna" was preceded by the antiphon "Ave Maria". While now the procession is held inside the church, during the Middle Ages the clergy left the church and visited the cemetery surrounding it. Upon the return of the procession a priest, carrying an image of the Holy Child, met it at the door and entered the church with the clergy, who sang the canticle of Zachary, "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel". At the conclusion, entering the sanctuary, the choir sang the responsory, "Gaude Maria Virgo" or the prose, "Inviolata" or some other antiphon in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

CHEVALER, *Ordinaires de Laon* (Paris, 1897); P.L., CXLVII, 185; HOEYNEK, *Liturgie von Augsburg* (Augsburg, 1899); FREISEN, *Liber Appendicium eccl. Slesvicensis* (Paderborn, 1898); SCHÖNFELDER, *Ritualbücher* (Paderborn, 1904).

FREDERICK G. HOLWECK.

Candles.—The word candle (*candela*, from *candeo*, to burn) was introduced into the English language as an ecclesiastical term, probably as early as the eighth century. It was known in classical times and denoted any kind of taper in which a wick, not uncommonly made of a strip of papyrus, was encased in wax or animal fat. We need not shrink from admitting that candles, like incense and lustral water, were commonly employed in pagan worship and in the rites paid to the dead. But the Church from a very early period took them into her service, just as she adopted many other things indifferent in themselves, which seemed proper to enhance the splendour of religious ceremonial. We must not forget that most of these adjuncts to worship, like music, lights, perfumes, ablutions, floral decorations, canopies, fans, screens, bells, vestments, etc. were not identified with any idolatrous cult in particular; they were common to almost all cults. They are, in fact, part of the natural language of mystical expression, and such things belong quite as much to secular ceremonial as they do to religion. The salute of an assigned number of guns, a tribute which is paid by a warship to the flag of a foreign power, is just as much or as little worthy to be described as superstitious as the display of an assigned number of candles upon the altar at high Mass. The carrying of tapers figures among the marks of respect prescribed to be shown to the highest dignitaries of the Roman Empire in the "Notitia Dignitatum Imperii". It is highly probable that the candles which were borne from a very early period before the pope or the bishop when he went in procession to the sanctuary, or which attended the transport of the book of the Gospels to the *ambo* or pulpit from which the deacon read, were nothing more than an adaptation of this secular practice.

The use of a multitude of candles and lamps was undoubtedly a prominent feature of the celebration of the Easter vigil, dating, we may believe, almost from Apostolic times. Eusebius (*Vita Constant.*, IV, xxii) speaks of the "pillars of wax" with which Constantine transformed night into day, and Prudentius and other authors have left eloquent descriptions of the bril-

or authority. When this distinction in name was introduced, of course it was followed by a distinction of authority. The bishop came to be recognized as having greater voice in the affairs of the church than the other elders. The authority of the bishop increased until each bishop was assigned a definite territory over which to rule or have the oversight. This territory was called a diocese. In some cases the diocese was so large that one bishop could not look after it, and this situation called for a division of the territory. In this way, another class of officer was created. He was called the "Chorepiscopus" or "Country Bishop." His rank was midway between the "City Bishop" and the elders.

Various questions and problems would arise and it was thought necessary for the Bishop and Presbyters or elders to meet and discuss them. This gave rise to the practice of calling occasional conventions. This idea grew until these conventions took on the nature of permanent institutions and were known as Synods and Councils. They were called synods by the Greeks and councils by the Latins. Those who attended these meetings gradually became legislative bodies with power to decide issues and make decrees for the churches.

The Councils and Synods were presided over by the bishops of the churches from the chief cities. This naturally augmented the power of these Bishops. The position of president of a council soon came to be regarded as an office within itself. The situation called for a name to distinguish this officer from other bishops in the church. So a new name in church organization was added to the already growing list of un-

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH DURING THE ANTE-NICENE PERIOD (Concluded)

In the preceding chapter the various stages of imperial persecutions against the church were discussed. It was during this same period that the organization of the church began to undergo a gradual change which marked the beginning of a great apostasy.

The apostles had definitely foretold that a falling away would take place. They had even warned that false teachers would arise from within the church, even from among its elders, speaking perverse things to draw away the disciples after them.¹ In view of the predictions of the apostles, it is interesting to notice that the first departure from the New Testament pattern which history records did take place through the action of some elders of the church of the Lord.

I. CHANGES IN ORGANIZATION

Sometime during the second century the practice was introduced of selecting one of the elders to preside over the meetings as a permanent president. This elder was called the "bishop," to distinguish him from the other elders. The New Testament applies the terms "elders" and "bishops" to the same men in the church. No distinction was made among them in rank

¹ Acts 20:28-31; 2 Tim. 4:1-6; 2:1-12.

John D. Cox, Church History,
Dehoff Publications: Murfreesboro, 1980, p.28

scriptural offices and officers. Those who presided over the councils were called *metropolitans*.

Up to the fourth century these Councils or Synods were held in the various provinces over which the Metropolitans ruled and each Metropolitan was independent of all the other Metropolitans in the government of his province. (In) 325 A. D. the emperor Constantine called the first General Ecumenical Council. This Council was composed of Commissioners from all the churches of the Christian World and represented the Church Universal. 2

The ecclesiastical rulers who were placed over these larger districts were called patriarchs, which means "chief fathers." At first there were only three patriarchs; at Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. Later, the bishops of Jerusalem and Constantinople were made Patriarchs, making five in all.

A study of these facts of history should serve as a solemn reminder that small beginnings in the wrong direction may result in wide departures from the truth of God. The organization of the church underwent so many changes that it held no resemblance to the New Testament pattern. God's way was for each congregation to have elders and deacons. The elders were also called bishops, pastors and presbyters.

As the movement began away from this simple plan, first we see one elder distinguished from others as the bishop; then there were city bishops and country bishops; next there came the metropolitans; then the patriarchs. This brings us to within one step of the pope who gained power over both church and state.

2 George A. Klingman *Church History For Busy People* (Cincinnati, 1928) 13.

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disputes" but met at stated seasons and became permanent institutions. The bishops assumed more and more authority and finally secured absolute control of the Synods. Up to the fourth century these Councils or Synods were held in the various provinces over which the Metropolitans ruled and each Metropolitan was independent of all the other Metropolitans in the government of his province. 325 A. D. the emperor Constantine called the first General or Ecumenical Council. This Council was composed of Commissioners from all the churches of the Christian World and represented the Church Universal. Still another ecclesiastical innovation was introduced in this century. The political rulers of the large divisions of the Roman Empire were called "Exarchs" and this title was also given to the ecclesiastical rulers of these districts. The term "Exarch" was later changed to "Patriarch" (Chief Father). At first only three bishops were thus designated; namely, the bishops of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch; but ere long the bishops of Jerusalem and Constantinople were made Patriarchs. We may judge of the influence and extent of the "love of pre-eminence" even as early as the fourth century, by the following extract from the pen of Gregory of Nazianzus. "Would to heaven there was no primacy, no eminence of place and no precedence of rank; that we might be known by eminence of virtue alone. But as the case now stands, the distinction of a seat at the right hand, or the left, or in the middle, at a higher or a lower place, of going before or aside of each other, has given rise to many disorders among us to no salutary purpose whatever, and plunged multitudes into ruin." In 451 in the Council of Chalcedon it was resolved, that the same rights and

J.L. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History,
trans. by A. Maclaine
Applegate, Pounsford and Co.: Cincinnati, 1869, p.86

some particulars, and gave it a greater extent. Although he permitted the church to remain a body-politic, distinct from that of the state, as it had formerly been, yet he assumed to himself the supreme power over this sacred body, and the right of modelling and governing it in such a manner as should be most conducive to the public good. This right he enjoyed without any opposition, as none of the bishops presumed to call his authority in question. The people therefore continued, as usual, to choose freely their bishops and their teachers. The bishop governed the church, and managed the ecclesiastical affairs of the city or district, where he presided in council with the presbyters, not without a due regard to the suffrages of the whole assembly of the people. The provincial bishops also deliberated together upon those matters which related to the interests of the churches of a whole province, as also concerning religious controversies, the forms and rites of divine service, and other things of like moment. To these minor councils, which were composed of the ecclesiastical deputies of one or more provinces, were afterwards added *œcumenical councils*, consisting of commissioners from all the churches in the Christian world, and which, consequently, represented the church universal. These were established by the authority of the emperor, who assembled the first of these councils at Nice. This prince thought it equitable, that questions of superior importance, and such as intimately concerned the interests of Christianity in general, should be examined and decided in assemblies that represented the whole body of the Christian church; and in this it is highly probable, that his judgment was directed by that of the bishops. There were never, indeed, any councils holden, which could, with strict propriety, be called *universal*; those, however, whose laws and decrees were approved and admitted by the universal church, or the greatest part of that sacred body, are commonly called *œcumenical* or *general* councils.

II. The rights and privileges of the several ecclesiastical orders were, however, gradually changed and diminished, from the time that the church began to be torn with divisions, and agitated with those violent dissensions and tumults, to which the elections of bishops, the diversity of religious opinions, and other things of a like nature, too frequently gave rise. In these religious quarrels, the weaker generally fled to the court for protection and succour; and thereby furnished the emperors with opportunities of setting limits to the power of the bishops, of infringing the liberties of the people, and of modifying, in various ways, the ancient customs according to their pleasure. And, indeed, even the bishops themselves, whose opulence and authority were considerably increased since the reign of Constantine, began to introduce innovations into the forms of ecclesiastical discipline, and to change the ancient government of the church. Their first step was an entire exclusion of the people from all part in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs; and, afterwards, they by degrees divested even the presbyters of their ancient privileges, and their primitive authority, that they might have no

their proceedings; and, principally, that they might either engross to themselves, or distribute as they thought proper, the possessions and revenues of the church. Hence, at the conclusion of this century, there remained no more than a mere shadow of the ancient government of the church. Many of the privileges which had formerly belonged to the presbyters and people, were usurped by the bishops; and many of the rights, which had been formerly vested in the universal church, were transferred to the emperors, and to subordinate officers and magistrates.

III. Constantine, in order to prevent civil commotions, and to fix his authority upon solid and stable foundations, made several changes, not only in the laws of the empire, but also in the form of the Roman government;* and as there were many important reasons, which induced him to suit the administration of the church to these changes in the civil constitution, this necessarily introduced, among the bishops, new degrees of eminence and rank. Three prelates had, before this, enjoyed a certain degree of pre-eminence over the rest of the episcopal order, viz. the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria; and to these the bishop of Constantinople was added, when the imperial residence was transferred to that city. These four prelates answered to the four Prætorian præfects created by Constantine; and it is possible that, in this very century, they were distinguished by the Jewish title of patriarchs. After these, followed the exarchs, who had the inspection over several provinces, and answered to the appointment of certain civil officers who bore the same title. In a lower class were the metropolitans, who had only the government of one province; under whom were the archbishops, whose inspection was confined to certain districts. In this gradation, the bishops brought up the rear; the sphere of their authority was not, in all places, equally extensive; being in some considerably ample, and in others confined within narrow limits. To these various ecclesiastical orders, we might add that of the *chorediscopi*, or superintendants of the country churches; but this order was, in most places, suppressed by the bishops, with a design to extend their own authority, and enlarge the sphere of their power and jurisdiction.*

IV. The administration of the church was divided, by Constantine himself, into an *external* and an *internal* inspection.* The latter, which was committed to bishops and councils, related to religious controversies, the forms of divine worship, the offices of the priests, the vices of the ecclesiastical orders, &c. The external administration of the church, the emperor assumed to himself. This comprehended all those things which relate to the outward state and discipline of the church; it likewise extended to all contests and debates that might arise among the ministers of the church, superior as well as inferior, concerning their possessions, their reputation, their rights and privileges, their offences against the laws and things of a like nature;* but no controversies that related to matters purely religious were cognizable by this external inspection. In consequence of this artful division of the ecclesiastical government, Constantine and his successors called councils presided in

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spirit of monasticism. Christians are taught to remain in touch with the world but to conduct themselves in such a manner as to influence it for good. They are to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world.¹¹ By living the principles of Christianity as we dwell among men, we may avoid the two extremes of withdrawing from the world on the one hand and of becoming as worldly as the world on the other.

V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAPAL POWER

In a former lesson attention was called to changes in the organization of the church which were leading to the development of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. Let us return to this phase of our study to notice the development of papal power.

When Rome lost her place as capital of the world by the founding of Constantinople as the capital of the Roman Empire in 325 A.D., she began to assert her right to be the capital of the church.

The five presiding bishops who lived in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome were called "Patriarchs." The Patriarch at Rome took the title of "papa, father," afterward modified into "pope." A bitter battle for power was waged among the patriarchs. This battle finally narrowed down to a contest between the pope of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople as to which should be the head of the church. In 588 A.D. the patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster, assumed the title of "Universal Bishop of the Church." This was bitterly contested by the pope of Rome. In 606 A. D., the emperor took the title of "Universal Bishop" away from John the Faster and conferred it upon Boniface III then Pope of Rome.

¹¹ Matt. 5:13-16.

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Thus papal supremacy was formally introduced. The date, 606 A.D. really marks the beginning of what is now known as the Roman Catholic Church, in a fully organized state, with the pope of Rome as its head.

A study of these historical facts should impress us with the importance of keeping the church and civil government entirely separate. It is bad for both church and state, for either to seek to direct the affairs of the other.

John D. Cox, Church History,
Dehoff Publications: Murfreesboro, 1980, p.42-3

compelled them to depose Gregory as pope. The pope then exercised his power and absolved all of Henry's subjects from allegiance to him. Since the pope had great power over the people, Henry was left without a kingdom. In order to be forgiven by the pope and reinstated as king, Henry was forced to lay aside his royal garments and make a journey over the Alps in the dead of winter and approach the pope in his palace at Canossa. After being forced to stand outside the castle for three days, with his bare feet in the snow, he was admitted into the pope's presence on bended knees.

"Another famous instance occurred later during the time of Pope Innocent III, who deposed John as King of England for opposing the Papal authority."¹

Innocent III believed that he was the "Vicerent of God upon earth."² He believed himself to be the successor to St. Peter and that he possessed "authority, not only over the church, but over the world."³

II. CATHOLIC CLAIM FOR THE POPE TODAY

At this point, we raise the question as to the power that is claimed by the pope of Rome today. Does the pope still consider himself the successor to St. Peter? Does he still believe that the authority to rule over the world in both religious and civil affairs rightfully belongs to him? Does the Catholic Church still believe that such power should be exercised by the pope, or have Catholics changed? The only fair way to answer

¹ Frank Paek, *Lessons in Church History* (Chattanooga, 1940), 18.
² John McClintock and James Strong, *Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopedia*, eds., 12 vols. (New York, 1891), IV 591.
³ Fisher, *History Of The Christian Church*, 192.

Chapter V.

THE CHURCH DURING THE DARK AGES
(Concluded)

In our last study we saw how the patriarch at Rome succeeded in gaining the preeminence over the patriarchs in four other cities. The power of the Pope of Rome was formally and legally recognized when, in 606 A. D., the emperor designated Boniface III as the "Universal Bishop of the Church." In this lesson we trace the development of the power of the Pope until he becomes the head of both the church and the state.

I. THE CULMINATION OF PAPAL POWER

The growth of papal power was gradual. The popes took the place of the Roman emperors as the rulers of Italy and later during the time of Charlemagne assumed the power of crowning the kings of Europe. As the power of the pope increased, it met with resistance on the part of many kings and princes. Bitter controversies occurred. One of the most notable of these took place between Henry IV of Germany and Pope Gregory VII, or Hildebrand. Among other acts of discipline which he directed toward Henry IV's reign, Pope Gregory excommunicated five of Henry's counsellors who had been guilty of simony. Henry IV, feeling keenly the threat of his own power, called together the bishops of the Holy Roman Empire and

Ignatius, Epistle to the Trallians, 3, (107 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.67

EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS.

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be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostle of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in whom, if we live, we shall [at last] be found. It is fitting also that the deacons, as being [the ministers] of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, should in every respect be pleasing to all.¹ For they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the Church of God. They are bound, therefore, to avoid all grounds of accusation [against them], as they would do fire.

our hope, in whom, if we live, we shall be found in Him. It behoves you also, in every way, to please the deacons, who are [ministers] of the mysteries of Christ Jesus; for they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the Church of God. They are bound, therefore, to avoid all grounds of accusation [against them], as they would a burning fire. Let them, then, prove themselves to be such.

CHAP. III. — HONOUR THE DEACONS, etc.

In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as an appointment² of Jesus Christ, and the bishop as Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father, and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and assembly³ of the apostles. Apart from these, there is no Church.⁴ Concerning all this, I am persuaded that ye are of the same opinion. For I have received the manifestation⁵ of your love, and still have it with me, in your bishop, whose very appearance is highly instructive,⁶ and his meekness of itself a power; whom I imagine even the ungodly must reverence, seeing they are⁷ also pleased that I do not spare myself. But shall I, when permitted to write on this point, reach such a height of self-esteem, that though being a condemned⁸ man, I should issue commands to you as if I were an apostle?

And do ye reverence them as Christ Jesus, of whose place they are the keepers, even as the bishop is the representative of the Father of all things, and the presbyters are the sanhedrim of God, and assembly³ of the apostles of Christ. Apart from these there is no elect Church, no congregation of holy ones, no assembly of saints. I am persuaded that ye also are of this opinion. For I have received the manifestation⁵ of your love, and still have it with me, in your bishop, whose very appearance is highly instructive, and his meekness of itself a power; whom I imagine even the ungodly must reverence. Loving you as I do, I avoid writing in any severer strain to you, that I may not seem harsh to any, or wanting [in tenderness]. I am indeed bound for the sake of Christ, but I am not yet worthy of Christ. But when I am perfected, perhaps I shall then become so. I do not issue orders like an apostle.

CHAP. IV. — I HAVE NEED OF HUMILITY.

I have great knowledge in God,⁹ but I restrain myself, lest I should perish through boasting. For now it is needful for me to be the more fearful, and not give heed to those that puff me up. For they that speak to me [in the way of commendation] scourge me. For I do indeed desire to suffer, but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For this longing, though it is not manifest to many, all the more vehemently assails me.¹⁰ I therefore have need of meekness, by which the prince of this world is brought to nought.

But I measure myself, that I may not perish through boasting: but it is good to glory in the Lord.¹⁰ And even though I were established¹¹ in things pertaining to God, yet then would it befit me to be the more fearful, and not give heed to those that vainly puff me up. For those that commend me scourge me. [I do indeed desire to suffer¹²], but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For the envy of the wicked one is not visible to many, but it wars against me. I therefore have need of meekness, by which the devil, the prince of this world, is brought to nought.

¹ It is doubtful whether this exhortation is addressed to the deacons or people: whether the former are urged in all respects to please the latter, or the latter in all points to be pleased with the former. ² Literally, "commandment." The text, which is faulty in the MS., has been amended as above by Smith. ³ Or, "conjunction." ⁴ Literally, "no Church is called." ⁵ Or, "pattern." ⁶ Literally, "great instruction." ⁷ Some here follow a text similar to that of the longer recension. ⁸ Both the text and meaning are here very doubtful: some follow the reading of the longer recension. ⁹ Literally, "I know many things in God." ¹⁰ 1 Cor. i. 31. ¹¹ Or, "confirmed." ¹² Omitted in the MS. ¹³ A different turn altogether is given to this passage in the longer recension.

Ignatius, Epistle to the Smyrneans, VIII, (107 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.89

EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNÆANS.

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consequence, incur condemnation.¹ "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."² Let not [high] place puff any one up: for that which is worth all is³ faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred. But consider those who are of a different opinion with respect to the grace of Christ which has come unto us, how opposed they are to the will of God. They have no regard for love; no care for the widow, or the orphan, or the oppressed; of the bond, or of the free; of the hungry, or of the thirsty.

person, a master or a servant, a man or a woman. "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."² Let no man's place, or dignity, or riches, puff him up; and let no man's low condition or poverty abase him. For the chief points are faith towards God, hope towards Christ, the enjoyment of those good things for which we look, and love towards God and our neighbour. For, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself."⁴ And the Lord says, "This is life eternal, to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent."⁵ And again, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."⁶ Do ye, therefore, notice those who preach other doctrines, how they affirm that the Father of Christ cannot be known, and how they exhibit enmity and deceit in their dealings with one another. They have no regard for love; they despise the good things we expect hereafter; they regard present things as if they were durable; they ridicule him that is in affliction; they laugh at him that is in bonds.

CHAP. VII. — LET US STAND ALOOF FROM SUCH HERETICS.

They abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer,⁷ because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of His goodness, raised up again. Those, therefore, who speak against this gift of God, incur death¹¹ in the midst of their disputes. But it were better for them to treat it with respect,¹³ that they also might rise again. It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons, and not to speak of¹⁵ them either in private or in public, but to give heed to the prophets, and above all, to the Gospel, in which the passion [of Christ] has been revealed to us, and the resurrection has been fully proved.¹⁶ But avoid all divisions, as the beginning of evils.

They are ashamed of the cross; they mock at the passion; they make a jest of the resurrection. They are the offspring of that spirit who is the author of all evil, who led Adam,⁸ by means of his wife, to transgress the commandment, who slew Abel by the hands of Cain, who fought against Job, who was the accuser of Joshua⁹ the son of Josedech, who sought to "sift the faith"¹⁰ of the apostles, who stirred up the multitude of the Jews against the Lord, who also now "worketh in the children of disobedience;"¹² from whom the Lord Jesus Christ will deliver us, who prayed that the faith of the apostles might not fail,¹⁴ not because He was not able of Himself to preserve it, but because He rejoiced in the pre-eminence of the Father. It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons, and neither in private nor in public to talk with¹⁵ them; but to give heed to the law, and the prophets, and to those who have preached to you the word of salvation. But flee from all abominable heresies, and those that cause schisms, as the beginning of evils.

CHAP. VIII. — LET NOTHING BE DONE WITHOUT THE BISHOP.

See that ye all follow the bishop, even as Jesus Christ does the Father, and the presbytery as ye would the apostles; and reverence the deacons, as being the institution¹⁷ of God. Let no man do anything connected with the Church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper¹⁸ Eucharist, which is [administered] either

See that ye all follow the bishop, even as Christ Jesus does the Father, and the presbytery as ye would the apostles. Do ye also reverence the deacons, as those that carry out [through their office] the appointment of God. Let no man do anything connected with the Church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper¹⁸ Eucharist, which is [administered] either by the bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude [of the people] also be;

¹ Literally, "judgment is to them." ² Matt. xix. 14. ³ Literally, "the whole is." ⁴ Deut. vi. 5. ⁵ John xvii. 31.
⁶ John xiii. 34; Matt. xxii. 40. ⁷ Theodoret, in quoting this passage, reads *προσφοράς*, "offering."
⁸ Literally, "drove Adam out of." ⁹ Zech. iii. 1. ¹⁰ Luke xxii. 31. ¹¹ Literally, "die disputing." ¹² Eph. ii. 3.
¹³ Literally, "to love." Some think there is a reference to the *agapæ*, or *love-feasts*. ¹⁴ Luke xxii. 32.
¹⁵ The reading is *μετα* in the one case, and *μετα* in the other, though the latter meaning seems preferable. Most of the mss. of the longer recension read *μετα*, as in the shorter. ¹⁶ Literally, "perfected." ¹⁷ Or, "command." ¹⁸ Or, "firm."

Ignatius, Epistle to Polycarp, VI, (107 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.95

EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP.

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submit themselves¹ the more, for the glory of God, that they may obtain from God a better liberty. Let them not long to be set free [from slavery] at the public expense, that they be not found slaves to their own desires.

CHAP. V. — THE DUTIES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES.

Flee evil arts; but all the more discourse in public regarding them.² Speak to my sisters, that they love the Lord, and be satisfied with their husbands both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the Church.³ If any one can continue in a state of purity,⁴ to the honour of Him who is Lord of the flesh,⁵ let him so remain without boasting. If he begins to boast, he is undone; and if he reckon himself greater than⁶ the bishop, he is ruined. But it becomes both men and women who marry, to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to God, and not after their own lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.⁷

Flee evil arts; but all the more discourse in public regarding them. Speak to my sisters, that they love the Lord, and be satisfied with their husbands both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the Church. If any one can continue in a state of purity,⁴ to the honour of the flesh of the Lord, let him so remain without boasting. If he shall boast, he is undone; and if he seeks to be more prominent⁶ than the bishop, he is ruined. But it becomes both men and women who marry, to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to the Lord, and not after their own lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.⁷

CHAP. VI. — THE DUTIES OF THE CHRISTIAN FLOCK.

Give ye⁸ heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. My soul be for theirs⁹ that are submissive to the bishop, to the presbyters, and to the deacons, and may my portion be along with them in God! Labour together with one another; strive in company together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; and awake together, as the stewards, and associates,¹⁰ and servants of God. Please ye Him under whom ye fight, and from whom ye receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism endure as your arms; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as a complete panoply. Let your works be the charge¹² assigned to you, that ye may receive a worthy recompense. Be long-suffering, therefore, with one another, in meekness, as God is towards you. May I have joy of you for ever!¹³

Give ye⁸ heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. My soul be for theirs⁹ that are submissive to the bishop, to the presbytery, and to the deacons: may I have my portion with them from God! Labour together with one another; strive in company together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; and awake together, as the stewards, and associates,¹⁰ and servants of God. Please ye Him under whom ye fight, and from whom ye shall receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism endure as your arms; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as a complete panoply. Let your works be the charge assigned to you, that you may obtain for them a most worthy¹¹ recompense. Be long-suffering, therefore, with one another, in meekness, and God shall be so with you. May I have joy of you for ever!¹³

¹ Or, "act the part of slaves." ² Some insert *us*, and render, "rather do not even speak of them." ³ Eph. v. 25.
⁴ i. e., in celibacy. ⁵ Some render, "to the honour of the flesh of the Lord," as in the longer recension.
⁶ Literally, "if he be known beyond the bishop." ⁷ Comp. 1 Cor. x. 31. ⁸ As this Epistle, though sent to the bishop, was meant to be read to the people, Ignatius here directly addresses them. ⁹ Comp. chap. ii., etc. ¹⁰ Or, "assessors."
¹¹ Literally, "worthy of God." ¹² A military reference, simply implying the idea of faithful effort leading to future reward.
¹³ Comp. Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. ii.

Clement of Alexandria, *The Instructor*, III, 12, (ca.190 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.294

Such are the laws of the Word, the consolatory words not on tables of stone which were written by the finger of the Lord, but inscribed on men's hearts, on which alone they can remain imperishable. Wherefore the tablets of those who had hearts of stone are broken, that the faith of the children may be impressed on softened hearts.

However, both the laws served the Word for the instruction of humanity, both that given by Moses and that by the apostles. What, therefore, is the nature of the training by the apostles, appears to me to require to be treated of. Under this head, I, or rather the Instructor by me,¹ will recount; and I shall again set before you the precepts themselves, as it were in the germ.

"Putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath; neither give place to the devil. Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ hath forgiven you. Be therefore wise,² followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us. Let wives be subject to their own husbands, as to the Lord. And let husbands love their wives, as Christ also hath loved the Church." Let those who are yoked together love one another "as their own bodies." "Children, be obedient to your parents. Parents, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Servants, be obedient to those that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the singleness of your hearts, as unto Christ; with good-will from the soul doing service. And, ye masters, treat your servants well, forbearing threatening: knowing that both their and your Lord is in heaven; and there is no respect of persons with Him."³

"If we live in the Spirit, let us walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of vainglory, provoking one another, envying one another. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. Be not deceived; God is not mocked. Let us not be weary in well-doing: for in due time we shall reap, if we faint not."⁴

"Be at peace among yourselves. Now we admonish you, brethren, warn them who are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the

weak, be patient toward all men. See that none render evil for evil to any man. Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things: hold fast that which is good. Abstain from every form of evil."⁵

"Continue in prayer, watching thereunto with thanksgiving. Walk in wisdom towards them that are without, redeeming the time. Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man."⁶

"Nourish yourselves up in the words of faith. Exercise yourselves unto godliness: for bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable for all things, having the promise of the life which now is, and that which is to come."⁷

"Let those who have faithful masters not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful."⁸

"He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that furieth, with diligence; he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness. Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer. Given to hospitality; communicating to the necessities of the saints."⁹

Such are a few injunctions out of many, for the sake of example, which the Instructor, running over the divine Scriptures, sets before His children; by which, so to speak, vice is cut up by the roots, and iniquity is circumscribed.

Innumerable commands such as these are written in the holy Bible appertaining to chosen persons, some to presbyters, some to bishops, some to deacons, others to widows,¹⁰ of whom we shall have another opportunity of speaking. Many things spoken in enigmas, many in parables, may benefit such as fall in with them. But it is not my province, says the Instructor, to teach these any longer. But we need a Teacher of the exposition of those sacred words, to whom we must direct our steps.

"And now, in truth, it is time for me to cease from my instruction, and for you to listen to the Teacher." And He, receiving you who have been trained up in excellent discipline, will teach you the oracles. To noble purpose has

¹ 1 Thess. v. 12-13, 19-22.

² Col. iv. 2, 5, 9.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 6-8.

⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 2.

⁵ Rom. xii. 8-13.

⁶ [Consult Bunsen's *Handbook*, book iv. pp. 73-82. Thus did primitive Christianity labour to uproot the social estate of heathenism.]

⁷ That is, he who undertakes the instruction of those that are full-grown, as Clemens does in the *Stromata*. [Where see his *esoteric* doctrine.]

⁸ ἐπιμαρτυροῦ. The reading here adopted is found in Bod. and Reg.

⁹ ἀδελφότητος. not found in Eph. v. 1.

¹⁰ Eph. iv. 25-26, v. 1, 2, 28, 25, vi. 1, 4-9.

¹¹ Gal. v. 25, 26, vi. 2, 7, 9.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*, VI, 13, (194 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 2,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1951, p. 505

Church itself, and honoured with the most august glory — the judges and rulers — four-and-twenty (the grace being doubled) equally from Jews and Greeks. Since, according to my opinion, the grades¹ here in the Church, of bishops, presbyters, deacons, are imitations of the angelic glory, and of that economy which, the Scriptures say, awaits those who, following the footsteps of the apostles, have lived in perfection of righteousness according to the Gospel. For these taken up in the clouds, the apostle² writes, will first minister [as deacons], then be classed in the presbyterate, by promotion in glory (for glory differs³ from glory) till they grow into "a perfect man."⁴

CHAP. XIV. — DEGREES OF GLORY IN HEAVEN.

Such, according to David, "rest in the holy hill of God,"⁵ in the Church far on high, in which are gathered the philosophers of God, "who are Israelites indeed, who are pure in heart, in whom there is no guile;"⁶ who do not remain in the seventh seat, the place of rest, but are promoted, through the active beneficence of the divine likeness, to the heritage of beneficence which is the eighth grade; devoting themselves to the pure vision⁷ of insatiable contemplation.

"And other sheep there are also," saith the Lord, "which are not of this fold"⁸ — deemed worthy of another fold and mansion, in proportion to their faith. "But My sheep hear My voice,"⁹ understanding gnostically the commandments. And this is to be taken in a magnanimous and worthy acceptance, along with also the recompense and accompaniment of works. So that when we hear, "Thy faith hath saved thee,"¹⁰ we do not understand Him to say absolutely that those who have believed in any way whatever shall be saved, unless also works follow. But it was to the Jews alone that He spoke this utterance, who kept the law and lived blamelessly, who wanted only faith in the Lord. No one, then, can be a believer and at the same time be licentious; but though he quit the flesh, he must put off the passions, so as to be capable of reaching his own mansion.

Now to know is more than to believe, as to be dignified with the highest honour after being saved is a greater thing than being saved. Accordingly the believer, through great discipline, divesting himself of the passions, passes to the mansion which is better than the former one.

viz., to the greatest torment, taking with him the characteristic of repentance from the sins he has committed after baptism. He is tortured then still more — not yet or not quite attaining what he sees others to have acquired. Besides, he is also ashamed of his transgressions. The greatest torments, indeed, are assigned to the believer. For God's righteousness is good, and His goodness is righteous. And though the punishments cease in the course of the completion of the expiation and purification of each one, yet those have very great and permanent grief who¹¹ are found worthy of the other fold, on account of not being along with those that have been glorified through righteousness.

For instance, Solomon, calling the Gnostic, wise, speaks thus of those who admire the dignity of his mansion: "For they shall see the end of the wise, and to what a degree the Lord has established him."¹² And of his glory they will say, "This was he whom we once held up to derision, and made a byword of reproach; fools that we were! We thought his life madness, and his end dishonourable. How is he reckoned among the sons of God, and his inheritance among the saints?"¹³

Not only then the believer, but even the heathen, is judged most righteously. For since God knew in virtue of His prescience that he would not believe, He nevertheless, in order that he might receive his own perfection gave him philosophy, but gave it him previous to faith. And He gave the sun, and the moon, and the stars to be worshipped; "which God," the Law says,¹⁴ made for the nations, that they might not become altogether atheistical, and so utterly perish. But they, also in the instance of this commandment, having become devoid of sense, and addicting themselves to graven images, are judged unless they repent; some of them because, though able, they would not believe God; and others because, though willing, they did not take the necessary pains to become believers. There were also, however, those who, from the worship of the heavenly bodies, did not return to the Maker of them. For this was the way given to the nations to rise up to God, by means of the worship of the heavenly bodies. But those who would not abide by those heavenly bodies assigned to them, but fell away from them to stocks and stones, "were counted," it is said, "as chaff-dust and as a drop from a jar,"¹⁵ beyond salvation, cast away from the body.

As, then, to be simply saved is the result of

¹ ἑποχῶν. [Book vii. cap. 1, *infra*.]

² 1 Thess. iv. 17.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 41.

⁴ Eph. iv. 13.

⁵ Ps. xv. 1.

⁶ John i. 47; Matt v. 8.

⁷ ἑσπέρη, the third and highest grade of initiation of the Eleusinian mysteries (Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*).

⁸ John x. 16.

⁹ John x. 27.

¹⁰ Mark v. 34, etc.

¹¹ The text here has ὄρα, for which has been substituted (Potter and Syll.) οἱ, as above: ὄρα after ἀνάη (fold) requires to be omitted also in rendering the sentence as we have done.

¹² Wisd. iv. 17.

¹³ Wisd. v. 3-5.

¹⁴ Deut. iv. 19.

¹⁵ Isa. xl. 15.

The Nicene Creed Illumined by Modern Thought
Geddes Macgregor
WM. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1980, p. xi

Traditional English Translation

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made: Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son], Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the Life of the world to come. Amen.

well summarized in Gigot's *Special Introduction to the Bible* (Part ii., 484-500).

Some scholars have thought that our Lord's reference to Jonas in the whale's belly (Matt. xii. 39, 41; Cf. Luke xi. 29, 32) necessarily proved the historical character of the book of Jonas. But Christ may have argued with the Jews on grounds they acknowledged, without raising the question of the historicity of Jonas. Does not the Church in her ritual for the dead ask God to grant to the soul of the dead man "eternal rest with Lazarus, once a beggar?" Does this imply that the Lazarus of our Lord's parable was a real person?

Is not the Bible the only source of faith—the one means whereby the teachings of Christ have been handed down to us?

No, the Bible is not the only source of faith, as Luther taught in the sixteenth century, for without the intervention of a divine, infallible teaching apostolate distinct from the Bible, we could never know with divine certainty what books constitute the inspired Scriptures, or whether the copies we possess to-day agree with the originals.

The Bible itself is but a dead letter calling for a divine interpreter; it is not arranged in systematic form like a creed or catechism; it is often obscure and hard to be understood, as St. Peter says of the Epistles of St. Paul (2 Peter iii. 16; Cf. Acts viii. 30, 31); it is open to many a false interpretation. Moreover, a number of revealed truths have been handed down by divine tradition only.

When Luther first put forth this false view of the transmission of divine revelation, he stated that the Bible could be interpreted by everyone, "even by the humble miller's maid, nay by a child of nine," but when the Anabaptists, the Zwinglians and others denied his teaching, the Bible became "a heresy book," most obscure and difficult to understand. Even in his own day his false theory gave rise to many a new heresy. He says himself in 1525: "There are as many sects and beliefs as there are heads. This fellow will have nothing to do with Baptism; another denies the Sacrament; a third believes that there is another world between this and the Last Day. Some teach that Christ is not God; some say this, some that. There is no rustic so rude but that, if he dreams or fancies anything, it must be the whisper of the Holy Ghost, and he himself a prophet" (Grisar, *Luther*, iv., 386-407).

"What did Luther set up," asks a Protestant theologian, "as a principle of interpretation?" He answers: "In *theory* that Scripture interprets itself; in *practice*, however, as it does not.

The Faith of Our Fathers, 83rd ed., James Cardinal Gibbons,
P.J. Kennedy and Sons, New York, 1917, p.110

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THE FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

from that of his neighbor? Now, in the mind of God the Scriptures can have but one meaning. Is not this variety of interpretations the bitter fruit of your principle: "An infallible Bible is enough for me," and does it not proclaim the absolute necessity of some authorized and unerring interpreter? You tell me to drink of the water of life; but of what use is this water to my parched lips, since you acknowledge that it may be poisoned in passing through the medium of your interpretation?

How satisfactory, on the contrary, and how reasonable is the Catholic teaching on this subject!

According to that system, Christ says to every Christian: Here, my child, is the Word of God, and with it I leave you an infallible interpreter, who will expound for you its hidden meaning and make clear all its difficulties.

Here are the waters of eternal life, but I have created a channel that will communicate these waters to you in all their sweetness without sediment of error.

Here is the written Constitution of My Church. But I have appointed over it a Supreme Tribunal, in the person of one "to whom I have given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," who will preserve that Constitution inviolate, and will not permit it to be torn into shreds by the conflicting opinions of men. And thus my children will be one, as I and the Father are one.

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Small Catechism of Luther.
 notes by J. Stump
 United Lutheran Publications House: Philadelphia, 1907,
 p. 377-8

SCRIPTURE VERSES.—II Tim. 3: 16, 17. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.
 Matt. 6: 33. Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness: and all these things shall be added unto you.
 Acts 16: 30, 31. What must I do to be saved? And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house.
 John 5: 39. Search the Scriptures: for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.
 Ps. 19: 1. The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork.
 II Pet. 1: 21. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

II Tim. 3: 15. From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.
 Prov. 9: 10. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.
 Ps. 119: 105. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.
 Micah 6: 8. He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.
 John 3: 16. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.
 Heb. 1: 1, 2. God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds.

*Acts 16:30.
 *Matt. 6:33.
 *John 5:39.

READING.—The Child Jesus in the Temple, Luke 2: 41-52; or Mary sitting at Jesus' Feet, Luke 10: 38-42.
 ILLUSTRATIONS.—Study of the Scriptures: Jesus and the Apostles at home with them, Matt. 4: 4-10, Acts 2: 14 seq. Timothy, II Tim. 3: 15. The Bereans, Acts 17: 10-12. Various received: The Parable of the Sower, Luke 5: 1-15.

CHAPTER II
 THE CATECHISM.

THE OBJECT of catechetical instruction is to fit us for communicant membership in the Church. Those who were baptized in infancy are members of the Church; but they are not admitted to the Lord's Supper, and hence do not become communicant members, until they have been instructed and confirmed. LUTHER'S SMALL CATECHISM is our text-book for catechetical instruction. It is not only the best book

for this purpose, but is one of the Confessions of our Church, and should become our personal confession of faith. It is called Luther's *Small Catechism*, because Luther wrote a larger one also.

THE AUTHOR of our catechism was Dr. Martin Luther (b. 1483, d. 1546), the great Reformer, through whom God effected the Reformation of the Church in the sixteenth century. He began the Reformation with his Ninety-five Theses against the sale of indulgences, contended against the many errors and abuses that had crept into the Church, and preached and taught the pure truth of the Gospel until his death. (Ninety-five Theses, 1517; Translation of the Bible into German, 1522-34; Larger and Smaller Catechisms, 1529; Augsburg Confession adopted 1530.)

THE CATECHISM CONTAINS the principal teachings of the Bible,—those things which we need to know in order to be saved and to lead a right Christian life. It is not meant to displace the Bible, but to fit us to read and study the Bible with greater profit.

THE FIVE PRINCIPAL PARTS of the catechism are 1. The Ten Commandments. 2. The Creed. 3. The Lord's Prayer. 4. The Sacrament of Holy Baptism. 5. The Sacrament of the Altar.* To these are added Questions on Confession, Morning and Evening Prayers, Thanksgiving before and after Meat, and A Table of Duties.

* Luther says that three things are necessary for every one who would be saved. Like a sick person, 1. He must know what his sickness is. 2. He must know where the medicine is which will cure him. 3. He must desire and seek the medicine, and have it brought to him. Our sickness (sin) is revealed to us by the Ten Commandments. The medicine (God's grace) is made known to us in the Creed. We seek and ask for it in the Lord's Prayer. It is brought to us in the Sacraments.

QUESTIONS.—1. What is the object of catechetical instruction? 2. What is to be said about the relation of baptized children to the Church? 3. What is Luther's *Small Catechism*, and what should it become for us? 4. Who was the author of our Catechism? 5. What does our Catechism contain? 6. Name the five principal parts of the catechism, and the additions to them.

SCRIPTURE READING.—Paul confesses his Faith, Acts 26.

John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion,
Epistle to the Reader, vol.1, trans. by H. Beveridge
WM. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1953

EPISTLE TO THE READER.

God and his angels to witness, that ever since I began to discharge the office of teacher in the Church, my only object has been to do good to the Church, by maintaining the pure doctrine of godliness; yet I believe there never was a man more assailed, stung, and torn by calumny—[as well by the declared enemies of the truth of God, as by many worthless persons who have crept into his Church—as well by monks who have brought forth their frocks from their cloisters to spread infection wherever they come, as by other miscreants not better than they¹]. After this letter to the reader was in the press, I had undoubted information that, at Augsburg, where the Imperial Diet was held, a rumour of my defection to the papacy was circulated, and entertained in the courts of the princes more readily than might have been expected.² This, forsooth, is the return made me by those who certainly are not unaware of numerous proofs of my constancy—proofs which, while they rebut the foul charge, ought to have defended me against it, with all humane and impartial judges. But the devil, with all his crew, is mistaken if he imagines that, by assailing me with vile falsehoods, he can either cool my zeal or diminish my exertions. I trust that God, in his infinite goodness, will enable me to persevere with unruffled patience in the course of his holy vocation. Of this I give the pious reader a new proof in the present edition.

I may further observe, that my object in this work has been, so to prepare and train candidates for the sacred office, for the study of the sacred volume, that they may both have an easy introduction to it, and be able to prosecute it with unfaltering step; for, if I mistake not, I have given a summary of religion in all its parts, and digested it in an order which will make it easy for any one, who rightly comprehends it, to ascertain both what he ought chiefly to look for in Scripture, and also to what head he ought to refer whatever is contained in it. Having thus, as it were, paved the way, as it will be unnecessary, in any Commentaries on Scripture which I may afterwards publish, to enter into long discussions of doctrinal points, and enlarge on commonplaces, I will compress them into narrow compass. In this way much trouble and fatigue will be spared to the pious reader, provided he comes prepared with a knowledge of the present work as an indispensable prerequisite. The system here followed being set forth as in a mirror in all my Commentaries, I think it better to let it speak for itself than to give any verbal explanation of it.

¹ The passage in brackets occurs only in the French original. The words are as follows: "Tant des ennemis manifestes de la vérité de Dieu, que de beaucoup de canailles qui se sont fourrez en son Eglise: tant des Moines qui ont apporté leurs frocs hors de leurs cloistres pour infecter le lieu où ils venoyent, que d'autres vilains qui ne valent pas mieux qu'eux."

² The words in the French are, "Avec trop grande facilité; ce qui monstroit que beaucoup de meschans hypocrites, faisans profession de l'Evangile, eussent bien voulu qu'ainsi fust." With too great facility; showing that many wicked hypocrites, making profession of the gospel, would have been very glad it had been so.

Declaratory Statement

While the ordination vow of ministers, ruling elders, and deacons, as set forth in the Form of Government, requires the reception and adoption of the Confession of Faith only as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures, nevertheless, seeing that the desire has been formally expressed for a disavowal by the Church of certain inferences drawn from statements in the Confession of Faith, and also for a declaration of certain aspects of revealed truth which appear at the present time to call for more explicit statement, therefore The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America does authoritatively declare as follows:

First, With reference to Chapter III of the Confession of Faith: that concerning those who are saved in Christ, the doctrine of God's eternal decree is held in harmony with the doctrine of his love to all mankind, his gift of his Son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and his readiness to bestow his saving grace on all who seek it; that concerning those who perish, the doctrine of God's eternal decree is held in harmony with the doctrine that God desires not the death of any sinner, but has provided in Christ a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and freely offered in the gospel to all; that men are fully responsible for their treatment of God's gracious offer; that his decree hinders no man from accepting that offer; and that no man is condemned except on the ground of his sin.

Second, With reference to Chapter X, Section 3, of the Confession of Faith, that it is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost. We believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how he pleases.

*Additional interpretations of original Chapters 3 and 10 (UP).

Edward T. Hiscox, The Standard Manual for Baptist Churches,
The American Baptist Publication Society: Philadelphia,
1890, p.22

CHAPTER IV

CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP

It is most likely that in the Apostolic age when there was but "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism," and no differing denominations existed, the baptism of a convert by that very act constituted him a member of the church, and at once endowed him with all the rights and privileges of full membership. In that sense, "baptism was the door into the church." Now, it is different; and while the churches are desirous of receiving members, they are wary and cautious that they do not receive unworthy persons. The churches therefore have candidates come before them, make their statement, give their "experience," and then their reception is decided by a vote of the members. And while they cannot become members without baptism, yet it is the vote of the body which admits them to its fellowship on receiving baptism.

The Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church,
The United Methodist Publishing House: Nashville, 1976,
 p. 57

LANDMARK DOCUMENTS

68

every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually.

Article VIII.—Of Free Will

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith, and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good work, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

Article IX.—Of the Justification of Man

We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith, only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort.

Article X.—Of Good Works

Although good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and spring out of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree is discerned by its fruit.

Article XI.—Of Works of Supererogation

Voluntary works—besides, over and above God's commandments—which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than the bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly:

Joseph Smith, The Pearl of Great Price, Articles of Faith,
The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: Salt Lake
City, 1977, p.60

THE ARTICLES OF FAITH

OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

1. We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

3. We believe that through the Atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

4. We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel are: first, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by prophecy, and by the laying on of hands, by those who are in authority to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the Primitive Church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.

8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this [the American] continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and, that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.

11. We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.

13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul— We believe all things, we hope all things, we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things.

JOSEPH SMITH.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1910

THE WATCH TOWER

ould be cut off. If we were
 ould still be a great deal
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 eral and to literally stand
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 in some of the tribulation

STUDY?

BE A CLEAR UNFOLDING TH

RE STUDIES are, of course,
 the Apostles. We do not
 to give any interpretation
 already given by our Lord
 so fit and dovetail with

time, in the ending of this age, that we are favored with such
 a clear unfolding of spiritual things. It is also our thought
 that present blessings of a temporal kind, such as the electric
 light, are duo for similar reasons. We believe that any other
 explanation would confer too great honor upon the individual
 connected with the production. The very ablest minds in the
 world have examined these subjects, but now, by God's grace,
 we have come to the place where the veil is taken away and
 where we can see the real meaning of God's Word—not merely
 one person can see it, but hundreds, thousands, see it.

We think that we get the right conception to thus view
 it rather than to think that we had some great power which
 enabled us to put together a great system of theology, more
 wonderful than all other systems of theology put together—a
 thousand times more wonderful. Therefore, the simplest way
 to explain the matter is to acknowledge that the Lord's due
 time has come and that he has guided to the right under-
 standing.

If, then, the Lord has provided us with something in our
 day that other days than those of the Apostles knew nothing
 about, no matter how good nor how wise they were—for us to
 ignore the line of teaching which has been thus developed
 would be, in our judgment, to ignore the Lord's providences.
 It is for each one to think for himself, however, and to guide
 his conduct in every way accordingly.

If the six volumes of SCRIPTURE STUDIES are practically
 the Bible topically arranged, with Bible proof-texts given, we
 might not improperly name the volumes—the Bible in an
 arranged form. That is to say, they are not merely comments
 on the Bible, but they are practically the Bible itself, since
 there is no desire to build any doctrine or thought on any
 individual preference or on any individual wisdom, but to
 present the entire matter on the lines of the Word of God. We
 therefore think it safe to follow this kind of reading, this kind
 of instruction, this kind of Bible study.

Furthermore, not only do we find that people cannot see
 the divine plan in studying the Bible by itself, but we see, also,
 that if anyone lays the SCRIPTURE STUDIES aside, even after he
 has used them, after he has become familiar with them, after
 he has read them for ten years—if he then lays them aside and
 ignores them and goes to the Bible alone, though he has under-
 stood his Bible for ten years, our experience shows that within
 two years he goes into darkness. On the other hand, if he had
 merely read the SCRIPTURE STUDIES with their references, and
 had not read a page of the Bible, as such, he would be in the
 light at the end of the two years, because he would have the
 light of the Scriptures.

Our thought, therefore, is that these SCRIPTURE STUDIES
 are a great assistance, a very valuable help, in the understand-
 ing of God's Word. If these books are to be of any value to
 us it must be because we see in them loyalty to the Word of
 God, and as far as our judgment goes, see them to be in full
 harmony with the Word and not antagonistic to it. Therefore,
 in reading them the first time, and perhaps the second time,
 and before we would accept anything as being our own personal
 faith and conviction, we should say, "I will not take it because
 these studies say so; I wish to see what the Bible says." And
 so we would study the Scriptures in the light of these SCRIP-
 TURE STUDIES; we would prove every point, or disprove it, as
 the case might be. We would be satisfied with nothing less
 than a thorough investigation of the Bible from this stand-
 point.

If, after doing that, we should find the books to be in accord
 with the Bible, then we would think we were logical in saying,
 "I will not need to go through that process now every time
 that I read the SCRIPTURE STUDIES, for I have looked up those

Father who had
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 which says, "The
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"SCRIPTURE

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Phillips, The Church of Christ,
Funk and Wagnalls Co.:New York, 1907, p.322

322 THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

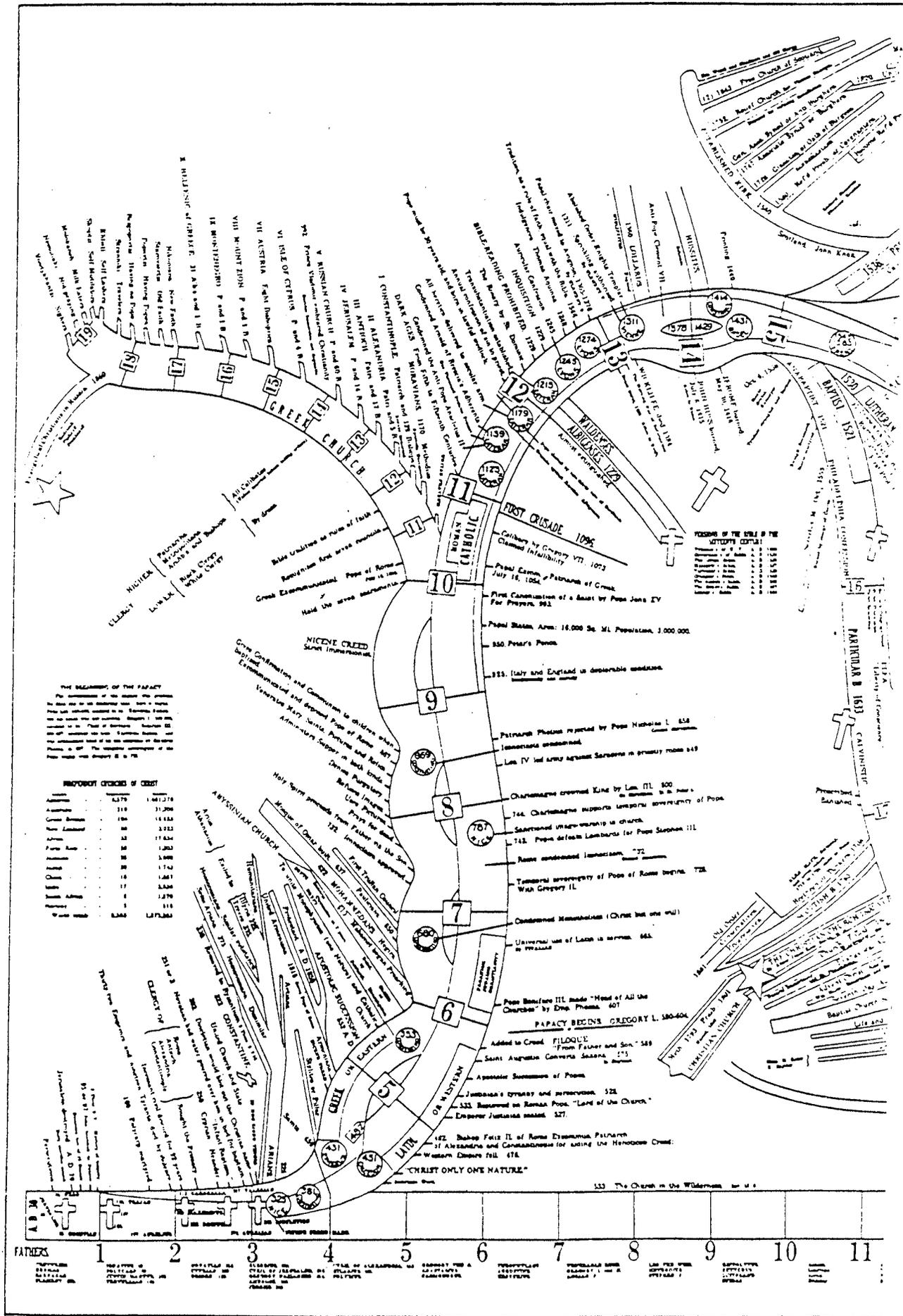
a human creed, and therefore we can understand it without one.

Human creeds are objectionable under any and all circumstances. First, because the Christian Scriptures are complete. Second, if a creed contains more than the Scriptures it is not right and is, therefore, objectionable. Third, if a creed contains less than the Scriptures it is not right and is therefore objectionable. Fourth, if a creed differs in any respect from Scripture it is not right and is objectionable. And, fifth, if a creed is precisely like the Scriptures it is not needed, for we have the Scriptures. Therefore under any and all circumstances creeds are objectionable.

All believers in Christ never will and never can unite on any human creed. Suppose the Calvinists were requested to discard their confession of faith and unite with the Methodists on their discipline. They would object because they prefer the confession to the discipline. Why do they prefer it? Because it more nearly accords with the Scriptures. And, again, if the Methodists were requested to lay aside their discipline and unite with the Lutherans on their confession. They would say we prefer our discipline to the Augsburg Confession. But why? Because it more nearly conforms to Scripture. Now, if all prefer their creeds because they are more in harmony with the Scripture, why not take the Scripture itself? All maintain, however, that they have taken their creeds out of the Scripture; therefore why not, then, restore them and unite?

Human creeds are positively inhibited by the word

The Reese Chart of Church History, Standard Publishing Co.: Cincinnati, 1926

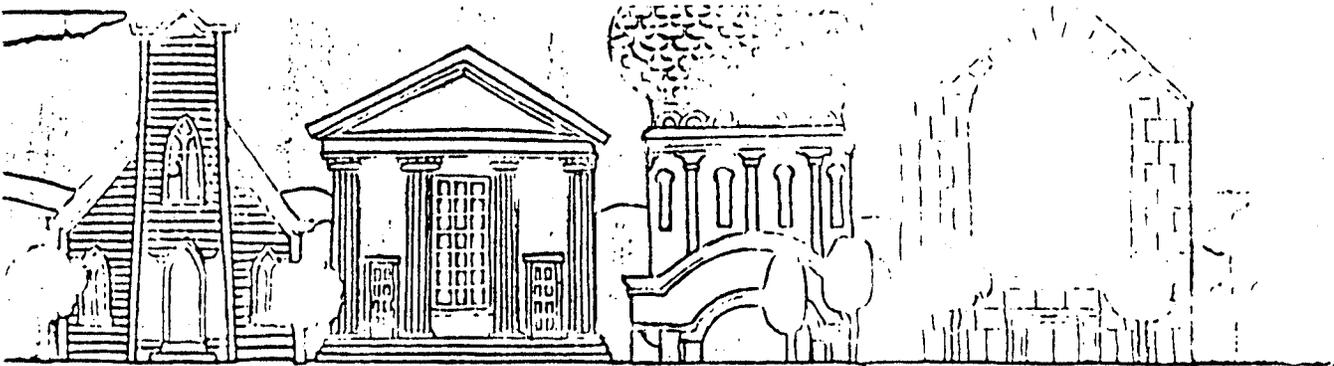




The Great
Chart of Church History
Compiled by the
Theological Publishing Company
of New York

12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
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"The 1,200 Religions in America", Good Housekeeping,
March, 1980



The 1,200 Religions

Yes, there are that many—from A (Adventist) to the well-known denominations, there are ritual-magic of spiritualists—all part of the rich religious

You're probably familiar with many of the hundreds of Christian churches, with the various Jewish faiths and with some of the Eastern religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism. But that only scratches the surface. Did you know, for example:

That there is a formal church of *Kennedy Worshipers*? These people worship the late President John F. Kennedy, who they believe can cure them of congenital and even terminal diseases.

That the *Ministry of Universal Wisdom* is a church based on a belief in flying saucers? Its founder, George Van Tassel, an aviation technician, says that in 1953, clad only in his shorts, he was given a ride at two o'clock in the morning by an extraterrestrial named Solganda.

That the spiritual leader of a popular modern church is a former undercover agent for the Los Angeles Police Department and a science-fiction novelist? He is L. Ron Hubbard, founder of the *Church of Scientology*.

That there really is a *Church of What's Happening Now*?

has had trouble with the authorities because her church's name is identical with that of a fictitious church made famous by black comedian Flip Wilson.

That the Eastern religion of *Jainism*, though 2,500 years old, did not reach our shores until 1971 because one particular taboo made it difficult for Jain leaders to get here? It was a taboo against traveling over water by means other than foot.

These are just a few of the churches you'll find in this comprehensive list of American religions, which was compiled by J. Gordon Melton, an ordained minister who has spent 16 years studying the breadth and depth of spiritual beliefs in this country. Dr. Melton said he might have been better qualified to research this topic had he been "a detective instead of a Methodist minister" because he had to uncover what he calls the "hidden religions." For example, while Dr. Melton has included the 72 different churches within the well-known Baptist religion, he has also listed the various flying-saucer churches, witches' covens, Satanists, pagans,

some of the brand-new Jesus-people churches (including the colorfully named Holy Ghost Repair Service, Inc.).

Dr. Melton established three main standards for inclusion in his list:

1. The church must seek the chief religious loyalty of its members.
2. It must promote its beliefs.
3. It must be big enough to have at least two congregations or one congregation with over 2,000 members. If not organized into congregations, it must have members in more than one state.

If you're surprised at some of the names of these 1,200 churches or shocked that some are even considered religions, remember that they're all part of the rich spiritual tradition of our country.

ADVENTIST CHURCHES

Charles Taze Russell's Bible Students (12 groups)

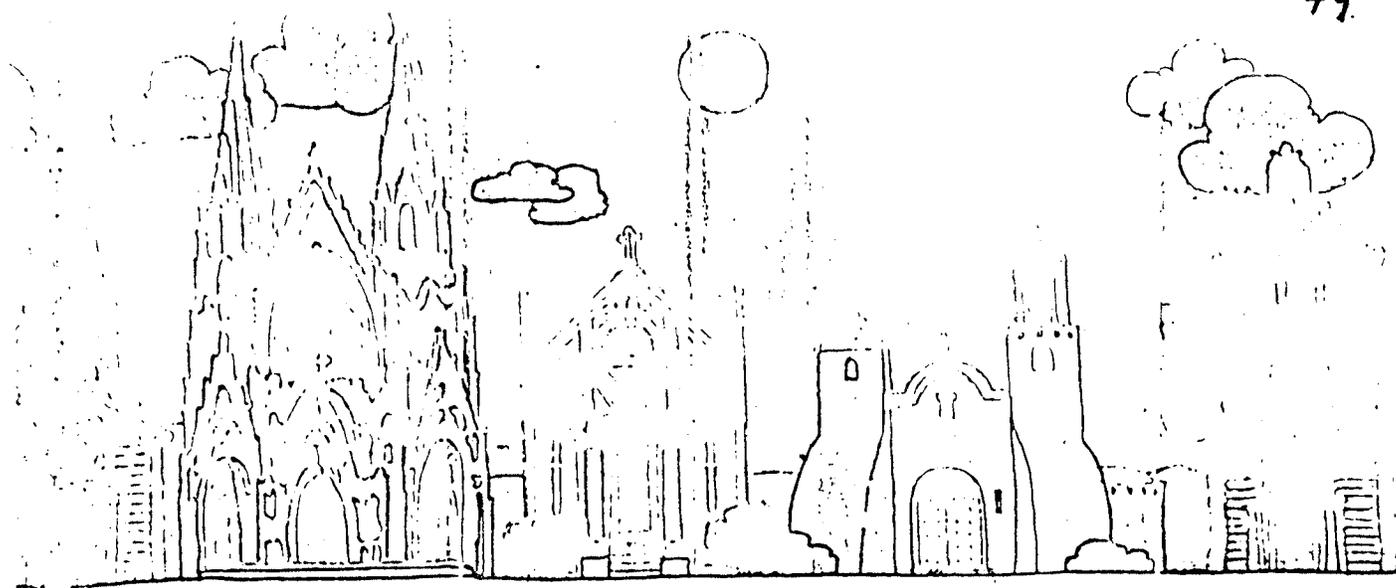
Back to the Bible Way

Christian Believers Conference

Christian Bible Students Association

Dawn Bible Students Association

Epiphany Bible Students



Religions in America

(A to Z) (Zoroastrianism). In addition to churches, flying-saucer fellowships and 48 different groups are found in this country. Compiled by J. Gordon Melton

Laodicean Home Missionary Movement
 Laymen's Home Missionary Movement
 New Creation Bible Students
 Pastoral Bible Institute
 Philanthropic Assembly
 Western Bible Students Association
 Church of God Movement (15 groups)
 A Candle
 Apostolic Church of God
 Associated Churches of God
 Church of God (Sabbatarian)
 Church of God (Seventh Day, Salem, W. Va.)
 Church of God, Body of Christ
 Church of God International
 Church of God, the Eternal
 Foundation for Biblical Research
 General Conference of the Church of God
 General Council of the Churches of God
 Seventh-Day Church of God
 Twentieth Century Church of God
 United Seventh-Day Brethren
 Worldwide Church of God
 Sacred Flame Movement (eight groups)
 Assemblies of Yah

Assemblies of Yahweh
 Assemblies of Yahweh (Michigan)
 Assembly of Yahvah (Oregon)
 Church of God (Jerusalem)
 Missionary Dispensary Bible Research
 Scripture Research Association
 Workers Together with Elohim
 Southcottites (two groups)
 Christian-Israelites
 House of David
 William Miller Sabbath-Keeping Churches (six groups)
 Branch SDAs (Seventh-Day Adventists)
 People's Christian Church
 SDA Reform Movement
 Seventh-Day Adventist Church
 Seventh-Day Christian Conference
 Unification Association of Christian Sabbath Keepers
 William Miller Sunday-Keeping Churches (three groups)
 Advent Christian Church
 Church of God (Abrahamic Faith)
 Primitive Advent Christian Church
 Other Adventist Traditions (six groups)
 End Time Body-Christian

Ministries, Inc.
 House of Prayer for All People
 Remnant Church
 Shiloh True Light Church of Christ
 Shiloh True Light Church of Christ (Braswell)
 Star of Truth Foundation

ANGELICAN CHURCHES
 American Episcopal Church
 Anglican Orthodox Church
 Apostolic Episcopal Church
 Free Protestant Episcopal Church
 North American Episcopal Church
 Old Episcopal Church
 Protestant Episcopal Church
 Reformed Episcopal Church
 Southern Episcopal Church

BAPTIST CHURCHES
 Black Baptists (five groups)
 Fundamental Baptist Fellowship Association
 National Baptist Convention of America
 National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc.
 National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly of the U.S.A.

continued on page 166

Illustration by Werner Kappes

RELIGIONS IN AMERICA

continued from page 137

Progressive National Baptist Convention
 Calvinistic Anti-Mission Baptists (14 groups)
 Black Primitive Baptists
 Buffalo River Association
 Central District Association
 Hiwassee Association
 Mayo Association
 National Primitive Baptist Convention of the U.S.A.
 Old Elkhorn Association
 Primitive Baptists—Absolute Predestinarians
 Primitive Baptists—Progressive
 Primitive Baptists—Regulars
 Regular Baptist Association
 Round Lick Primitive Baptist Association
 Sandlick/Spencer Associations
 Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists
 Christadelphians (two groups)
 Amended Christadelphians
 Unamended Christadelphians

General Baptists

Baptist General Conference
 General Association of General Baptists
 General Conference of the Original Free-Will Baptist Church
 General Six-Principle Baptists
 National Association of Free-Will Baptists
 Primitive Baptist Conference of New Brunswick, Maine, and Nova Scotia
 United Baptists
 United Free-Will Baptist Church
 Missionary Baptists—Calvinist (26 groups)
 American Baptist Association
 American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.
 Association of Evangelicals for Italian Missions
 Baptist Bible Fellowship
 Baptist Missionary Association of America
 Christian Unity Baptist Association
 Conservative Baptist Association
 Duck River (and Kindred) Association of Baptists
 Fundamental Baptist Fellowship
 General Association of Regular Baptist Churches
 Independent Baptist Church of America
 Kyova Association of Regular Baptists
 Minnesota Baptist Convention
 New England Evangelical Baptist Fellowship
 New Testament Association of Independent Baptist Churches
 North American Baptist General Conference
 Regular Baptists
 Regular Baptists (Predestinarian)
 Russian/Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Union of the U.S.A., Inc.
 Separate Baptists in Christ
 South Carolina Baptist Fellowship
 Southern Baptist Convention
 Southwide Baptist Fellowship
 Sovereign Grace Movement
 Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention
 World Baptist Fellowship
 Seventh-Day Baptists (two groups)
 Seventh-Day Baptist General Conference
 Seventh-Day Baptists (German)

THE BRETHREN

Association of Fundamental Gospel Churches
 Brethren Church (Ashland, Ohio)
 Brethren in Christ
 Church of the Brethren
 Emmanuel's Fellowship
 Fundamental Brethren Church
 National Fellowship of Brethren Churches
 Old German Baptist Brethren
 Old Order (or Yorker) River Brethren
 Schwenckfelder Church in America
 Social Brethren
 United Zion Church

BUDDHISM

Chinese Buddhists (10 groups)

Buddha's Universal Church and Ch'an Buddhist Sangha
 Buddha's Universal Church
 Buddhist Association of the United States
 Chinese Buddhist Association
 Chung Fu Kuan (Taoist Sanctuary)
 Eastern States Buddhist Association of America

Hawaii Chinese Buddhist Society
 Kwan Yin Temple
 Macrobiotics
 Sino-American Buddhist Association
 Japanese Mahayana Buddhism (15 groups)
 Bodaiji Mission
 Buddhist Churches of America
 Gedatsu Church of America
 Higashi Hongwanji Buddhist Church
 Jikoen Temple
 Judo Mission
 Kailas Shugendou
 Nichiren Mission
 Nichiren Shoshu of America
 Palolo Kannonodo Temple
 Rissho Kosei Kai
 Shingon Mission
 Shinshu Kyokai Mission
 Shinyo-En

Todayji Hawaii Bikkaku Honzan

Theravada Buddhism (three groups)

Buddhist Vihara Society
 Neo-Dharma

Stillpoint Institutes

Tibetan Buddhism (six groups)

Ewan Choden
 Home of the Dharma
 Kalmuck Tibetan Buddhists
 Karma Dzong (Kargyupa Sect)
 Pansophic Institute
 Tibetan Nyingmapa Meditation Center

Western Buddhists (eight groups)

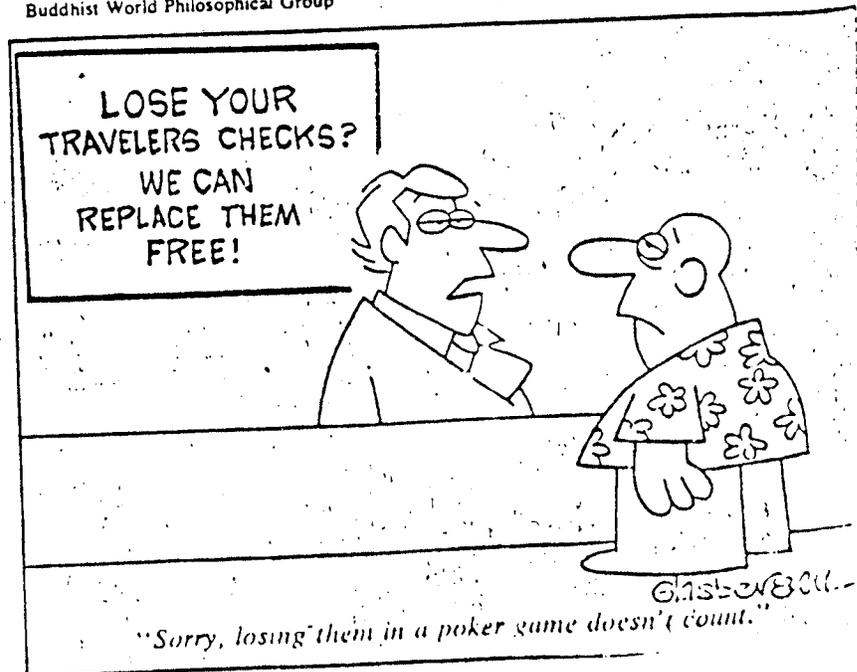
Buddhist Fellowship of New York
 Buddhist World Philosophical Group

Chowada Henjo Kyo
 Church of One Sermon
 Friends of Buddhism—Washington, D.C.
 Harmony Buddhist Mission
 Shivapuram
 Universal Buddhist Fellowship
 Zen Buddhism (14 groups)
 California Bosatsu Kai
 Cambridge Buddhist Association
 Diamond Sangha
 First Zen Institute
 International Buddhist Meditation Center
 Kwan Yin Zen Temple, Inc.
 Renzai-Ji, Inc.
 Soto Mission
 Zen Buddhist Temple of Chicago
 Zen Center of Los Angeles
 Zen Center of San Francisco
 Zen Meditation Center of Rochester
 Zen Mission Society
 Zen Studies Society

CATHOLIC CHURCHES

Roman Catholic Church

Old Catholic Movement (30 groups)
 American Catholic Church
 American Catholic Syro-Antiochian Church
 American Orthodox Catholic Church
 Archdiocese of the Old Catholic Church
 Catholic Life Church
 Christ Catholic Church (Boston)
 Christ Orthodox Catholic Exarchate of Americas Eastern Hemisphere
 Evangelical Orthodox (Catholic) Church in America
 Moncado Foundation of America
 North American Old Roman Catholic Church (Rogers's group)
 North American Old Roman Catholic Church (Schweikert's group)
 Old Catholic Church in America
 Old Catholic Church North America
 Old Roman Catholic Church
 Old Roman Catholic Church (English Rite)
 Old Roman Catholic Church (Hamel's group)
 Old Roman Catholic Church (Marchenna's group)
 Old Roman Catholic Church in the U.S.
 Ontano Old Roman Catholic Church
 Orthodox Catholic Synod of the Syro-Chaldean Rite
 Orthodox Old Roman Catholic Church, II
 Polish Catholic Church
 Polish National Catholic Church of America
 Polish Old Catholic Church in America
 Reformed Catholic Church (Utrecht Confession) continued on page 15



Renovated Church of Christ
 Traditional Christian Catholic Church
 Universal Christian Apostolic Church
 Universal Christian International Catholic Church
 United Old Catholic Church

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Church of Christ, Scientist
 Independent Christian Scientists (four groups)
 Infinite Way
 International Metaphysical Association
 Margaret Laird Foundation
 Mountain Brook Studies

COMMUNITIES

Communities formed before 1960—Hutterites (16 groups)

Amara Community of Inspirationists
 Church of the Brotherhood
 Church of the Savior
 The Colony
 Dariusleut
 Esoteric Fraternity
 Koinonia Partners
 Koresnan Unity
 Lehrerleut
 People of the Living God
 Schmiedeleut
 Shakers—United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing
 Shiloh Trust
 Society of Brothers
 Temple Society
 WFLK Fountain of the World

Communities formed after 1960 (12 groups)

Aquarian Research Foundation
 Brotherhood of the Spirit
 Brotherhood of the Sun
 Church of Armageddon
 The Farm
 Katharis
 Lama Foundation
 Mu Farm
 Rainbow Family of Living Light
 Reba Place Fellowship and Associated Communities
 Salem Acres
 Universal Industrial Church of the New World
 Comforter (One World Family)

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

Conservative Congregational Christian Conference
 Midwest Congregational Christian Church
 National Association of Congregational Christian Churches
 United Church of Christ

DRUG-ORIENTED GROUPS

Church of the Awakening
 Church of the Tree of Life
 Native American Church
 Neo-American Church

EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

African Orthodox Church
 Albanian Orthodox Archdiocese in America
 Albanian Orthodox Church in America
 American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church
 American Catholic Church Archdiocese
 American Eastern Orthodox Church
 American Holy Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church
 American Orthodox Catholic Church, Archdiocese of New York
 American Orthodox Church
 American World Patriarchs, Inc.
 Antiochian (Syrian) Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America
 Autocephalous Slavonic Orthodox Catholic Church (in exile)
 Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church
 Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church, Diocese of North and South America and Australia
 Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the U.S.A.
 Byelorussian Orthodox Church
 Eastern Orthodox Catholic Church in America
 Estonian Orthodox Church in Exile
 Finnish Orthodox Church
 Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America
 Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Vasiloupolis
 Greek Orthodox Church of America
 Greek Orthodox Diocese of New York
 Hellenic Orthodox Church in America
 Holy Orthodox Church in America (Eastern Catholic and Apostolic)
 Holy Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Exile
 Macedonian Orthodox Church
 Molokans
 Old Believers
 Orthodox Catholic Church of America
 Orthodox Church in America
 Patriarchal Parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A.
 Romanian Orthodox Church of America
 Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America
 Russian Church Outside of Russia
 Serbian Orthodox Church in the United States of America and Canada
 Serbian Orthodox Diocese for the United States and Canada
 Turkish Orthodox Church

Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America (Ecumenical Patriarchate)
 Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.
 Universal Shrine of Divine Guidance

FLYING-SAUCE GROUPS

Adamski Groups
 Aetherius Society
 Brotherhood of the Seven Rays
 Cosmic Circle of Fellowship
 Cosmic Star Temple
 Last Day Messengers
 Mark-Age
 Ministry of Universal Wisdom
 Solar Light Center
 Star Light Fellowship
 Unarius—Science of Life Understanding, Inc.
 Universal Foundation
 White Star

GAY RELIGIONS

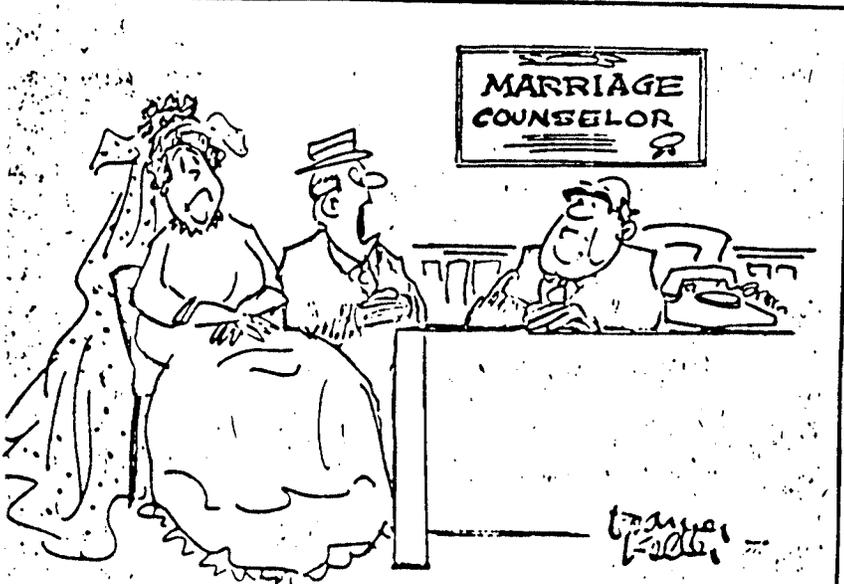
Eucharistic Catholic Church
 Gay Synagogues
 Metropolitan Community Church
 Orthodox Episcopal Church of God
 People's Church-Community of the Love of Christ

HAWAIIAN FAMILY CHURCHES

Church of the Living God
 Hoomana Naaoua O Hawaii
 Ka Hale Hoano Hou O Ke Akua
 Kealaukalamalama

HINDUISM

Disciples of Sivamanda (six groups)
 Divine Life Society
 Holy Shankaracharya Order
 Integral Yoga Institute
 International School of Yoga and Vedanta
 True World Order
 Yasodhara Ashram Society
 General Hindu Groups (seven groups)
 Ananda Ashrama
 Ananda Meditation Retreat
 Prema Dharmasala
 Self Realization Fellowship
 Self Revelation Church of Absolute Monism
 Temple of Kriya Yoga
 Vedanta Society
 Siddha Yoga (33 groups)
 American Vegan Society
 Ananda Marga Yoga Society
 Arunachala Ashrama
 Blue Mountain Center of Meditation
 Divine Light Mission
 Fivefold Path
 Foundation of Revelation
 Free Primitive Church of Divine Communion (Dawn Horse Fellowship)
 Hanuman Foundation
 Himalayan International Institute of Yoga Science and Philosophy
 Intercosmic Center of Spiritual Associations
 International Babaji Kriya Yoga Sangam
 International Society of Krishna Consciousness
 Kripalu Yoga Ashram
 Krishnamurti Foundation of America
 Kundalini Research Foundation
 Light of Yoga Society
 New York Sacred Tantrics
 Rajneesh Meditation Center
 S.A.I. Foundation
 Shree Gurudev Rudrananda Yoga Ashram
 Siddha Yoga Dham of America
 Sri Aurobindo's Followers
 Sri Chinmoy Centers
 Sri Ma Anandamayi Monastery
 Sri Ram Ashrama
 Subramuniya Yoga Order
 Swami Kuvलयananda Yoga Foundation
 Temple of Cosmic Religion (Keshavashram International Center)
 World Plan Executive Council (Transcendent)



HOLINESS CHURCHES

- 19th-Century Holiness (12 groups)**
- Allegheny Wesleyan Methodist Connection
- Bible Holiness Church
- Bible Methodist Connection of Churches
- Bible Methodist Connection of Tennessee
- Christian Kingdom Centers
- God's Missionary Church
- Lower Rights Church
- National Association of Holiness Churches
- Pilgrim Holiness Church of New York
- Pilgrim Holiness Church of the Midwest
- United Holiness Church
- Wesleyan Holiness Association of Churches
- Black Holiness Churches (nine groups)**
- Associated Churches of Christ
- Church of Christ, U.S.A.
- Churches of God, Holiness
- Church of God (Sanctified Church)
- Church of Universal Triumph/The Dominion of God
- Kodesh Church of Immanuel
- Mt. Calvary Holy Church of America
- Original Church of God
- Triumph the Church and Kingdom of God in Christ
- Class Griffith Movement (four churches)**
- Bible Missionary Church
- Church of the Bible Covenant
- Evangelical Wesleyan Church
- Voice of the Nazarene Association of Churches
- Nineteenth-Century Holiness Churches (30 groups)**
- American Rescue Workers
- Association of Fundamental Ministers and Churches
- Bible Fellowship Church
- Bible Holiness Movement
- Christian and Missionary Alliance
- Christian Nation Church, U.S.A.
- Christ's Sanctified Holy Church (Louisiana)
- Christ's Sanctified Holy Church (South Carolina)
- Church of God (Anderson, Ind.)
- Church of God (Guthrie, Okla.)
- Church of God (Holiness)
- Church of the Nazarene
- Churches of God (Independent Holiness People)
- Churches of God in North America (General Eldership)
- Emmanuel Association
- Faith Mission Church
- Fire Baptized Holiness Church (Wesleyan)
- Free Methodist Church of North America
- Holiness Christian Church of the U.S.A.
- Metropolitan Church Association
- Missionary Christian and Soul Winning Fellowship
- Missionary Church
- Missionary Methodist Church of America
- New Testament Church of God, Inc.
- Peniel Missions
- Salvation Army
- Standard Church of America
- Udenominational Church of the Lord
- Volunteers of America
- Wesleyan Church
- Twentieth-Century Holiness (White) Churches (16 groups)**
- Calvary Holiness Church
- Christian Pilgrim Church
- Churches of Christ in Christian Union
- Church of the Gospel
- Evangelical Church of North America
- Gospel Mission Corps
- Grace and Hope Mission
- Holiness Church of God, Inc.
- Holiness Gospel Church
- Kentucky Mountain Holiness Association
- Lumber River Annual Conference of the Holiness Methodist Church
- Megiddo Mission
- Oriental Missionary Society Holiness Conference
- Pillar of Fire

Wesleyan Tabernacle Association

INDEPENDENT FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCHES

- Alternate Bible-Student Perspectives (five groups)**
- Anglo-Saxon Federation of America
- Calvary Fellowships, Inc.
- Christian Research, Inc.
- Prophetic Herald Ministry
- True Church
- Fundamentalism (13 groups)**
- American Evangelical Christian Churches
- Associated Gospel Churches
- Berean Fundamental Churches
- Bethany Bible Church and Related Independent Bible Churches of the (Arizona) Area
- Cathedral of Tomorrow
- Church of Christian Liberty
- Evangelical Ministers and Churches, International, Inc.
- Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches
- Independent Fundamentalist Bible Churches
- Independent Fundamental Churches of America
- International Ministerial Federation, Inc.
- Moody Church
- Ohio Bible Fellowship
- Grace Gospel Movement (eight groups)**
- Berean Bible Fellowship
- Berean Bible Fellowship (Chicago)
- Bible Churches (Classics Expositor)
- Concordant Publishing Concern
- Grace Gospel Fellowship
- Last Day Messenger Assemblies
- Timely Messenger Fellowship
- Truth for Today
- Plymouth Brethren (seven groups)**
- Churches of God in the British Isles and Overseas (Needed Truth)
- Plymouth Brethren (Exclusive: Ames Brethren)
- Plymouth Brethren (Exclusive: Booth-Continental)
- Plymouth Brethren (Exclusive: Ex-Taylor Brethren)
- Plymouth Brethren (Exclusive: Taylor Brethren)
- Plymouth Brethren (Exclusive: The Tunbridge Wells Brethren)
- Plymouth Brethren (Open)
- Miscellaneous Bible-Student Bodies (four groups)**
- The (Local) Church
- The Church Which Is Christ's Body
- This Testimony
- Two-by-Two's

ISLAM (and related churches)

- Ahmaddiyya Movement

ISLAM (two groups)

- Bahá'í World Faith
- House of Muslims
- Black Muslims (five groups)**
- Caliban
- Moonish-American Science Temple
- Nubian Islamic Hebrew Mission
- Orthodox (Hanafi) Muslims
- World Community of Islam in the West (formerly the Nation of Islam)
- Gurdjieff (five groups)**
- Gurdjieff Foundation
- Gurdjieff Work of W.A. Nyland
- Institute for the Development of the Harmonious Human Being
- Prosperos
- Subud
- Orthodox Muslims (two groups)**
- Orthodox (Shi'a) Muslims
- Orthodox (Sunni) Muslims
- Sufism (five groups)**
- Guru Dawa Fellowship, U.S.A.
- Habibiyya-Shadhiliyya Sufic Order
- Sufi Islamia Ruhaniat Society
- Sufi Order
- Sufism Reoriented

JAINISM

- Meditation International Center

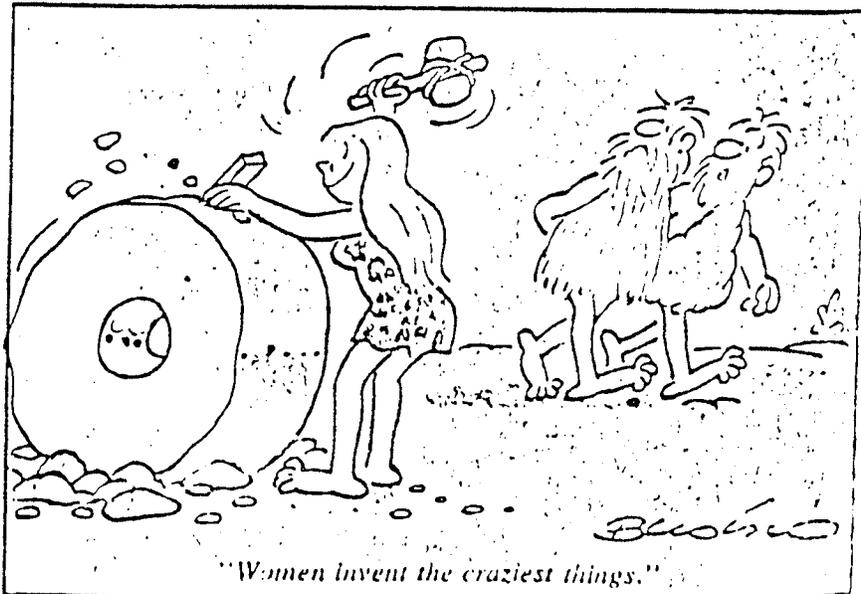
JESUS PEOPLE

- Adam's Apple
- Avalon and Related Communities
- Chicago Metropolitan Jesus People Groups
- Children of God
- Christian Foundation
- Fellowship of Christian Pilgrims
- Harvest House Ministries
- Holy Ghost Repair Service, Inc.
- Inter-Faith Ministries for Renewal
- International Christian Ministries
- Jesus People, U.S.A.
- Love Inn
- New Covenant Apostolic Order
- New Life Evangelistic Center
- Voice of Elijah, Inc.
- The Way Biblical Research Center

JEWISH FAITH

- Black Jews (seven groups)**
- Black Christian Nationalist Church
- Church of God (Black Jews)
- Church of God and Saints of Christ
- Commandment Keepers Congregation of the Living God
- House of Judah
- Original Hebrew Israelite Nation
- United Hebrew Congregation
- Haddim (15 groups)**
- Bluzhever

continued on page 172



- Bratslav
- Chernobyl
- Klausenburg
- Lubavitch
- Minor Hasidic Traditions
- Monastirish
- Novominsk
- Satmar
- Sighet
- Skver
- Stolin
- Talnoye
- Work of the Chariot
- Havurat Communities (three groups)**
- Community of Micah (Fubringen)
- Havurat Shalom
- House of Love and Prayer
- Mainstream Judaism (four groups)**
- Conservative Judaism
- Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation
- Orthodox Judaism
- Reform Judaism
- Miscellaneous Jewish Groups (five groups)**
- Hineni Ministries (Jews for Jesus)
- Jewish Science
- Little Synagogue
- Society of the Bible in the Hands of Its Creator, Inc.
- United Israel World Union
- LATTER-DAY SAINTS**
- Missouri Mormons (five groups)**
- Church of Christ (Bible and Book of Mormon Teaching)
- Church of Christ (Fittingite)
- Church of Christ (Temple Lot)
- Church of Christ with the Elijah Message (Dravesite)
- Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
- Polygamy-Practicing Groups (four groups)**
- Church of the First Born
- Church of the First Born of the Fullness of Times
- Church of the Lamb of God
- Perfected Church of Jesus Christ Immaculate Latter-Day Saints
- Utah Mormons (four groups)**
- Aaronic Order
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
- LDS Scripture Researchers
- Zion's Order of the Sons of Levi

- various Revelations (five groups)**
- Church of Jesus Christ (Bickertonite)
- Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite)
- Church of Jesus Christ (Strangite)
- Primitive Church of Jesus Christ (Bickertonite)
- True Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite)

- LIBERAL CHURCHES**
- American Association for the Advancement of Atheism
- American Atheists, Inc
- American Ethical Union
- Americans First, Inc.
- American Humanist Association
- Christian Universalist Church of America
- Church of the Humanitarian God
- Confraternity of Deists, Inc.
- Free Thinkers of America
- Goddian Organization
- Rationalist Association
- Unitarian Universalist Association
- United Secularists of America

- LUTHERAN CHURCHES**
- American Lutheran Church
- Apostolic Lutherans (six groups)**
- Church of the First Born
- Evangelicals No. 1
- Evangelicals No. 2
- The Heidemanns
- New Awakening
- Old Laestadians
- Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches
- Association of Free Lutheran Congregations
- Church of the Lutheran Brethren of America
- Church of the Lutheran Confession
- Concordia Lutheran Conference
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
- Evangelical Lutheran Synod
- Federation for Authentic Lutheranism
- Lutheran Church in America (largest Lutheran church)
- Lutheran Churches of the Reformation
- Missouri Synod
- Protestant Conference
- Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches
- Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

- MAIL-ORDER CHURCHES**
- Apostolic Christian Church of the United States and Canada
- Brotherhood of Peace and Tranquility
- Calvary Grace Christian Church

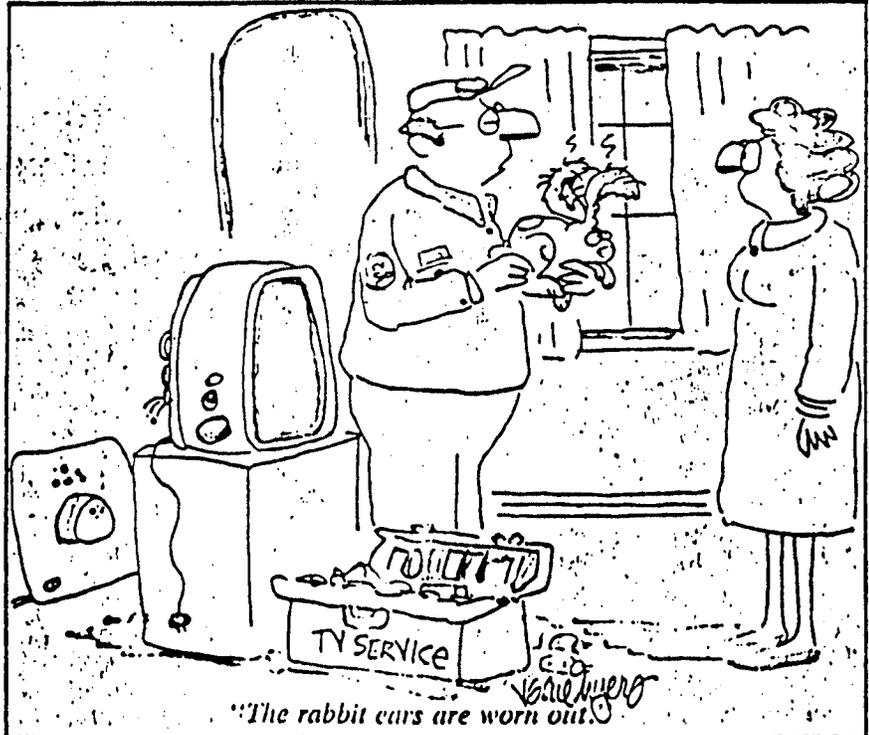
- Calvary Grace Church
- Church of Universal Brotherhood
- Crown of Life Fellowship
- Hilltop House Church
- Life Science Church
- Missionaries of the New Truth
- Omnium Church
- Universal Free Life Church
- Universal Life Church

- MENNONITES AND AMISH**
- The Amish (four groups)**
- Beachy Amish Mennonite Churches
- Conference of the Evangelical Mennonite Church
- Conservative Mennonite Conference
- Old Order Amish Mennonite Church
- Dutch and Swiss Mennonites (11 groups)**
- Church of God in Christ, Mennonite
- Congregational Bible Church
- Conservative Mennonite Fellowship (Non-Conference)
- Mennonite Church
- Old Order (Wisler) Mennonite Church
- Old Order (Reidenbach) Mennonites
- Old Order (Wenger) Mennonites
- Reformed Mennonite Church
- Stauffer Mennonite Church
- Weaverland Conference Old Order (Hornung or Black Bumper Mennonites)
- Weaver Mennonites
- Russian Mennonites (four groups)**
- Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference
- Evangelical Mennonite Church (Kleine Gemeinde)
- General Conference Mennonite Church
- Mennonite Brethren Church of North America (Bruedergemeinde)

- METHODIST CHURCHES**
- Black Methodists (eight groups)**
- African Methodist Episcopal Church
- African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
- African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church
- Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
- Free Christian Zion Church of Christ
- Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church
- Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church
- Union American Methodist Episcopal Church
- British Methodists (two groups)**
- Primitive Methodist Church
- United Wesleyan Methodist Church of America
- Episcopal Methodists (one group)**
- United Methodist Church (largest Methodist Church in U.S.)
- German Methodists**
- Evangelical Congregational Church
- United Brethren in Christ (Old Constitution)
- United Christian Church
- Neo-Episcopal Methodists**
- Apostolic Methodist Church
- Asbury Bible Churches
- Association of Independent Methodists
- Bible Protestant Church
- Church of Daniel's Band
- Congregational Methodist Church
- Evangelical Methodist Church
- Evangelical Methodist Church of America
- Filipino Community Churches
- First Congregational Methodist Church of the U.S.A.
- Fundamental Methodist Church
- John Wesley Fellowship and the Francis Asbury Society of Ministers
- Methodist Protestant Church
- New Congregational Methodist Church
- People's Methodist Church
- Southern Methodist Church

- NEW THOUGHT CHURCHES**
- American School of Mental Physiology
- Antioch Association of Metaphysical Science
- Calvary Missionary Church
- Christian Assembly
- Christ Truth League
- Church of Inner Wisdom

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The rabbit ears are worn out.

Church of the Fuller Concept
 Church of the Science of Religion
 Church of the Trinity (Invisible Ministry)
 Church of the Truth
 Disciples of Faith
 Divine Science Federation International
 ESP Picture Prayers
 First Church of Divine Immanence
 Home of Truth
 Inner Powers Society
 Institute of Esoteric Transcendentalism
 Life-Study Fellowship
 Phoenix Institute
 Psychophysics Foundation
 Religious Science International
 School of Esoteric Christianity
 School of Truth
 Seicho-No-Ie
 Society of Pragmatic Mysticism
 Today Church
 United Church and Science of Living Institute
 United Church of Religious Science
 Unity School of Christianity
 Universal Church of Scientific Truth
 Wisdom Institute of Spiritual Education

NON-CHALCEDONIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

The Copts (three groups)
 Coptic Orthodox Church
 Ethiopian Orthodox Church
 Ethiopian Orthodox Coptic Church, Diocese of North and South America
The Mesophytes (four groups)
 Armenian Apostolic Church of America
 Armenian Church of America
 Syrian Jacobite Church
 Syrian Orthodox Church of Malabar
The Nestorians/The Church of the East

OCCULT ORDERS

Astara Foundation
 Brotherhood of the White Temple
 Church of Light
 Holy Order of Mans
 Lemurian Fellowship
 Mayan Order
 Philosophical Research Society
 Sabian Assembly
 Soucraft, Inc.
 Stelle Group

PAGANS

Egyptian Pagans (four groups)
 Church of the Eternal Source
 Congregation of Aten
 Lady Sara's Coven
 Pristine Egyptian Orthodox Church
European Pagans (nine groups)
 Church of All Worlds
 Dancers of the Sacred Circle
 Delphic Fellowship
 Feresferia
 Nemeton
 Neo-Dianic Faith
 Pagan Way
 Reformed Druids of North America
 Uranus Temple
Non-Traditional Pagans (three groups)
 Discordian Society
 Psychedelic Venus Church
 Sabaeon Religious Order of Am'n
Norse/Teutonic Pagans (three groups)
 Runic Society
 Teutonic Temple
 Viking Brotherhood

PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

Apostolic (Jesus Only) Movement (18 groups)
 Apostolic Church of Jesus
 Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ
 Apostolic Faith (Hawaii)
 Apostolic Gospel Church of Jesus Christ
 Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God
 Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ, Inc.
 Associated Brotherhood of Christians
 Bethel Ministerial Association
 Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ
 World Wide, Inc.
 Church of God (Apostolic)

Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of The Apostolic Faith
 Church of the Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith
 God's House of Prayer for All Nations, Inc.
 International Ministerial Association, Inc.
 Jesus Church
 New Bethel Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal)
 Pentecostal Assemblies of the World
 United Pentecostal Church
Black Pentecostal Churches (19 groups)
 African Universal Church
 Alpha and Omega Pentecostal Church of God of America, Inc.
 Church of God in Christ
 Church of God in Christ, Congregational
 Church of God in Christ, International
 Church of the Living God
 Fire Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas
 Free Church of God in Christ
 House of God Which is the Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth
 House of the Lord
 Latter House of the Lord for All People and the Church of the Mountain, Apostolic Faith
 Mt. Sinai Holy Church
 Sought Out Church of God in Christ
 True Fellowship Pentecostal Church of God of America
 True Grace Memorial House of Prayer
 United Holy Church of America
 United House of Prayer for All People
 Universal Christian Spiritual Faith and Churches for All Nations
 Way of the Cross Church
Deliverance (Healing) Movement (nine groups)
 First Deliverance Church of Atlanta
 Full Gospel Fellowship of Churches and Ministers International
 Hall Deliverance Foundation
 International Deliverance Churches
 Kathryn Kuhlman Foundation
 Leroy Jenkins Evangelistic Association
 Miracle Life Revival, Inc.
 Miracle Revival Fellowship
 Mita Movement
The Forerunners (two groups)
 Catholic Apostolic Church
 New Apostolic Church
Holiness-Pentecostal Churches (25 groups)
 Apostolic Faith (Oregon)
 Association of International Gospel Assemblies, Inc.
 Carolina Evangelistic Association
 Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.)
 Church of God (Jerusalem Acres)
 Church of God (World Headquarters)
 Church of God, Inc.
 Church of God of Prophecy
 Church of God of the Apostolic Faith
 Church of God of the Mountain Assembly
 Church of God of the Original Mountain Assembly
 Church of God of the Union Assembly

Church of God, the House of Prayer
 Congregation of Holiness Church
 Door of Faith Churches of Hawaii
 Emmanuel Holiness Church
 First Interdenominational Christian Association
 Free Will Baptist Church of the Pentecostal Faith
 Full Gospel Church Association Inc.
 General Conference of the Evangelical Baptist Church
 International Pentecostal Assemblies
 Pentecostal Church of Christ
 Pentecostal Fire-Baptized Holiness Church
 Pentecostal Free Will Baptist Church
 Pentecostal Holiness Church
Latin-American Pentecostals (six groups)
 Assembly of Christian Churches, Inc.
 Concilio Olazabal de Iglesias Latino Americano
 Damascus Christian Church
 Defenders of the Faith
 Iglesia Bando Evangelico Gedeon/Gilgal
 Evangelistic International Church
 Latin-American Council of the Pentecostal Church of God of New York, Inc.
Snake Handlers (two groups)
 Church of God with Signs Following
 Original Pentecostal Church of God
"Two Experience" Churches (25 groups)
 American Indian Evangelical Church
 Anchor Bay Evangelistic Association
 Apostolic Church
 Apostolic Faith (Kansas)
 Assemblies of God
 Bethel Temple
 Calvary Pentecostal Church
 Christian Church of North America
 Elim Missionary Assemblies
 Filipino Assemblies of the First Born
 Free Gospel Church, Inc.
 Full Gospel Evangelical Association
 General Assembly and Church of the First Born
 Gospel of the Kingdom Churches Movement
 Independent Assemblies of God (Unincorporated)
 Independent Assemblies of God, International
 International Church of the Foursquare Gospel
 Lamb of God Church
 Neverdies
 Open Bible Standard Churches, Inc.
 Pentecostal Church of God of America
 Pentecostal Church of Zion
 Pentecostal Evangelical Church
 Seventh-Day Pentecostal Church of the Living God
 United Fundamental Church
Miscellaneous Pentecostal Churches (23 groups)
 Alpha and Omega Christian Church
 American Evangelistic Association
 Association of Seventh-Day Pentecostal Assemblies
 Body of Christ Movement
 Christ Faith Mission

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Church of God by Faith
 Church of the Little Children
 Evangelical Bible Church
 Full Gospel Defenders Conference of America
 Full Gospel Minister Association
 Glad Tidings Missionary Society
 Gospel Harvesters Evangelistic Association (Atlanta)
 Gospel Harvesters Evangelistic Association (Buffalo)
 Grace Gospel Evangelistic Association International, Inc.
 International Christian Churches
 International Evangelism Crusades
 Light House Gospel Fellowship
 Romanian Apostolic Pentecostal Church of God of North America
 United Christian Ministerial Association
 United Evangelical Church
 Universal Church, the Mystical Body of Jesus
 Universal World Church
 World Renewal, Incorporated

PIETIST CHURCHES

Moravians (two groups)
 Moravian Church in America
 Unity of the Brethren
Scandinavian Pietists (two groups)
 Evangelical Covenant Church of America
 Evangelical Free Church of America

POLITICAL/SOCIAL CHURCHES

Assembly of Christian Soldiers
 Church for the Fellowship of All People
 Church of the Christian Crusade
 Church of What's Happening Now
 Ecumenical Institute
 Fellowship of Christian Men
 Free Church of Berkeley
 Humanity Benefactor Foundation
 People's Institute of Applied Religion

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (General Synod)
 Bible Presbyterian Church
 Cumberland Presbyterian Church
 Orthodox Presbyterian Church
 Presbyterian Church in America
 Presbyterian Church in the United States
 Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod
 Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America
 Second Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the United States

Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America
 United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
 Upper Cumberland Presbyterian Church
 Westminster Biblical Fellowship

PSYCHIC/NEW-AGE CHURCHES

Alice Bailey Movement (six groups)
 Aquarian Educational Group
 Arcana Workshops
 Arcane School
 Meditation Group of the New Age
 School of Esoteric Studies
 School of Light and Realization (Solar)
I Am Movement (11 groups)
 Ascended Master Fellowship
 Association of Sananda and Sanat Kumara, Inc.
 Bridge to Freedom
 Christ's Truth Church and School of Wisdom
 I Am
 Ruby Focus of Magnificent Consummation, Inc.
 Sacred Society of the Eth, Inc.
 Sanctuary of the Master's Presence
 Sologa, Inc.
 Summit Lighthouse
 Teachings of the Angelic Host within the Kingdom of Heaven

Liberal Catholicism (seven groups)

Aryo-Christian Church of St. George of Cappadocia
 Church of Antioch
 Church of the Gnosis (Pre-Nicene Christianity)
 International Liberal Catholic Church
 Liberal Catholic Church (Miranda, Calif.)
 Liberal Catholic Church: Province of the United States of America
 Order of St. Germain/Ecclesia Catholica Liberalis

Miscellaneous Theosophical Groups (13 groups)

Agni Yoga Society
 Amica Temple of Radiance
 Ann Ree Colton Foundation of Nisience
 Anthroposophy and the Christian Community
 Bodha Society of America, Inc.
 Christward Ministry
 Church of Cosmic Origin and School of Thought
 Interdenominational Divine Order
 Lighted Way
 Oasis Fellowship
 Open Way
 Philo-Polytechnical Center
 White Lodge

Spiritualism (45 groups)

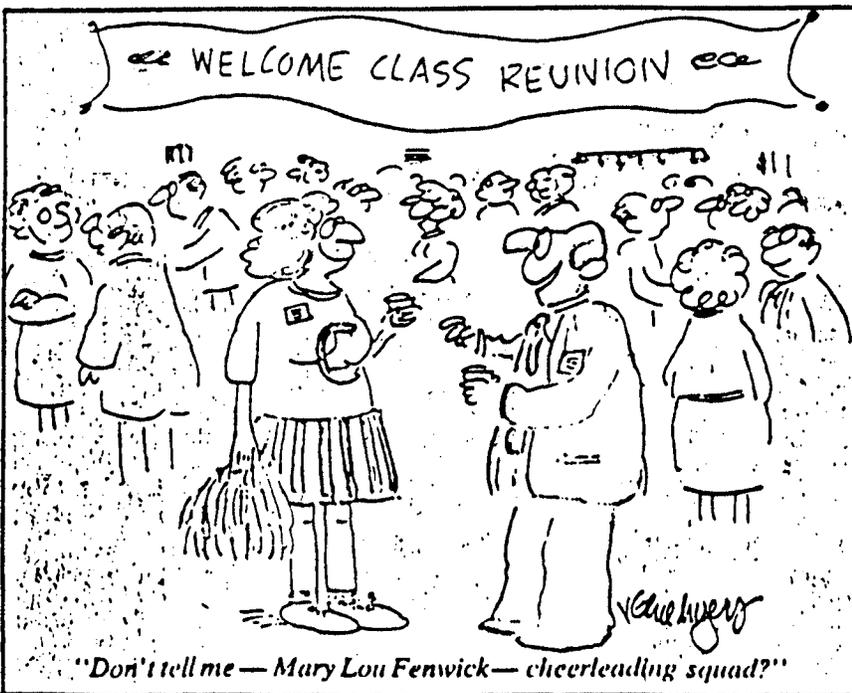
Agasha Temple of Wisdom
 Aquarian Fellowship Church
 Christian Spirit Center
 Church of Ageless Wisdom
 Church of Cosmic Science
 Church of Essential Science
 Church of Metaphysical Christianity
 Church of Revelation
 Church of the Four Leaf Clover
 Church of Tzaddi
 Churches of Spiritual Revelation Association
 Cosmic Church of Life and Spiritual Science
 Ecclesia Catolica Cristiana
 Foundation for Science of Spiritual Law
 General Assembly of Spiritualists
 Hallowed Grounds Fellowship of Spiritual Healing and Prayer
 Holy Grail Foundation
 Independent Associated Spiritualists
 Independent Spiritualist Association
 International Spiritualist Association of Churches
 International Spiritualist Alliance
 Lotus Ashram
 Metropolitan Spiritual Churches of Christ, Inc.
 National Colored Spiritualist Association of Churches
 National Federation of Spiritual Science Churches
 National Spiritual Aid Association, Inc.
 National Spiritual Alliance of the U.S.A.
 National Spiritualist Association of Churches
 National Spiritual Science Center
 Progressive Spiritual Church
 Pyramid Church of Truth and Light
 Roosevelt Spiritual Memorial Benevolent Association
 Society of Christ, Inc.
 Spiritualist Episcopal Church
 Spiritual Prayer Home, Inc.
 Spiritual Science Mother Church
 St. Paul's Church of Aquarian Science
 Superet Light Center
 Temple of Universal Law
 T.O.M. Religious Foundation
 United Spiritualist Church
 Universal Christ Church, Inc.
 Universal Church of Psychic Science
 Universal Church of the Master
 Universal Harmony Foundation
 Universal Religion of America
 Universal Spiritualist Association
 University of Life Church

Swedenborg and the New Jerusalem (three groups)

General Church of the New Jerusalem
 General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the U.S.A.
 The Lord's New Church Which is Nova Hierosolyma

Teaching Spiritualism (28 groups)

American Grail Foundation
 Anthropological Research Foundation
 Association for the Understanding of Man
 Circle of Inner Truth
 Cosmerism
 Cosmic Awareness Communications
 Divine Word Foundation, Inc.
 Father's House
 Fellowship of the Inner Light
 Fellowship of Universal Guidance
 Foundation Church of the New Birth
 Inner Circle Kethra E'Da Foundation, Inc.
 International Organization of Awareness
 Light of the Universe
 Lomin Association
 Murtinus Institute of Spiritual Science
 Morse Fellowship
 New Age Teachings
 Organization of Awareness
 Radiant School of Seekers and Servers
 Robin's Return
 School of Natural Science
 Servants of Awareness, Inc.
 Sisters of the Amber
 Spiritual Research Society
 Universal Brotherhood of Faithists
 Universal Foundation



"Don't tell me — Mary Lou Fenwick — cheerleading squad?"

Word Foundation
 Theosophy (five groups)
 International Group of Theosophists
 Theosophical Society (Hartley)
 Theosophical Society (Long)
 Theosophical Society of America
 United Lodge of Theosophists
 Unclassified New-Age Groups (54 groups)
 Aletheia Psycho-Physical Foundation
 American Universalist Temple of Divine Wisdom
 Arica Institute, Inc.
 Association for Research and Enlightenment
 Astrological, Metaphysical, Occult, Revelatory, Enlightenment Church
 Aum Temple of Universal Truth
 Chirosthesian Church of Faith
 Christ Ministry Foundation
 Church of Basic Truth
 Church of General Psionics
 Church of Gentle Brothers and Sisters
 Church of Scientology
 Church of Spiritual Freedom
 Church of the Christian Spiritual Alliance
 Church of the Gift of God
 Church of the Lord Jesus Christ (Ishi Temple)
 Congregational Church of Practical Theology
 Coptic Fellowship of America
 Dawn of Truth
 ECKANKAR
 Embassy of the Gheez-Americans
 Essence Center
 Etherian Religious Society of Universal Brotherhood
 First Century Church
 Foundation Faith of the Millennium
 Future Foundation
 Haikim International Meditation Society
 Holy Order of Ezekiel
 Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (The Unification Church)
 Huna Religion
 Huna Research Associates
 Inner Light Foundation
 Inner Peace Movement
 Institute of Ability
 Institute of Cosmic Wisdom
 Institute of Mentalphysics
 International Church of Spiritual Vision, Inc. (Western Prayer Warriors)
 Kingdom of Yahweh
 Love Project
 Movement of Spiritual Inner Awareness
 New Age Church of Truth
 New Age Samanian Church
 New Psychiana
 The Only Fair Religion
 Ontological Society
 People's Temple Christian (Disciples) Church
 Process Church of the Final Judgment
 Quimby Center
 Savitria
 Society for the Teaching of the Inner Christ, Inc.
 Theocentric Foundation
 True Church of Christ, International
 Universal Brotherhood
 World Catalyst Church

QUAKERS

Central Yearly Meeting of Friends
 Friends United Meeting
 Evangelical Friends Church, Eastern Division
 Lake Erie Association/Yearly Meeting
 Missouri Valley Friends Conference
 Northwest Yearly Meeting of Friends Church
 Pacific Yearly Meeting of Friends
 Religious Society of Friends (Conservative)
 Religious Society of Friends (General Conference)
 Religious Society of Friends (Kansas)
 Rocky Mountain Yearly Meeting
 Southeastern Yearly Meeting
 Southern App-Jachian Association of Friends

RITUAL-MAGIC CHURCHES

Bavarian Illuminati
 Bennu Phoenix Temple of the Hermetic Order of

Builders of the Adytum
 Fellowship of Ma-Ion
 Foundation, an Hermetic Society
 Neo-Pythagorean Gnostic Church
 New England Institute of Metaphysical Studies
 Order of Thelema
 Order of the Lily and the Eagle
 Ordo Templi Astarte
 Ordo Templi Orientis (Dublin, Calif.)
 Ordo Templi Orientis (Fort Myers, Fla.)
 Ordo Templi Orientis (Roanoke, Va.)
 Shrine of Sothis
 Temple of Truth

ROSICRUCIANS

Ancient and Mystical Order of the Rosae Crucis
 Fraternitas Rosae Crucis
 Lectorium Rosicrucianum
 Rosicrucian Fellowship
 Societas Rosicruciana in America

SATANISM

Brotherhood of the Ram
 Church of Satanic Brotherhood
 Order of the Black Ram
 Ordo Templi Satanus
 Our Lady of Endor Coven, the Ophite Cultus
 Satanus
 Satanic Church in America
 Thee Satanic Church
 Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite

SHINTO

Honkyoku Shinto
 Inari Shinto
 Jingu Shinto
 Jinsha Shinto
 Konko Kyo
 Shinreikyo
 Taishakyo Shinto
 Tenkyo
 Tensho Kotai Jingu Kyo
 Third Civilization

SIKHISM

Sikh Dharma
 Sikh Foundation
 Radhasoami Matsang
 Ruhani Satsang

WITCHCRAFT

African Witchcraft (three groups)
 Afro-American Vodoun
 Religious Order of Witchcraft
 Yoruba Religion
 Gardnerian Witchcraft (five groups)
 Alexandrians

Algard Wicca
 Church of Wicca of Parkersfield
 New Reformed Orthodox Order of the Golden Dawn
 Open Goddess
 Traditionalist Witchcraft (12 groups)
 American Order of the Brotherhood of Wicca
 Atlantian Wicca
 Church of the Weycan Rede
 Cymry Wicca
 Delphic Coven
 Dianic Wicca
 First Wiccan Church of Minnesota
 Hollywood Coven
 New England Coven of Welsh Traditional Witches
 New York Coven of Welsh Traditionalist Witches
 Order of Osiris
 Witches International Craft Associates
 Miscellaneous Wicca Groups (six groups)
 Church of Wicca
 Circle
 ESP Laboratory
 Holy Order of Briget
 Mental Science Institute
 Seax-Wicca

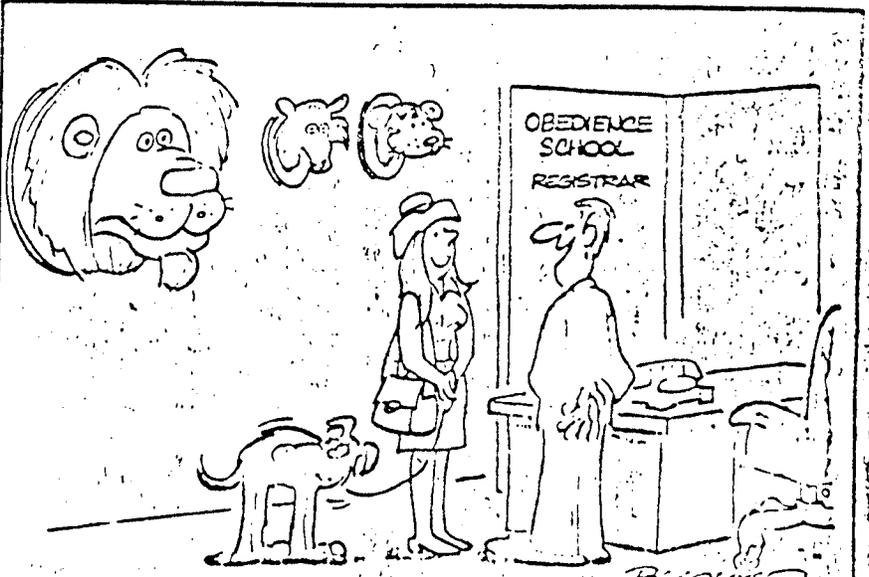
ZOROASTRIANISM

Mazdaznan Movement

MISCELLANEOUS CHURCHES

All-One-Faith-in-One-God State
 American Mission for Opening Closed Churches
 Apostolic Christian Church (Nazarean)
 Apostolic Christian Churches of America
 Christian Catholic Church
 Christian Union
 Church of the New Song
 Followers of Christ
 Full Salvation Union
 Kennedy Worshipers
 Moral Re-Armament
 Mt. Zion Sanctuary
 Perfect Liberty
 Sekai Kyusei Kyo/Church of World Messiahism
 Smith Venner
 United Christian Church of America
 Universal Christian Church
 Universal Peace Mission Movement

In addition to all the religions listed above, there are other small churches and congregations which space would not allow us to include—among them many Indian religions. In truth, the total number of religions in America is well beyond 1,200. ♦



"We use a lot of psychology around here."

A Compend of Luther's Theology, ed. Hugh T. Kerr,
Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1943, p.135

A COMPEND OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY

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sires of our adversaries. Had we yielded and obeyed them, we would have been drawn into their falsehood and destruction. And God will still support us if we deal uprightly and faithfully in these requirements, if we further and honor the Word of God, and be not unthankful nor seek things that counterfeit God's Word.

— *Epistle Sermon, Twenty-fourth Sunday After Trinity* (Lenker Edition, Vol. IX, #26-27).

I ask that men make no reference to my name, and call themselves not Lutherans, but Christians. What is Luther? My doctrine, I am sure, is not mine, nor have I been crucified for any one. St. Paul, in I Corinthians iii, would not allow Christians to call themselves Pauline or Petrine, but Christian. How then should I, poor, foul carcase that I am, come to have men give to the children of Christ a name derived from my worthless name? No, no, my dear friends; let us abolish all party names, and call ourselves Christians after Him Whose doctrine we have.

— "An Earnest Exhortation for All Christians, Warning Them Against Insurrection and Rebellion," Works of Martin Luther, Vol. III, p. 218.

2. THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

Where God's word is purely taught, there is also the upright and true church; for the true church is supported by the Holy Ghost, not by succession of inheritance. It does not follow, though St. Peter had been bishop at Rome, and at the same time Christian communion had been at Rome, that, therefore, the pope and the Romish church are true; for if that should be of value or conclusive, then they must needs confess that Caiaphas, Annas, and the Sadducees were also the true church; for they boasted that they were descended from Aaron.

— Table-Talk, #CCCLXIX.

Christ says to St. Peter, Matthew xvi: "Thou art, or art called, Peter; and on the *Petram* (i.e., on the rock) I will build My Church. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and

THE
CHARACTER OF A METHODIST

Not as though I had already attained.

TO THE READER

1. SINCE the name first came abroad into the world, many have been at a loss to know what a Methodist is; what are the principles and the practice of those who are commonly called by that name; and what the distinguishing marks of this sect, "which is everywhere spoken against."

2. And it being generally believed, that I was able to give the clearest account of these things, (as having been one of the first to whom that name was given, and the person by whom the rest were supposed to be directed,) I have been called upon, in all manner of ways, and with the utmost earnestness, so to do. I yield at last to the continued importunity both of friends and enemies; and do now give the clearest account I can, in the presence of the Lord and Judge of heaven and earth, of the principles and practice whereby those who are called Methodists are distinguished from other men.

3. I say those who are called Methodists; for, let it be well observed, that this is not a name which they take to themselves, but one fixed upon them by way of reproach, without their approbation or consent. It was first given to three or four young men at Oxford, by a student of Christ Church; either in allusion to the ancient sect of Physicians so called, from their teaching, that almost all diseases might be cured by a specific *method* of diet and exercise, or from their observing a more regular *method* of study and behaviour than was usual with those of their age and station.

4. I should rejoice (so little ambitious am I to be at the head of any sect or party) if the very name might never be mentioned more, but be buried in eternal oblivion. But if that cannot be, at least let those who will use it, know the meaning of the word they use. Let us not always be fighting in the dark. Come, and let us look one another in the face. And perhaps some of you who hate what I am *called*, may love what I *am* by the grace of God; or rather, what "I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus."

H. Christopher, *Lard's Quarterly*, vol.4, 1867, p.351
 in *The Thunderous Silence of God*, J.N. Clayton,
 Cogdill Foundation; Marion, 1972, p.76

Do they exhibit truths demonstrably evident in the light of Scripture and right reason, so that to deny any part of them the contrary assertion would be manifestly absurd and inadmissible? Considered as a preliminary for the above purpose, are they adequate, so that if acted upon, they would infallibly lead to the desired issue? If evidently defective in either of these respects, let them be corrected and amended. If they become sufficiently evident, adequate, and unexceptionable. In the mean time let them be examined with rigor, with all the rigor that justice, candor, and charity will admit. If we have mistaken the way, we shall be glad to be set right; but if, in the mean time, we have been happily led to suggest obvious and undeniable truths, which, if adopted and acted upon, would infallibly lead to the desired unity, and secure it when obtained, we hope it will be no objection that they have not proceeded from a General Council. 122

No one who has read through the *Declaration and Address* could deny that Campbell was sincere in his appeal for critical examination of his offering. It is fact, however, that the document was not seriously challenged during the first years of the Restoration Movement. Now, in view of the divided condition of that movement, it should be tested to see if it is useful in healing the wounds of the present-day factionalism in Restoration-oriented churches, in the same way it was originally used to repair denominationalism.

My sentiment is, that, without the rule, there would be no such thing as a Restoration Movement, and no hope of re-vitalizing its prostrate form. Others have also sensed the vital character of the rule:

...if we would preserve the unity of the church, and keep out corruptions and innovations of every kind, we must confine ourselves to the teachings of the apostles, and to the practice of the apostolic church. We are driven to this position and confined to it by the highest considerations for the interests of the church and the most inexorable logic.

This step is the distinctive feature of our reformatory movement, our power and glory, and our hope of success; the only means and way by which the world can be converted to Christ, and the church preserved from corruptions with which human ambitions and pride have flooded it in days gone by. It was a grand and mighty conception, a sweeping generalization, that carried us, at one bound, over the heads of eighteen centuries, and placed us behind all the corruptions and causes of division which now defile and distract the church. 123

Alexander Campbell, *Millennial Harbinger*, vol.3, p.195
 in *The Thunderous Silence of God*, J.N. Clayton,
 Cogdill Foundation:Marion, 1979, p.79

"*The End of the Matter?*"

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still smoulders, and light the way to a new revival of New Testament Christianity.

Recognizing the difficulty of the task, we would not rhapsodize overmuch, but would endorse the eloquent words of Alexander Campbell:

If the Christians in all sects could be drawn together, then would the only real, desirable and permanent union, worthy of the name of the union of Christians, be achieved. How to affect this has long been a question with us and many others. To us, it appears, the only practicable way to accomplish this desirable object, is to propound the ancient gospel and the ancient order of things in the words and sentences found in the apostolic writings—to abandon all traditions and usages not found in the Record, and to make no human terms of communion. But on this theme much must yet be said before all the honest will understand it. One thing, however, is already sufficiently plain to all, that a union amongst Christians can be obtained only upon scriptural grounds, and not upon any sectarian platform in existence.¹²⁸

More important than an endorsement of the words of a man is the acceptance of the words of the Holy Spirit:

Take heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ; for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in him ye are made full...¹²⁹

122. *Declaration and Address*, p. 19.

123. Christopher, H., *Lard's Quarterly*, Vol. 4, 1867, p. 351.

124. *Lard's Quarterly*, Vol. 4, p. 366.

125. Lard, Moses E., *Apostolic Times*, Vol. 1, No. 3, April 29, 1869, p. 20.

126. *Lard's Quarterly*, Vol. 1, 1864, p. 333.

127. Garrison, W. E., *Religion Follows the Frontier*, p. 88.

128. *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. 3, p. 195.

129. Col. 2:8-9.

ELDERS AND DEACONS

EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

The synonymes 'bishop' and 'presbyter.'

IT is a fact now generally recognised by theologians of all shades of opinion, that in the language of the New Testament the same officer in the Church is called indifferently 'bishop' (*ἐπίσκοπος*) and 'elder' or 'presbyter' (*πρεσβύτερος*). The bearing of this fact on the origin and authority of the 'episcopate,' as the term was understood later and as it is understood in the present day, will be considered in a dissertation at the end of this volume. At present it will be sufficient to establish the fact itself; but before doing so, it may be useful to trace the previous history of the two words.

The two words are synonymes.

Identity of the two in the apostolic writings

Of the identity of the 'bishop' and 'presbyter' in the language of the apostolic age, the following evidence seems conclusive.

(1) In the opening of this epistle St Paul salutes the 'bishops' and 'deacons'.¹ Now it is incredible that he should recognise only the first

and third order and pass over the second, though the second was absolutely essential to the existence of a church and formed the staple of its ministry. It seems therefore to follow of necessity that the 'bishops' are identical with the 'presbyters.' Whether or not the Philippian Church at this time possessed also a 'bishop' in the later sense of the term, is a question which must be reserved for the present.

(2) In the Acts (xx. 17) St Paul is represented as summoning to Miletus the 'elders' or 'presbyters' of the Church of Ephesus. Yet in addressing them immediately after he appeals to them as 'bishops' or 'overseers' of the church (xx. 28).

(3) Similarly St Peter, appealing to the 'presbyters' of the churches addressed by him, in the same breath urges them to 'fulfil the office of bishops' (*ἐπισκοποῦντες*) with disinterested zeal (1 Pet. v. 1, 2).

(4) Again in the First Epistle to Timothy St Paul, after describing the qualifications for the office of a 'bishop' (iii. 1-7), goes on at once to say what is required of 'deacons' (iii. 8-13). He makes no mention of presbyters. The term 'presbyter' however is not unknown to him; for having occasion in a later passage to speak of Christian ministers he calls these officers no longer 'bishops,' but 'presbyters' (v. 17-19).

(5) The same identification appears still more plainly from the Apostle's directions to Titus (i. 5-7); 'That thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting and ordain *elders* in every city, as I appointed thee; if any one be *blameless*, the husband of one wife, having believing children who are not charged with riotousness or unruly; for a *bishop* (*τὸν ἐπίσκοπον*)¹ must be *blameless* etc.'

(6) Nor is it only in the apostolic writings that this identity is found.

and in Clement of Rome.

bishops and presbyters Theodore adds, *προεκτὸν ὅτι τὸ σὺν ἐπισκόποις λέγεται, οὐχ ὡς τινὲς ἐνόμισαν ὡς περ ἡμεῖς σὺν πρεσβυτέροις γράφοιμ ἐλάσαμεν* οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ταυτοῦ πρόσωπον εἶπεν τὸ σὺν, *ὡς ἡ σὺν ἐπισκόποις ἡμῶν* ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κασι τῶν ἐν Φιλιππῶσι ἀγίαις, σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῖσι ἐπισκόποις τε καὶ διακόνοις: 'It must be observed that when he says *with the bishops*, it is not, as some have thought, a parallel to our practice of writing 'together with the elders' (i.e. of associating the elders with themselves in the superscription, as for instance Polycarp does in writing to the Philippians): 'for he does not use the

however (Raban. Maur. vi. p. 479, ed. Migne) mistakes and confuses his meaning. The interpretation which Theodore is combating appears in the Ambrosian Hilary; 'Cum episcopis et diaconibus: hoc est, cum Paulo et Timotheo, qui utique episcopi erant: simul significavit et diaconos qui ministrabant ei. Ad plebem enim scribit: nam si episcopis scriberet et diaconibus, ad personas eorum scriberet; et loci ipsius episcopo scribendum erat, non duobus vel tribus. sicut et ad Titum et Timotheum.' See below, p. 230.

¹ In τὸν ἐπίσκοπον the definite article denotes the type, as in 1 Cor. xii.

τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, Acts iv. 8 R G; of τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Acts xxv. 15; of τοῦ λαοῦ, Mt. xxi. 23; xxvi. 3; xxvii. 1. β. those who in the separate cities managed public affairs and administered justice: Lk. vii. 3. [Cf. BB. DD. a. v. Elder.] b. among Christians, those who presided over the assemblies (or churches): Acts xi. 30; xiv. 23; xv. 2, 4, 6, 22 sq.; xvi. 4; xxi. 18; 1 Tim. v. 17, 19; Tit. i. 5; 2 Jn. 1; 3 Jn. 1; 1 Pet. v. 1, 5; with τῆς ἐκκλησίας added, Acts xx. 17; Jas. v. 14. That they did not differ at all from the (ἐπίσκοποι) bishops or overseers (as is acknowledged also by Jerome on Tit. i. 5 [cf. Bp. Lghtft. Com. on Phil. pp. 98 sq. 229 sq.]) is evident from the fact that the two words are used indiscriminately, Acts xx. 17, 28; Tit. i. 5, 7, and that the duty of presbyters is described by the terms ἐπίσκοποι, 1 Pet. v. 1 sq., and ἐπισκοπή, Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. 44, 1; accordingly only two ecclesiastical officers, ἐπίσκοποι and ἐπίσκοποι, are distinguished in Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8. The title ἐπίσκοπος denotes the function, πρεσβύτερος the dignity; the former was borrowed from Greek institutions, the latter from the Jewish; cf. [Bp. Lghtft., as above, pp. 95 sqq. 191 sqq.]; Ritschl, Die Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche, ed. 2 p. 350 sqq.; Hase, Protest. Polemik, ed. 4 p. 98 sqq.; [Hatch, Bampton Lects. for 1880, Lect. iii. and Harnack's Analecten appended to the Germ. trans. of the same (p. 229 sqq.); also Harnack's note on Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. 1, 3 (cf. reff. at 44 init.), and Hatch in Dict. of Christ. Antiq. s. v. Priest. Cf. ἐπίσκοπος.]. c. the twenty-four members of the heavenly Sanhedrin or court, seated on thrones around the throne of God: Rev. iv. 4, 10; v. 5, 6, 8, 11, 14; vii. 11, 13; xi. 16; xiv. 3; xix. 4.* πρεσβύτερος, -ου, ὁ, (πρεσβύτερος [see πρεσβύτερος]), an old man, an aged man: Lk. i. 18; Tit. ii. 2; Philem. 9 [here many (cf. R. V. mrg.) regard the word as a substitute for πρεσβυτέρης, ambassador; see Bp. Lghtft. Com. ad loc.; WII. App. ad loc.; and add to the exx. of the interchange πρεσβυτέρη in Wood, Discoveries at Ephesus, App., Inscr. fr. the Great Theatre p. 24 (col. 5, l. 72)]. (Aeschyl., Eur., Xen., Plat., al.; Sept. for [ῥη].)* πρεσβυτέρα, -δος, ἡ, (fem. of πρεσβύτερος), an aged woman: Tit. ii. 3. (Aeschyl., Eur., Plat., Diod., Plut., Hdtian. 5, 3, 6 (3 ed. Bekk.).)* πρηγής, -ης, [allied w. πρῶ; Vaniček p. 484], Lat. pronus, headlong: Acts i. 18. (Sep. iv. 19; 3 Macc. v. 43; in Grk. writ. fr. Hom. down, but in Attic more com. πρηγής, see Lob. ad Phryn. p. 491; [W. 22].)* πρῶς (or πρῶς, ἡ, v.): 1 aor. pass. ἐπρίσθη; to saw, to cut in two with a saw: Heb. xi. 37. To be 'sawn asunder' was a kind of punishment among the Hebrews (3 S. xii. 31; 1 Chr. xx. 3), which according to ancient tradition was inflicted on the prophet Isaiah; cf. Win. RWB. s. v. Säge; Rostoff in Schenkel v. 185; [B. D. s. v. Saw]. (Am. l. 3; Sus. 59; Plat. Theag. p. 124 b. and freq. in later writ.)* πρῶς, [(acc. to Curtius § 380 compar. πρῶ-σος, πρῶ-σος, πρῶς)], as in Grk. writ. fr. Hom. down 1. an adv. previously, formerly, [cf. πρῶτος, 1]; 3 Macc. v. 28; vi. 4, 31; but never so in the N. T. 2. with the force of a

conjunction, before, before that: with infin. of things past [cf. W. § 44, 6 fin. 'Ἀβραὰμ γινώσκων, before Abraham existing, Jn. viii. 58; also πρῶς ἡ (cf. Meyer i. 18; [Acts vii. 2]; with an aor. in the Lat. fut. perf., of things future πρῶς ἐλπίσθη φωνήσασθαι, before the coming, Mt. xxvi. 34, 75; Mk. xiv. 72; Lk. 49; xiv. 29, also πρῶς ἡ, Mk. xiv. 30 L T Tr WII txt. om. ἡ]; πρῶς ἡ, present sentence [B. § 139, 35], with the force of a fut. pf. in Lat. [B. § 139 [R G L T Tr mrg., but WH br. ἡ], 34; πρῶς ἡ, foll. by the optat. of a thing in thought, Acts xxv. 16 [W. 297 (27 Cf. Matthias § 522, 3 p. 1201 sq.; Bts. Klotz ad Devar. ii. 2 p. 726 sqq.; W. [Πρίσκα, ἡ, [acc. -σος], Prisca (a Latin client)], a Christian woman, wife of Paul, whom see Ἀκύλας: Ro. xvi. 3 G L xvi. 19 L ed. ster. T Tr WII; 2 Tim. called by the dimin. name Πρισκελλᾶ (edd.) Πρισκελλᾶ, see Chandler § 12: 19, 50 sq.] (cf. Livia, Livilla; Drusa, Quintilla; Secunda, Secundilla): Ac. besides, Ro. xvi. 3 Rec.; 1 Co. xvi. 1 Πρισκελλᾶ, see the preceding word πρῶς, see πρῶς. [COMP. : δε-πρῶς πρῶς, a prep. foll. by the Genitive. down], Sept. chiefly for [ῥη], before. Place: πρῶς τῶν θυρῶν, τῆς θύρας, xii. 6, 14; xiv. 13; Jas. v. 9; by a I πρῶς with the gen. of a pers. before (as is following) [B. 319 (274)]: Mt. xi. 76; vii. 27; ix. 32; x. 1, (Mal. iii. 1; Mal. iii. 18). b. of Time: πρῶς τῶν θυρῶν, v. 36; xxi. 38; [πρῶς τοῦ πάσχα, Jn. xi. 55] Greek idiom, πρῶς ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα days reckoning from the Passover, with ἡμέρας πρῶς τοῦ πάσχα, on the sixth day of the Passover, Jn. xii. 1 (πρῶς δύο ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα, 2 Jn. 1 fr. prof. writ. are cited by W. 557 (557 11); fr. eccles. writ. by Hilgenfeld, D pp. 298, 302; also his Paschastrait der sq.; [cf. Soph. Lex. s. v. πρῶς, 1 and 2]. Jn. xiii. 1]; πρῶς αἰῶνος, Mt. viii. 29; 1 Co. ii. 7; πρῶς τοῦ αἰῶνος, Jud. ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε. [fourteen years ago], 2 Tim. i. 9; iv. 21; Tit. i. 2; τοῦ ἀρίστου αἰῶνος, Mt. xxiv. 38; πρῶς τῆς γενέσεως πρῶς καταβολῆς κόσμου, Jn. xvii. 24; 1 Jn. 1; πρῶς πάντων, prior to all created [πρῶς πάντων πάντων (Rec. ἐπὶ πάντων.), L] Hebrewism, πρῶς προσείσεως with the gen. of time for the simple πρῶς (W. § 65, 4 b. Acts xiii. 24 [lit. before the face of πρῶς with the gen. of a pers.: Jn. v. 7

§ 61. *Presbyters or Bishops. The Angels of the Seven Churches. James of Jerusalem.*

We proceed to the officers of local congregations who were charged with carrying forward in particular places the work begun by the apostles and their delegates. These were of two kinds, Presbyters or Bishops, and Deacons or Helpers. They multiplied in proportion as Christianity extended, while the number of the apostles diminished by death, and could, in the nature of the case, not be filled up by witnesses of the life and resurrection of Christ. The extraordinary officers were necessary for the founding and being of the church, the ordinary officers for its preservation and well-being.

The terms PRESBYTER (or Elder)¹ and BISHOP (or Overseer, Superintendent)¹ denote in the New Testament one and the same office, with this difference only, that the first is borrowed from the Synagogue, the second from the Greek communities; and that the one signifies the dignity, the other the duty.²

1. The identity of these officers is very evident from the following facts:

a. They appear always as a plurality or as a college in one and the same congregation, even in smaller cities, as Philippi.¹

b. The same officers of the church of Ephesus are alternately called presbyters¹ and bishops.

c. Paul sends greetings to the "bishops" and "deacons" of Philippi, but omits the presbyters because they were included in the first term; as also the plural indicates.²

d. In the Pastoral Epistles, where Paul intends to give the qualifications for *all* church officers, he again mentions only two, bishops and deacons, but uses the term presbyter afterwards for bishop.⁴

Peter urges the "presbyters" to "tend the flock of God," and to "fulfil the office of bishops" with disinterested devotion and without "lording it over the charge allotted to them."⁵

e. The interchange of terms continued in use to the close of the first century, as is evident from the Epistle of Clement of Rome (about 95), and the *Didache*, and still lingered towards the close of the second.⁶

¹ The only apparent exceptions are 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:7, but there the definite article before *ἐπίσκοπος* is generic.

² Acts 20:17 (presbyters), 28 (bishops). In the English version the argument of the identity is obscured by the exceptional translation "overseers," instead of the usual "bishops." The Revised Version of 1881 has mended this defect by adopting "elders" and "bishops" in the text, and "presbyters" and "overseers" in the margin. The perversion of the passage, under the unconscious influence of a later distinction, began with Irenæus, who says (*Adv. Har.* III. 14, 2): "The bishops and presbyters were called together

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, XV, (80-120 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.7
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.381

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. 381

do what he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you, for with God he hath his judgment; for so did also the ancient prophets. But whoever saith in the Spirit, Give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he saith to you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII.¹ — RECEPTION OF CHRISTIANS.

1 But let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received,² and afterward ye shall prove and know him; for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you, except for two or three days, if need be. But if he willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath no trade, according to your understanding see to it that, as a Christian,⁴ he shall not live with you idle. But if he willeth not so to do, he is a Christ-monger.⁵ Watch that ye keep aloof from such.

CHAP. XIII.⁶ — SUPPORT OF PROPHETS.

1 But every true prophet that willeth to abide among you⁷ is worthy of his support.⁸ So also a true teacher is himself worthy, as the workman, of his support.⁹ Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests.¹⁰ But if ye have not a prophet, give it to the poor. If thou makest a batch of dough, take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment.

ing view of this difficult passage: the mystery is the Church, and a worldly one, because the Church is in the world. The other leading view joins *κατασκευαστες* (as accusative) with *συναγωγαις*, "making assemblies for a worldly mystery." So Bryennios, who regards the worldly mystery as a symbolical act of the prophet. Others suggest, as the mystery for which the assemblies are called, revelation of future events, celibacy, the Eucharist, the ceremonial law. It seems, at all events, to point to incipient fanaticism on the part of the prophets of those days. [Elucidation III.] This was likely to take the form either of asceticism or of extravagant predictions and mystical fancies about the Church in the world. Did we know the place and the time more accurately, we might decide which was meant. This caution was evidently needed: Let God judge such extravagances.

¹ Verse 1 is almost identical with the beginning of *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28; the remaining verses have no parallel.

² All professed Christians are meant.

³ Comp. 2 Thess. iii. 10.

⁴ The term occurs only here in the *Teaching*.

⁵ "Christ-traffic." The abuse of Christian fellowship and hospitality naturally followed the remarkable extension of Christianity. This expressive term was coined to designate the class of idlers who would make gain out of their professed Christianity. It occurs in the longer form of the Ignatian Epistles (*Trullians*, vi.) and in literature of the fourth century.

⁶ A large part of this chapter is found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28, 29, but with modifications and additions indicating a later date.

⁷ "Who will settle among you" (Hitchcock and Brown). The itinerant prophets might become stationary, we infer. Chaps. xi.-xv. point to a movement from an itinerant and extraordinary ministry to a more settled one.

⁸ Lit., "nourishment," "food."

⁹ Matt. x. 10; comp. Luke x. 7.

¹⁰ This phrase, indicating a sacerdotal view of the ministry, seems to point to a later date than that claimed for the *Teaching*. Some regard it as an interpolation; others take it in a figurative sense. In *Apostolic Constitutions* the sacerdotal view is more marked. [1 Pet. ii. 9. *βιη* the *plebs* = "priests," prophets = "high priests."] Here the term is restricted to the prophets; compare Schaff in loco.

So also when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruit and give it to the prophets; and of money (silver) and clothing and every possession, take the first-fruit, as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV.¹¹ — CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY ON THE LORD'S DAY.

But every Lord's day¹² do ye gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving after having confessed your transgressions,¹³ that your sacrifice may be pure.¹⁴ But let no one that is at variance¹⁵ with his fellow come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice;¹⁶ for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations.¹⁷

CHAP. XV.¹⁸ — BISHOPS AND DEACONS; CHRISTIAN REPROOF.

Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money,¹⁹ and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service²⁰ of prophets and teachers. Despise them not therefore, for they are your honoured ones, together with the prophets and teachers. And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel;²¹ but to every one that acts amiss²² against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent. But your prayers and alms and all your deeds so do, as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord.²³

¹¹ Verses 1 and 3 are given substantially in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 30. This chapter would seem to belong more properly before chap. viii.; but the same order of topics is followed in *Apostolic Constitutions*, — a remarkable proof of literary connection.

¹² Comp. Rev. i. 10. Here the full form is *κατα κρησιν δι Κυριου*. If the early date is allowed, this verse confirms the view that from the first the Lord's Day was observed, and that, too, by a eucharistic celebration.

¹³ Comp. chap. iv. 14. No parallel in *Apostolic Constitutions*.

¹⁴ On this spiritual sense of "sacrifice," comp. Rom. xii. 1; Phil. ii. 17; Heb. xiii. 15; 1 Pet. ii. 5.

¹⁵ "That hath the (or, any) dispute" (*ἀμφαβολιαν*); comp. Matt. v. 23, 24.

¹⁶ [See Mal. i. 11. See Irenaeus, *cap. xvii. 5*, vol. i. p. 284.]

¹⁷ Mal. i. 11, 14. Quoted in *Apostolic Constitutions* and by several Ante-Nicene Fathers, with the same reference to the Eucharist.

¹⁸ The larger part of verse 1, and a clause from verses 2, 3, respectively, are found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 31. Verses 1, 2, both in the use of terms and in the Church polity indicated, point to an early date: (1) There are evident marks of a transition from extraordinary to ordinary ministers. (2) The distinction between bishops and elders does not appear [1 Pet. v. 1. Vol. i. p. 16, this series], and yet it is found in Ignatius. (3) The word *χειροτονια* is here used in the sense of "elect" or "appoint" (by show of hands), and not in that of "ordain" (by laying on of hands). The former is the New-Testament sense (Acts xiv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 19), also in Ignatius; the latter sense is found in *Apostolic Canons*, l. (4) The choice by the people also indicates an early period.

¹⁹ Comp. 1 Tim. iii.

²⁰ Or, "ministry." This clause and the following verse indicate that the extraordinary ministers were as yet more highly-regarded.

²¹ Comp. Matt. xviii. 15-17.

²² The word *αμαρτια*, occurring here, means "to miss the mark;" in New Testament, "to err" or, "swerve." See 1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 18.

²³ The reference here is probably to the Sermon on the Mount; Matt. v.-vii., especially to chap. vi.

Clement, First Epistle, XLII, XLIV, (97 A.D.)
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
 Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1950, p.16-17

TITLE OF CLEMENT.

being fully assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and established⁶ in the word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first-fruits of their labours, having first proved them by the Spirit,⁷ to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe. Nor was this any new thing, since indeed many ages before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, "I will appoint their bishops⁸ in righteousness, and their deacons⁹ in faith."¹⁰

CHAP. XLIII. — MOSES OF OLD STILLED THE CONTENTION WHICH AROSE CONCERNING THE PRIESTLY DIGNITY.

And what wonder is it if those in Christ who were entrusted with such a duty by God, appointed those [ministers] before mentioned, when the blessed Moses also, "a faithful servant in all his house,"¹¹ noted down in the sacred books all the injunctions which were given him, and when the other prophets also followed him, bearing witness with one consent to the ordinances which he had appointed? For, when rivalry arose concerning the priesthood, and the tribes were contending among themselves as to which of them should be adorned with that glorious title, he commanded the twelve princes of the tribes to bring him their rods, each one being inscribed with the name¹² of the tribe. And he took them and bound them [together], and sealed them with the rings of the princes of the tribes, and laid them up in the tabernacle of witness on the table of God. And having shut the doors of the tabernacle, he sealed the keys, as he had done the rods, and said to them, Men and brethren, the tribe whose rod shall blossom has God chosen to fulfil the office of the priesthood, and to minister unto Him. And when the morning was come, he assembled all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the princes of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of witness, and brought forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but to bear fruit upon it.¹³ What think ye, beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would happen? Undoubtedly he knew; but he acted thus, that there might be no sedition in Israel, and that

⁶ Or, "confirmed by."
⁷ Or, "having tested them in spirit."
⁸ Or, "overseers."
⁹ Or, "servants."

¹⁰ Isa. lx. 17, Sept.; but the text is here altered by Clement. The LXX. have "I will give thy rulers in peace, and thy overseers in righteousness."

¹¹ Num. xii. 10: Heb. iii. 5.

¹² Literally, "every tribe being written according to its name."

¹³ See Num. xvii.

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the name of the true and only God might be glorified; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAP. XLIV. — THE ORDINANCES OF THE APOSTLES, THAT THERE MIGHT BE NO CONTENTION RESPECTING THE PRIESTLY OFFICE.

Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and there would be strife on account of the office¹ of the episcopate. For this reason, therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect fore-knowledge of this, they appointed those [ministers] already mentioned, and afterwards gave instructions,² that when these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed them in their ministry. We are of opinion, therefore, that those appointed by them,³ or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and who have blamelessly served the flock of Christ in a humble, peaceable, and disinterested spirit, and have for a long time possessed the good opinion of all, cannot be justly dismissed from the ministry. For our sin will not be small, if we eject from the episcopate⁴ those who have blamelessly and holily fulfilled its duties.⁵ Blessed are those presbyters who, having finished their course before now, have obtained a fruitful and perfect departure [from this world]; for they have no fear lest any one deprive them of the place now appointed them. But we see that ye have removed some men of excellent behaviour from the ministry, which they fulfilled blamelessly and with honour.

CHAP. XLV. — IT IS THE PART OF THE WICKED TO VEX THE RIGHTEOUS.

Ye are fond of contention, brethren, and full of zeal about things which do not pertain to salvation. Look carefully into the Scriptures, which are the true utterances of the Holy Spirit. Observe⁶ that nothing of an unjust or counterfeit character is written in them. There⁷ you will not find that the righteous were cast off by men who themselves were holy. The righteous were indeed persecuted, but only by the wicked. They were cast into prison, but only by the unholy; they were stoned, but only by transgressors; they were slain, but only by the accursed, and such as had conceived an unrighteous envy

¹ Literally, "on account of the title of the oversight." Some understand this to mean, "in regard to the dignity of the episcopate;" and others simply, "on account of the oversight."

² The meaning of this passage is much controverted. Some render, "left a list of other approved persons;" while others translate the unusual word *ἐπιμεναι*, which causes the difficulty, by "testamentary direction," and many others deem the text corrupt. We have given what seems the simplest version of the text as it stands. (Compare the versions of Wake, Chevallier, and others.)

³ I.e., the apostles.

⁴ Or, "oversight."

⁵ Literally, "presented the offerings."

⁶ Or, "Ye perceive."

⁷ Or, "For."

Polycarp, Epistle, V-VI, (130-150 A.D.)
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.34

possessed of these graces, he hath fulfilled the command of righteousness, since he that hath love is far from all sin.

CHAP. IV. — VARIOUS EXHORTATIONS.

"But the love of money is the root of all evils."¹ Knowing, therefore, that "as we brought nothing into the world, so we can carry nothing out,"² let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness;³ and let us teach, first of all, ourselves to walk in the commandments of the Lord. Next, [teach] your wives [to walk] in the faith given to them, and in love and purity tenderly loving their own husbands in all truth, and loving all [others] equally in all chastity; and to train up their children in the knowledge and fear of God. Teach the widows to be discreet as respects the faith of the Lord, praying continually⁴ for all, being far from all slandering, evil-speaking, false-witnessing, love of money, and every kind of evil; knowing that they are the altar⁵ of God, that He clearly perceives all things, and that nothing is hid from Him, neither reasonings, nor reflections, nor any one of the secret things of the heart.

CHAP. V. — THE DUTIES OF DEACONS, YOUTHS, AND VIRGINS.

Knowing, then, that "God is not mocked,"⁶ we ought to walk worthy of His commandment and glory. In like manner should the deacons be blameless before the face of His righteousness, as being the servants of God and Christ,⁷ and not of men. They must not be slanderers, double-tongued,⁸ or lovers of money, but temperate in all things, compassionate, industrious, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the servant⁹ of all. If we please Him in this present world, we shall receive also the future world, according as He has promised to us that He will raise us again from the dead, and that if we live¹⁰ worthily of Him, "we shall also reign together with Him,"¹¹ provided only we believe. In like manner, let the young men also be blameless in all things, being especially careful to preserve purity, and keeping themselves in, as with a bridle, from every kind of evil. For it is well that they should be cut off from¹² the lusts that are in the world, since "every lust warreth against the spirit;"¹³ and "neither fornicators, nor ef-

feminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God,"¹⁴ nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming. Wherefore, it is needful to abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins also must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

CHAP. VI. — THE DUTIES OF PRESBYTERS AND OTHERS.

And let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander, visiting all the sick, and not neglecting the widow, the orphan, or the poor, but always "providing for that which is becoming in the sight of God and man;"¹⁵ abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unjust judgment; keeping far off from all covetousness, not quickly crediting [an evil report] against any one, not severe in judgment, as knowing that we are all under a debt of sin. If then we entreat the Lord to forgive us, we ought also ourselves to forgive;¹⁶ for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and "we must all appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, and must every one give an account of himself."¹⁷ Let us then serve Him in fear, and with all reverence, even as He Himself has commanded us, and as the apostles who preached the Gospel unto us, and the prophets who proclaimed beforehand the coming of the Lord [have alike taught us]. Let us be zealous in the pursuit of that which is good, keeping ourselves from causes of offence, from false brethren, and from those who in hypocrisy bear the name of the Lord, and draw away vain men into error.

CHAP. VII. — AVOID THE DOCETÆ, AND PERSEVERE IN FASTING AND PRAYER.

"For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is antichrist;"¹⁸ and whosoever does not confess the testimony of the cross,¹⁹ is of the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says that there is neither a resurrection nor a judgment, he is the first-born of Satan!²⁰ Wherefore, forsaking the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word which has been handed down to us from²¹ the beginning; "watching unto prayer,"²² and persevering in fasting; beseeching in our supplications the all-seeing God "not to lead us into tempta-

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 10.

² 1 Tim. vi. 7.

³ Comp. Eph. vi. 11.

⁴ Comp. 1 Thess. v. 17.

⁵ Some here read, "altars."

⁶ Gal. vi. 7.

⁷ Some read, "God in Christ."

⁸ Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 8.

⁹ Comp. Matt. xx. 28.

¹⁰ Ηλικιωμένοι, referring to the whole conduct; comp. Phil. i. 27.

¹¹ 2 Tim. ii. 12.

¹² Some read, ἀναίμακτοι, "to emerge from." [So Chevallier, but not Wake nor Jacobson. See the note of latter, *ad loc.*]

¹³ 1 Pet. ii. 11.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

¹⁵ Rom. xii. 17; 2 Cor. viii. 31.

¹⁶ Matt. vi. 12-14.

¹⁷ Rom. xiv. 10-12; 2 Cor. v. 10.

¹⁸ 1 John iv. 3.

¹⁹ Literally, "the martyrdom of the cross," which some render,

"His suffering on the cross."

²⁰ [The original, perhaps, of Eusebius (*Hist. iv. cap. 14*). It became a common-place expression in the Church.]

²¹ Comp. Jude 3.

²² 1 Pet. iv. 7.

Shepherd of Hermas, I, 5, (160 A.D.)
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951. p.14

I asked her, "Why was the tower built upon the waters, O Lady?" She answered, "I told you before,¹ and you still inquire carefully: therefore inquiring you shall find the truth. Hear then why the tower is built upon the waters. It is because your life has been, and will be, saved through water. For the tower was founded on the word of the almighty and glorious Name, and it is kept together by the invisible power of the Lord."²

CHAP. IV.

In reply I said to her, "This is magnificent and marvellous. But who are the six young men who are engaged in building?" And she said, "These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, and to whom the Lord handed over His whole creation, that they might increase and build up and rule over the whole creation. By these will the building of the tower be finished." "But who are the other persons who are engaged in carrying the stones?" "These also are holy angels of the Lord, but the former six are more excellent than these. The building of the tower will be finished,³ and all will rejoice together around the tower, and they will glorify God, because the tower is finished." I asked her, saying, "Lady, I should like to know what became of the stones, and what was meant by the various kinds of stones?" In reply she said to me, "Not because you are⁴ more deserving than all others that this revelation should be made to you — for there are others before you, and better than you, to whom these visions should have been revealed — but that the name of God may be glorified, has the revelation been made to you, and it will be made on account of the doubtful who ponder in their hearts whether these things will be or not. Tell them that all these things are true, and that none of them is beyond the truth. All of them are firm and sure, and established on a strong foundation.

CHAP. V.

"Hear now with regard to the stones which are in the building. Those square white stones which fitted exactly into each other, are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops and teachers and deacons chastely and reverently to the elect of God. Some of them have fallen asleep, and some still remain alive." And they have always agreed with each other, and

¹ I said to you before, that you were cunning, diligently inquiring in regard to the Scriptures. — *Val.* You are cunning in regard to the Scriptures. — *Lips.* In some of the mss. of the common Latin version, "structures" is read instead of "Scriptures."

² *The Lord, God.* — *Val.* [1 Pet. iii. 20; Eph. v. 26. Both these texts seem in the author's mind, but perhaps, also, Num. xxiv. 6, 7.]

³ *The building.* When therefore the building of the tower is finished, all. — *Val.*

⁴ *Not because you are better.* Are you better? — *Val.* [See note 8, preceding chapter.]

⁵ [1 Cor. xv. 6, 18.]

been at peace among themselves,⁶ and listened to each other. On account of this, they join exactly into the building of the tower." "But who are the stones that were dragged from the depths, and which were laid into the building and fitted in with the rest of the stones previously placed in the tower?" "They are those⁷ who suffered for the Lord's sake." "But I wish to know, O Lady, who are the other stones which were carried from the land." "Those," she said, "which go into the building without being polished, are those whom God has approved of, for they walked in the straight ways of the Lord and practised His commandments." "But who are those who are in the act of being brought and placed in the building?" "They are those who are young in faith and are faithful. But they are admonished by the angels to do good, for no iniquity has been found in them." "Who then are those whom they rejected and cast away?"⁸ "These are they who have sinned, and wish to repent. On this account they have not been thrown far from the tower, because they will yet be useful in the building, if they repent. Those then who are to repent, if they do repent, will be strong in faith, if they now repent while the tower is building. For if the building be finished, there will not be more room for any one, but he will be rejected.⁹ This privilege, however, will belong only to him who has now been placed near the tower.

CHAP. VI.

"As to those who were cut down and thrown far away from the tower, do you wish to know who they are? They are the sons of iniquity, and they believed in hypocrisy, and wickedness did not depart from them. For this reason they are not saved, since they cannot be used in the building on account of their iniquities. Wherefore they have been cut off and cast far away on account of the anger of the Lord, for they have roused Him to anger. But I shall explain to you the other stones which you saw lying in great numbers, and not going into the building. Those which are rough are those who have known the truth and not remained in it, nor have they been joined to the saints.¹⁰ On this account are they unfit for use." "Who are those that have rents?" "These are they who are at discord in their hearts one with another, and are not at peace amongst themselves: they indeed keep peace before each other, but when they separate one from the other, their wicked thoughts remain in

⁶ [Phil. ii. 2, iii. 16; 1 Thess. v. 13.]

⁷ *Are those.* They are those who have already fallen asleep, and who suffered. — *Val.*

⁸ *Cast away.* Placed near the tower. — *Val.*

⁹ [Heb. vi. 6-8; xii. 17.]

¹⁰ [Heb. x. 25. Barnabas (cap. iv.) reproves the same fault, almost as if directing his words against anchorites, vol. i. p. 139, this series.]

SUNDAY AS "the Lord's Day"

LORD'S DAY, THE

celebration of Christ's Resurrection, the weekly celebration of it was one upon which no diversity existed or was even hinted at.

Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 494, comes next. One does not expect anything very definite from a writer of so mystical a tendency, but he has some things quite to our purpose. In his Strom. (iv. § 3), he speaks of τὴν ἀρχιγονοῦν ἡμέραν, τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν, τὴν δὲ καὶ πρώτην τῷ ὄντι φώτος γενέσιν, κ.τ.λ., words which Bishop Kaye interprets as contrasting the seventh day of the Law with the eighth day of the Gospel. And, as the same learned prelate observes, "When Clement says that the Gnostic, or transcendental Christian, does not pray in any fixed place, or on any stated days, but throughout his whole life, he gives us to understand that Christians in general did meet together in fixed places and at appointed times for the purposes of prayer." But we are not left to mere inference on this important point, for Clement speaks of the Lord's Day as a well-known and customary festival, and in one place gives a mystical interpretation of the name.^b

Tertullian, whose date is assignable to the close of the 2d century, may, in spite of his conversion to Montanism, be quoted as a witness to facts. He terms the first day of the week sometimes Sunday (Dies Solis), sometimes Dies Dominicus. He speaks of it as a day of joy ("Diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus," *Apol.* c. 16), and asserts that it is wrong to fast upon it, or to pray kneeling during its continuance ("Die Dominico jejuniū nefas ducimus, vel de genuculis adorare," *De Cor.* c. 3). "Even business is to be put off, lest we give place to the devil" ("Differentes etiam negotia, ne quem Diabolo locum demus," *De Orat.* c. 13). Origen contends that the Lord's Day had its superiority to the Sabbath indicated by manna having been given on it to the Israelites, while it was withheld on the Sabbath. It is one of the marks of the perfect Christian to keep the Lord's Day.

Minucius Felix, A. D. 210, makes the heathen interlocutor, in his dialogue called Octavius, assert that the Christians come together to a repast "on the solemn day" (solenni die).

Cyprian and his colleagues, in a synodical letter, A. D. 253, make the Jewish circumcision on the eighth day prefigure the newness of life of the Christian, to which Christ's resurrection introduces him, and point to the Lord's Day, which is at once the eighth and the first.

Communion, circ. A. D., 270, mentions the Lord's Day.

Victorinus, A. D. 290, contrasts it, in a very remarkable passage, with the Passover and the Sabbath:

And Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 300, says of it, "We keep the Lord's Day as a day of joy, because of Him who rose thereon."

The results of our examination of the principal writers of the two centuries after the death of St. John are as follows: The Lord's Day (a name which has now come out more prominently, and is connected more explicitly with our Lord's resurrection than before) existed during these two cen-

φάλλον νόημα καὶ γνωστὸν προσέβη, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσιν δοξάζων (*Strom.* v.).
c. Τὴν γὰρ κυριακὴν χαριστικὴν ἡμέραν ἀγομεν, διὰ τὸν ἀνάστατον ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲ γόνατα κλίειν παρὶ Αἰφάκων.

LORD'S DAY, THE

uries as a part and parcel of apostolical, and so of Scriptural Christianity. It was never defended, for it was never impugned, or at least only impugned as other things received from the Apostles were. It was never confounded with the Sabbath, but carefully distinguished from it (though we have not quoted nearly all the passages by which this point might be proved). It was not an institution of severe, Sabbatical character, but a day of joy (χαρμονίη) and cheerfulness (εὐφροσύνη), rather encouraging than forbidding relaxation. Religiously regarded, it was a day of solemn meeting for the Holy Eucharist, for united prayer, for instruction, for almsgiving; and though, being an institution under the law of liberty, work does not appear to have been formally interdicted, or rest formally enjoined. Tertullian seems to indicate that the character of the day was opposed to worldly business. Finally, whatever analogy may be supposed to exist between the Lord's Day and the Sabbath, in no passage that has come down to us is the Fourth Commandment appealed to as the ground of the obligation to observe the Lord's Day. Ecclesiastical writers reiterate again and again, in the strictest sense of the words, "Let no man therefore judge you in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days" (*Μὴ τις ὑμᾶς κρίνῃτω ἐν μέρεϊ ἑορτῆς, ἢ νομιπίας, ἢ σαββάτων*, Col. ii. 16). Nor, again, is it referred to any Sabbatical foundation anterior to the promulgation of the Mosaic economy. On the contrary, those before the Mosaic era are constantly assumed to have had neither knowledge nor observance of the Sabbath. And as little is it anywhere asserted that the Lord's Day is merely an ecclesiastical institution, dependent on the post-apostolic Church for its origin, and by consequence capable of being done away, should a time ever arrive when it appears to be no longer needed.

Our design does not necessarily lead us to do more than state facts: but if the facts be allowed to speak for themselves, they indicate that the Lord's Day is a purely Christian institution, sanctioned by apostolic practice, mentioned in apostolic writings, and so possessed of whatever divine authority all apostolic ordinances and doctrines (which were not obviously temporary, or were not abrogated by the Apostles themselves) can be supposed to possess.

3. But on whatever grounds "the Lord's Day" may be supposed to rest, it is a great and indisputable fact that four years before the (Ecumenical) Council of Nicea, it was recognized by Constantine in his celebrated edict, as "the venerable Day of the Sun." The terms of the document are these:—

Imperator Constantinus Aug. Hæspidio.
"Omnes iudices urbanæque plebes et cunctarum ar-
tium officia venerabili Die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen
positi agrorum cultura libera licentibus inserviant.
quoniam frequenter evenit ut non aptius alio die fru-

ἡ κυριακὴ καλουμένη ἡμέραν, ἢ Ἑβραίοις
πρῶτην τῆς ἑβδομάδος ὀνομάζουσι. Ἕλλησι δὲ τῷ
ἡλίῳ ἀνατίθεισιν, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῆς ἑβδομῆς, ἡγουμένης
δικαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων σχολὴν ἀγιν-
κάντας, καὶ ἐν εὐχαίᾳ καὶ λιταῖς τὸ Θεῖον θεοσεβεν-
εῖμα δὲ τὴν κυριακὴν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνα-
στάσεως ἐκ νεκρῶν τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σταυρω-
θέντος (Soz. *Ecl. Hist.* l. c. 81). But on this passage
Suicer observes very truly, "Non dicit a Constantino
appellatam κυριακὴν, sed jam ante sic vocatam for-

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Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, vol.1
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.478-9

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FIRST PERIOD. A.D. 1-100.

tion.' When the slavish, superstitious, and self-righteous sabbatarianism of the Pharisees crept into the Galatian churches and was made a condition of justification, Paul rebuked it as a relapse into Judaism.'

The day was transferred from the seventh to the first day of the week, not on the ground of a particular command, but by the free spirit of the gospel and by the power of certain great facts which lie at the foundation of the Christian church. It was on that day that Christ rose from the dead; that he appeared to Mary, the disciples of Emmaus, and the assembled apostles; that he poured out his Spirit and founded the church; and that he revealed to his beloved disciple the mysteries of the future. Hence, the first day was already in the apostolic age honorably designated as "the Lord's Day." On that day Paul met with the disciples at Troas and preached till midnight. On that day he ordered the Galatian and Corinthian Christians to make, no doubt in connection with divine service, their weekly contributions to charitable objects according to their ability. It appears, therefore, from the New Testament itself, that Sunday was observed as a day of worship, and in special commemoration of the Resurrection, whereby the work of redemption was finished.'

The universal and uncontradicted Sunday observance in the

§ 57. SACRED TIMES—THE LORD'S DAY. 479

second century can only be explained by the fact that it had its roots in apostolic practice. Such observance is the more to be appreciated as it had no support in civil legislation before the age of Constantine, and must have been connected with many inconveniences, considering the lowly social condition of the majority of Christians and their dependence upon their heathen masters and employers. Sunday thus became, by an easy and natural transformation, the Christian Sabbath or weekly day of rest, at once answering the typical import of the Jewish Sabbath, and itself forming in turn a type of the eternal rest of the people of God in the heavenly Canaan.' In the gospel dispensation the Sabbath is not a degradation, but an elevation, of the week days to a higher plane, looking to the consecration of all time and all work. It is not a legal ceremonial bondage, but rather a precious gift of grace, a privilege, a holy rest in God in the midst of the unrest of the world, a day of spiritual refreshing in communion with God and in the fellowship of the

ranges of columns; a fountain in the centre of the atrium for the customary washing of hands and feet before entering the church; interior porticoes; the nave or central space (*βασιλικὸς οἶκος*) with galleries above the aisles, and covered by a roof of cedar of Lebanon; and the most holy altar (*ἄγιον ἄγιων θυσιαστήριον*). Eusebius mentions also the thrones (*θρόνοι*) for the bishops and presbyters, and benches or seats. The church was surrounded by halls and inclosed by a wall, which can still be traced. Fragments of five granite columns of this building are among the ruins of Tyre.

The description of a church in the Apostolic Constitutions,¹ implies that the clergy occupy the space, at the east end of the church (in the choir), and the people the nave, but mentions no barrier between them. Such a barrier, however, existed as early as the fourth century, when the laity were forbidden to enter the enclosure of the altar.

§ 60. *The Lord's Day.*

See Lit. in vol. I. 476.

The celebration of the Lord's Day in memory of the resurrection of Christ dates undoubtedly from the apostolic age.² Nothing short of apostolic precedent can account for the universal religious observance in the churches of the second century. There is no dissenting voice. This custom is confirmed by the

testimonies of the earliest post-apostolic writers, as Barnabas,¹ Ignatius,² and Justin Martyr.³ It is also confirmed by the younger Pliny.⁴ The *Didache* calls the first day "the Lord's Day of the Lord."⁵

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, XIV, (80-120 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.7,
WM. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.381

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. 381

do what he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you, for with God he hath his judgment; ¹² for so did also the ancient prophets. But whoever saith in the Spirit, Give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he saith to you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII.¹ — RECEPTION OF CHRISTIANS.

¹ But let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received,² and afterward ye shall prove and know him; for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you, except for two or ³ three days, if need be. But if he willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; ⁴ but if he hath no trade, according to your understanding see to it that, as a Christian,⁴ he shall ⁵ not live with you idle. But if he willeth not so to do, he is a Christ-monger.⁵ Watch that ye keep aloof from such.

CHAP. XIII.⁶ — SUPPORT OF PROPHETS.

¹ But every true prophet that willeth to abide ² among you⁷ is worthy of his support.⁸ So also a true teacher is himself worthy, as the workman, ³ of his support.⁹ Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests.¹⁰ ⁴ But if ye have not a prophet, give it to the poor. ⁵ If thou makest a batch of dough, take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment.

ing view of this difficult passage: the mystery is the Church, and a worldly one, because the Church is in the world. The other leading view joins *ἐκκλησία* (as accusative) with *καὶ*, "making assemblies for a worldly mystery." So Bryennios, who regards the worldly mystery as a symbolical act of the prophet. Others suggest, as the mystery for which the assemblies are called, revelation of future events, celibacy, the Eucharist, the ceremonial law. It seems, at all events, to point to incipient fanaticism on the part of the prophets of those days. [Elucidation III.] This was likely to take the form either of asceticism or of extravagant predictions and mystical fancies about the Church in the world. Did we know the place and the time more accurately, we might decide which was meant. This caution was evidently needed: Let God judge such extravagances.

¹ Verse 1 is almost identical with the beginning of *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28; the remaining verses have no parallel.
² All professed Christians are meant.
³ Comp. 1 Thess. iii. 10.
⁴ The term occurs only here in the *Teaching*.
⁵ "Christ-irreficker." The abuse of Christian fellowship and hospitality naturally followed the remarkable extension of Christianity. This expressive term was coined to designate the class of idlers who would make gain out of their professed Christianity. It occurs in the longer form of the Ignatian Epistles (*Troasians*, vi.) and in literature of the fourth century.
⁶ A large part of this chapter is found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28, 29, but with modifications and additions indicating a later date.
⁷ "Who will settle among you" (Hitchcock and Brown). The itinerant prophets might become stationary, we infer. Chaps. xi.-xv. point to a movement from an itinerant and extraordinary ministry to a more settled one.
⁸ Lit., "nourishment," "food."
⁹ Matt. x. 10; comp. Luke x. 7.
¹⁰ This phrase, indicating a sacerdotal view of the ministry, seems to point to a later date than that claimed for the *Teaching*. Some regard it as an interpolation; others take it in a figurative sense. In *Apostolic Constitutions* the sacerdotal view is more marked. [1 Pet. ii. 9. If the *πρεβύς* = "priests," prophets = "high priests."] Here the term is restricted to the prophets; compare Schaff *in loco*.

So also when thou openest a jar of wine or of ⁶ oil, take the first-fruit and give it to the prophets; and of money (silver) and clothing and every ⁷ possession, take the first-fruit, as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV.¹¹ — CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY ON THE LORD'S DAY.

But every Lord's day¹² do ye gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving after having confessed your transgressions,¹³ that your sacrifice may be pure.¹⁴ But let no one that ² is at variance¹⁵ with his fellow come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that ³ which was spoken by the Lord: In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice;¹⁶ for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations.¹⁷

CHAP. XV.¹⁸ — BISHOPS AND DEACONS; CHRISTIAN REPROOF.

Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and ¹ deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money,¹⁹ and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service²⁰ of prophets and teachers. Despise them not therefore, for ² they are your honoured ones, together with the prophets and teachers. And reprove one another, ³ not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the Gospel;²¹ but to every one that acts amiss²² against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent. But your prayers and ⁴ alms and all your deeds so do, as ye have *it* in the Gospel of our Lord.²³

¹¹ Verses 1 and 3 are given substantially in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 30. This chapter would seem to belong more properly before chap. viii.; but the same order of topics is followed in *Apostolic Constitutions*, — a remarkable proof of literary connection.
¹² Comp. Rev. i. 10. Here the full form is *κατὰ κυριακῆς ἡμέρας*. If the early date is allowed, this verse confirms the view that from the first the Lord's Day was observed, and that, too, by a eucharistic celebration.
¹³ Comp. chap. iv. 24. No parallel in *Apostolic Constitutions*.
¹⁴ On this spiritual sense of "sacrifice," comp. Rom. xii. 1; Phil. ii. 27; Heb. xiii. 15; 1 Pet. ii. 5.
¹⁵ "That hath the (or, any) dispute" (*ἀμφιβολία*); comp. Matt. v. 23, 24.
¹⁶ [See Mal. i. 11. See Irenaeus, cap. xvii. 5, vol. i. p. 284.]
¹⁷ Mal. i. 11, 14. Quoted in *Apostolic Constitutions* and by several Ante-Nicene Fathers, with the same reference to the Eucharist.
¹⁸ The larger part of verse 1, and a clause from verses 2, 3, respectively, are found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 31. Verses 1, 2, both in the use of terms and in the Church polity indicated, point to an early date: (1) There are evident marks of a transition from extraordinary to ordinary ministers. (2) The distinction between bishops and elders does not appear [1 Pet. v. 1. Vol. i. p. 16, this series], and yet it is found in Ignatius. (3) The word *κατασκευάζω* is here used in the sense of "elect" or "appoint" (by show of hands), and not in that of "ordain" (by laying on of hands). The former is the New-Testament sense (Acts xiv. 23; 1 Cor. viii. 19), also in Ignatius; the latter sense is found in *Apostolic Canons*, i. (4) The choice by the people also indicates an early period.
¹⁹ Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 4.
²⁰ Or, "ministry." This clause and the following verse indicate that the extraordinary ministers were as yet more highly regarded.
²¹ Comp. Matt. xviii. 15-17.
²² The word *ἀσέβητος*, occurring here, means "to miss the mark;" in New Testament, "to err" or, "swerve." See 1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 18.
²³ The reference here is probably to the Sermon on the Mount: Matt. v.-vii., especially to chap. vi.

Ignatius, Epistle to the Magnesians, IX, (107 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.62

CHAP. VII. — DO NOTHING WITHOUT THE BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS.

As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to Him, neither by Himself nor by the apostles, so neither do ye anything without the bishop and presbyters. Neither endeavour that anything appear reasonable and proper to yourselves apart; but being come together into the same place, let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and in joy undefiled. There is one Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is more excellent. Do ye therefore all run together as into one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from one Father, and is with and has gone to one.

As therefore the Lord does nothing without the Father, for says He, "I can of mine own self do nothing,"¹ so do ye, neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor layman, do anything without the bishop. Nor let anything appear commendable to you which is destitute of his approval.² For every such thing is sinful, and opposed [to the will of] God. Do ye all come together into the same place for prayer. Let there be one common supplication, one mind, one hope, with faith unblameable in Christ Jesus, than which nothing is more excellent. Do ye all, as one man, run together into the temple of God, as unto one altar, to one Jesus Christ, the High Priest of the unbegotten God.

CHAP. VIII. — CAUTION AGAINST FALSE DOCTRINES.

Be not deceived with strange doctrines, nor with old fables, which are unprofitable. For if we still live according to the Jewish law, we acknowledge that we have not received grace. For the divinest prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. On this account also they were persecuted, being inspired by His grace to fully convince the unbelieving that there is one God, who has manifested Himself by Jesus Christ His Son, who is His eternal Word, not proceeding forth from silence,³ and who in all things pleased Him that sent Him.

Be not deceived with strange doctrines, "nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies,"⁴ and things in which the Jews make their boast. "Old things are passed away: behold, all things have become new."⁵ For if we still live according to the Jewish law, and the circumcision of the flesh, we deny that we have received grace. For the divinest prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. On this account also they were persecuted, being inspired by grace to fully convince the unbelieving that there is one God, the Almighty, who has manifested Himself by Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Word, not spoken, but essential. For He is not the voice of an articulate utterance, but a substance begotten by divine power, who has in all things pleased Him that sent Him.⁶

CHAP. IX. — LET US LIVE WITH CHRIST.

If, therefore, those who were brought up in the ancient order of things⁷ have come to the possession of a new⁸ hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance⁹ of the Lord's Day, on which also our life has sprung up again by Him and by His death — whom some deny, by which mystery we have obtained faith,¹⁰ and therefore endure, that we may be found the disciples of Jesus Christ, our only Master — how shall we be able to live apart from Him, whose disciples the prophets themselves in the Spirit did wait for Him as their Teacher? And therefore He whom they rightly waited for, being come, raised them from the dead.¹¹

If, then, those who were conversant with the ancient Scriptures came to newness of hope, expecting the coming of Christ, as the Lord teaches us when He says, "If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me;"¹² and again, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it, and was glad; for before Abraham was, I am;"¹³ how shall we be able to live without Him? The prophets were His servants, and foresaw Him by the Spirit, and waited for Him as their Teacher, and expected Him as their Lord and Saviour, saying, "He will come and save us."¹⁴ Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, and rejoice in days of idleness; for "he that does not work, let him not eat."¹⁵ For say the [holy] oracles, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread."¹⁶ But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation of the body, admiring the work-

¹ John v. 30. ² Or, "contrary to his judgment." ³ 1 Tim. i. 4. ⁴ 2 Cor. v. 17. ⁵ Some have argued that the Gnostic *Evangelion*, is here referred to, and have consequently inferred that this epistle could not have been written by Ignatius.
⁶ Some read *unborn* or *eternum*, "that gave Him His *hypostasis*, or substance." ⁷ Literally, "in old things." ⁸ Or, "newness of."
⁹ John v. 46. ¹⁰ Or, "according to." ¹¹ John viii. 56, 58. ¹² Literally, "we have received to believe." ¹³ Isa. xxxv. 4.
¹⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 10. ¹⁵ Gen. iii. 19. ¹⁶ Comp. Matt. xxvii. 52.

Barnabas, Epistle of Barnabas, XV, (120-150 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.147

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

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the day which God hath sanctified, except he is pure in heart in all things,¹ we are deceived.² Behold, therefore :³ certainly then one properly resting sanctifies it, when we ourselves, having received the promise, wickedness no longer existing, and all things having been made new by the Lord, shall be able to work righteousness.⁴ Then we shall be able to sanctify it, having been first sanctified ourselves.⁵ Further, He says to them, "Your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot endure."⁶ Ye perceive how He speaks: Your present Sabbaths are not acceptable to Me, but that is which I have made, [namely this,] when, giving rest to all things, I shall make a beginning of the eighth day, that is, a beginning of another world. Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day also on which Jesus rose again from the dead.⁷ And⁸ when He had manifested Himself, He ascended into the heavens.

CHAP. XVI. — THE SPIRITUAL TEMPLE OF GOD.

Moreover, I will also tell you concerning the temple, how the wretched [Jews], wandering in error, trusted not in God Himself, but in the temple, as being the house of God. For almost after the manner of the Gentiles they worshipped Him in the temple.⁹ But learn how the Lord speaks, when abolishing it: "Who hath meted out heaven with a span, and the earth with his palm? Have not I?"¹⁰ "Thus saith the Lord, Heaven is My throne, and the earth My footstool: what kind of house will ye build to Me, or what is the place of My rest?"¹¹ Ye perceive that their hope is vain. Moreover, He again says, "Behold, they who have cast down this temple, even they shall build it up again."¹² It has so happened.¹³ For through their going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies; and now they, as the servants of their enemies, shall rebuild it. Again, it was revealed that the city and the temple and the people of Israel were to be given up. For the Scripture saith, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the Lord

will deliver up the sheep of His pasture, and their sheep-fold and tower, to destruction."¹⁴ And it so happened as the Lord had spoken. Let us inquire, then, if there still is a temple of God. There is — where He himself declared He would make and finish it. For it is written, "And it shall come to pass, when the week is completed, the temple of God shall be built in glory in the name of the Lord."¹⁵ I find, therefore, that a temple does exist. Learn, then, how it shall be built in the name of the Lord. Before we believed in God, the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, as being indeed like a temple made with hands. For it was full of idolatry, and was a habitation of demons, through our doing such things as were opposed to [the will of] God. But it shall be built, observe ye, in the name of the Lord, in order that the temple of the Lord may be built in glory. How? Learn [as follows]. Having received the forgiveness of sins, and placed our trust in the name of the Lord, we have become new creatures, formed again from the beginning. Wherefore in our habitation God truly dwells in us. How? His word of faith; His calling¹⁶ of promise; the wisdom of the statutes; the commands of the doctrine; He himself prophesying in us; He himself dwelling in us; opening to us who were enslaved by death the doors of the temple, that is, the mouth; and by giving us repentance introduced us into the incorruptible temple.¹⁷ He then, who wishes to be saved, looks not to man,¹⁸ but to Him who dwelleth in him, and speaketh in him, amazed at never having either heard him utter such words with his mouth, nor himself having ever desired to hear them.¹⁹ This is the spiritual temple built for the Lord.

CHAP. XVII. — CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART OF THE EPISTLE.

As far as was possible, and could be done with perspicuity, I cherish the hope that, according to my desire, I have omitted none²⁰ of those things at present [demanding consideration], which bear upon your salvation. For if I should write to you about things future,²¹ ye would not understand, because such knowledge is hid in parables. These things then are so.

¹⁴ Comp. Isa. v., Jer. xxv.; but the words do not occur in Scripture.

¹⁵ Dan. ix. 24-27; Hagg. ii. 10.

¹⁶ Cod. Sin. reads, "the calling."

¹⁷ Cod. Sin. gives the clauses of this sentence separately, each occupying a line.

¹⁸ That is, the man who is engaged in preaching the Gospel.

¹⁹ Such is the punctuation adopted by Hefele, Dressel, and Hilgenfeld.

²⁰ Cod. Sin. reads, "my soul hopes that it has not omitted anything."

²¹ Cod. Sin., "about things present or future." Hilgenfeld's text of this passage is as follows: "My mind and soul hopes that, according to my desire, I have omitted none of the things that pertain to salvation. For if I should write to you about things present or future," etc. Hefele gives the text as above, and understands the meaning to be, "points bearing on the present argument."

¹ Cod. Sin. reads "again," but is corrected as above.

² The meaning is, "If the Sabbaths of the Jews were the true Sabbath, we should have been deceived by God, who demands pure hands and a pure heart." — HEFELE.

³ Cod. Sin. has, "But if not." Hilgenfeld's text of this confused passage reads as follows: "Who then can sanctify the day which God has sanctified, except the man who is of a pure heart? We are deceived (or mistaken) in all things. Behold, therefore," etc.

⁴ Cod. Sin. reads, "resting right, we shall sanctify it, having been justified, and received the promise, iniquity no longer existing, but all things having been made new by the Lord."

⁵ Cod. Sin. reads, "Shall we not then?"

⁶ Isa. i. 13.

⁷ "Barnabas here bears testimony to the observance of the Lord's Day in early times." — HEFELE.

⁸ We here follow the punctuation of Dressel: Hefele places only a comma between the clauses, and inclines to think that the writer implies that the ascension of Christ took place on the first day of the week.

⁹ That is, "they worshipped the temple instead of Him."

¹⁰ Isa. xl. 12.

¹¹ Jer. lxxvi. 1.

¹² Comp. Isa. xlix. 17 (Sept.).

¹³ Cod. Sin. omits this.

Justin Martyr, First Apology, (114-165 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.186

Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day called Sunday,¹ all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits: then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability,² and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given,³ and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For He was crucified on the day before that of Saturn (Saturday); and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to His apostles and disciples, He taught them these things, which we have submitted to you also for your consideration.

CHAP. LXVIII. — CONCLUSION.

And if these things seem to you to be reasonable and true, honour them; but if they seem nonsensical, despise them as nonsense, and do not decree death against those who have done no wrong, as you would against enemies. For we forewarn you, that you shall not escape the coming judgment of God, if you continue in your injustice; and we ourselves will invite you to do that which is pleasing to God. And though from the letter of the greatest and most illustrious Emperor Adrian, your father, we could demand that you order judgment to be given as we have desired, yet we have made this appeal and explanation, not on the ground of Adrian's decision, but because we know that what we ask is just. And we have subjoined the copy of

¹ τῆ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀργουμένη ἡμέρας.

² ὡς δύναται αὐτός, — a phrase over which there has been much contention, but which seems to admit of no other meaning than that given above. [No need of any "contention." Langens renders, *Pro virili sua*, and Grabe illustrates by reference to *Apost. Const.*, lib. viii. cap. 12. Our own learned translators render the same phrase (cap. xiii. above) "to the utmost of our power." Some say this favours extemporary prayers, and others object. Oh! what matter either way? We all sing hymns, "according to our ability."] ³ Or, of the eucharistic elements.

Adrian's epistle, that you may know that we are speaking truly about this. And the following is the copy:—

EPISTLE OF ADRIAN⁴ IN BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS.

I have received the letter addressed to me by your predecessor Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man; and this communication I am unwilling to pass over in silence, lest innocent persons be disturbed, and occasion be given to the informers for practising villany. Accordingly, if the inhabitants of your province will so far sustain this petition of theirs as to accuse the Christians in some court of law, I do not prohibit them from doing so. But I will not suffer them to make use of mere entreaties and outcries. For it is far more just, if any one desires to make an accusation, that you give judgment upon it. If, therefore, any one makes the accusation, and furnishes proof that the said men do anything contrary to the laws, you shall adjudge punishments in proportion to the offences. And this, by Hercules, you shall give special heed to, that if any man shall, through mere calumny, bring an accusation against any of these persons, you shall award to him more severe punishments in proportion to his wickedness.

EPISTLE OF ANTONINUS TO THE COMMON ASSEMBLY OF ASIA.⁵

The Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Supreme Pontiff, in the fifteenth year of his tribuneship, Consul for the third time, Father of the fatherland, to the Common Assembly of Asia, greeting: I should have thought that the gods themselves would see to it that such offenders should not escape. For if they had the power, they themselves would much rather punish those who refuse to worship them; but it is you who bring trouble on these persons, and accuse as the opinion of atheists that which they hold, and lay to their charge certain other things which we are unable to prove. But it would be advantageous to them that they should be thought to die for that of which they are accused, and they conquer you by being lavish of their lives rather than yield that obedience which you require of them. And regarding the earthquakes which have already happened and are now occurring, it is not seemly that you remind us of them, losing heart whenever they occur, and thus set your conduct in contrast with that of these men; for they have much greater confidence towards God than you yourselves have. And you, indeed, seem at such times to ignore the gods, and you neglect the temples, and make

⁴ Addressed to Minucius Fundanus. [Generally credited as genuine.]

⁵ [Regarded as spurious.]

Tertullian, Answer to the Jews, II, (before 199 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.3,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.153

before the priesthood of the Levitical law, there were not levites who were wont to offer sacrifices to God? For thus, after the above-mentioned patriarchs, was the Law given to Moses, at that (well-known) time after their exode from Egypt, after the interval and spaces of four hundred years. In fact, it was after Abraham's "four hundred and thirty years" that the Law was given. Whence we understand that God's law was anterior even to Moses, and was not first (given) in Horeb, nor in Sinai and in the desert, but was more ancient; (existing) first in paradise, subsequently re-formed for the patriarchs, and so again for the Jews, at definite periods: so that we are not to give heed to Moses' Law as to the primitive law, but as to a subsequent, which at a definite period God has set forth to the Gentiles too and, after repeatedly promising so to do through the prophets, has reformed for the better; and has premonished that it should come to pass that, just as "the law was given through Moses" at a definite time, so it should be believed to have been temporarily observed and kept. And let us not annul this power which God has, which reforms the law's precepts answerably to the circumstances of the times, with a view to man's salvation. In fine, let him who contends that the Sabbath is still to be observed as a balm of salvation, and circumcision on the eighth day because of the threat of death, teach us that, for the time past, righteous men kept the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, and were thus rendered "friends of God." For if circumcision purges a man since God made Adam uncircumcised, why did He not circumcise him, even after his sinning, if circumcision purges? At all events, in settling him in paradise, He appointed one uncircumcised as colonist of paradise. Therefore, since God originated Adam uncircumcised, and inobservant of the Sabbath, consequently his offspring also, Abel, offering Him sacrifices, uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, was by Him commended; while He accepted what he was offering in simplicity of heart, and reprobated the sacrifice of his brother Cain, who was not rightly dividing what he was offering.⁴ Noah also, uncircumcised—yes, and inobservant of the Sabbath—God freed from the deluge.⁵ For Enoch, too, most righteous man, uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, He translated from

this world;⁶ who did not first taste death, in order that, being a candidate for eternal life,⁷ he might by this time show us that we also may, without the burden of the law of Moses, please God. Melchizedek also, "the priest of the most high God," uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, was chosen to the priesthood of God.⁸ Lot, withal, the brother of Abraham, proves that it was for the merits of righteousness, without observance of the law, that he was freed from the conflagration of the Sodomites."

CHAP. III.—OF CIRCUMCISION AND THE SUPERSESSION OF THE OLD LAW.

But Abraham, (you say,) was circumcised. Yes, but he pleased God before his circumcision; nor yet did he observe the Sabbath. For he had "accepted" circumcision; but such as was to be for "a sign" of that time, not for a prerogative title to salvation. In fact, subsequent patriarchs were uncircumcised, like Melchizedek, who, uncircumcised, offered to Abraham himself, already circumcised, on his return from battle, bread and wine.⁹ "But again," (you say) "the son of Moses would upon one occasion have been choked by an angel, if Zipporah" had not circumcised the foreskin of the infant with a pebble; whence, "there is the greatest peril if any fail to circumcise the foreskin of his flesh." Nay, but if circumcision altogether brought salvation, even Moses himself, in the case of his own son, would not have omitted to circumcise him on the eighth day; whereas it is agreed that Zipporah did it on the journey, at the compulsion of the angel. Consider we, accordingly, that one single infant's compulsory circumcision cannot have prescribed to every people, and founded, as it were, a law for keeping this precept. For God, foreseeing that He was about to give this circumcision to the people of Israel for "a sign," not for salvation, urges the circumcision of the son of Moses, their future leader, for this reason; that, since He had begun, through him, to give the People the precept of cir-

⁴ See Gen. v. 22, 24; Heb. xi. 5.
⁵ Or, perhaps, "has not yet tasted."
⁶ *Eternitatis candidatus*. Comp. *ad Us.* l. i. c. vii., and note 3 there.
⁷ See above.
⁸ I.e., nephew. See Gen. xi. 31, xiii. 5.
⁹ See Gen. xix. 1-29; and comp. 2 Pet. ii. 6-8.
¹⁰ See Gen. xii.-xv. compared with xvii. and Rom. iv.
¹¹ *Accepterat*. So Tertullian renders, as it appears to me, the words of St. Paul in Rom. iv. 11. q. v.
¹² There is, if the text be genuine, some confusion here. Melchizedek does not appear to have been, in any sense, "subsequent" to Abraham, for he probably was senior to him; and, moreover, Abraham does not appear to have been "already circumcised" *casually* when Melchizedek met him. Comp. Gen. xiv. with Gen. xvii.
¹³ Tertullian writes *Seffora*; the LXX. *in loco*, *Σεφώρα*, Ex. iv. 24-26, where the Eng. ver. says, "the Lord met him," etc.;

¹ Comp. Gen. xv. 13 with Ex. xii. 40-42 and Acts vii. 6.
² John i. 17.
Or, "credited him with."
Comp. *in loco* generally in the LXX.; comp. Heb. xi. 4.

hearing of the ear, gave heed to Him, but *we*, who, forsaking idols, have been converted to God? For Israel—who *had* been known to God, and who had by Him been "upraised" in Egypt, and was transported through the Red Sea, and who in the desert, fed forty years with manna, was wrought to the semblance of eternity, and not contaminated with human passions,¹ or fed on this world's meats, but fed on "angel's loaves"—the manna—and sufficiently bound to God by His benefits—forgot his Lord and God, saying to Aaron: "Make us gods, to go before us: for that Moses, who ejected us from the land of Egypt, hath quite forsaken us; and what hath befallen him we know not." And accordingly we, who "were not the people of God" in days bygone, have been made His people,² by accepting the new law above mentioned, and the new circumcision before foretold.

CHAP. IV.—OF THE OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH.

It follows, accordingly, that, in so far as the abolition of carnal circumcision and of the old law is demonstrated as having been consummated at its specific times, so also the observance of the Sabbath is demonstrated to have been temporary.

For the Jews say, that from the beginning God sanctified the seventh day, by resting on it from all His works which He made; and that thence it was, likewise, that Moses said to the People: "REMEMBER the day of the sabbaths, to sanctify it: every servile work ye shall not do therein, except what pertaineth unto life."³ Whence we (Christians) understand that *we* still more ought to observe a sabbath from all "servile work"⁴ always, and not only every seventh day, but through all time. And through this arises the question for us, *what* sabbath God willed us to keep? For the Scriptures point to a sabbath eternal and a sabbath temporal. For Isaiah the prophet says, "*Your* sabbaths my soul hateth;"⁵ and in another place he says, "*My* sabbaths ye have profaned."⁶ Whence we discern that the temporal sabbath is human, and the eternal sabbath is accounted divine; concerning which He predicts through Isaiah: "And there shall be," He says, "month after month, and day

after day, and sabbath after sabbath; and all flesh shall come to adore in Jerusalem, saith the Lord;"⁷ which we understand to have been fulfilled in the times of Christ, when "all flesh"—that is, every nation—"came to adore in Jerusalem" God the Father, through Jesus Christ His Son, as was predicted through the prophet: "Behold, proselytes through me shall go unto Thee."⁸ Thus, therefore, before this temporal sabbath, there was withal an eternal sabbath foreshown and foretold; just as before the carnal circumcision there was withal a spiritual circumcision foreshown. In short, let them teach us, as we have already premised, that Adam observed the sabbath; or that Abel, when offering to God a holy victim, pleased Him by a religious reverence for the sabbath; or that Enoch, when translated, had been a keeper of the sabbath; or that Noah the ark-builder observed, on account of the deluge, an immense sabbath; or that Abraham, in observance of the sabbath, offered Isaac his son; or that Melchizedek in his priesthood received the law of the sabbath.

But the Jews are sure to say, that ever since this precept was given through Moses, the observance has been binding. Manifest accordingly it is, that the precept was not eternal nor spiritual, but temporary," which would one day cease. In short, so true is it that it is not in the exemption from work of the sabbath—that is, of the seventh day—that the celebration of this solemnity is to consist, that Joshua the son of Nun, at the time that he was reducing the city Jericho by war, stated that he had received from God a precept to order the People that priests should carry the ark of the testament of God seven days, making the circuit of the city; and thus, when the seventh day's circuit had been performed, the walls of the city would spontaneously fall." Which was so done; and when the space of the seventh day was finished, just as was predicted, down fell the walls of the city. Whence it is manifestly shown, that in the number of the seven days there intervened a sabbath-day. For seven days, whencesoever they may have commenced, must necessarily include within them a sabbath-day; on which day not only must the priests have worked, but the city must have been made a prey by the edge of the sword by all the people of Israel. Nor is it doubtful that they "wrought servile work,"

¹ Comp. Isa. i. 2 as above, and Acts xiii. 17.
² Sicut.
³ Or perhaps, "not affected, as a body, with human sufferings;" in allusion to such passages as Deut. viii. 4 xxix. 5, Neh. ix. 21.
⁴ Ps. lxxviii. (lxxvii. in LXX.) 25; comp. Joan vi. 31, 32.
⁵ See Hos. i. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 10.
⁶ Comp. Gal. v. 1, iv. 8, 9.
⁷ See Ex. xx. 8-11 and xii. 16 (especially in the LXX.).
⁸ Isa. i. 13.
⁹ This is not said by Isaiah; it is found in substance in Ezek. xxxi. 8.

¹⁰ Isa. lxvi. 23 in LXX.
¹¹ I am not acquainted with any such passage. Oehler refers to Isa. xlix. in his margin, but gives no verse, and omits to notice this passage of the present treatise in his index.
¹² Or, "temporal."
¹³ Josh. vi. 1-20.

LORD'S SUPPER EVERY SUNDAY

He sets sail from Philippi, and comes to Troas.

5 These going before carried for us at Troas.

6 And we sailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days, where we abode seven days.

7 And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached

two last mentioned having information of the time and place where they might expect us, going before to Asia, stayed for us a while at Troas, where we were to land.

And some days after they had left us, we set sail from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread were ended, and crossing part of the Aegean sea, came to them at Troas in five days, where we continued seven days, conversing with the Christians there.

And on the first day of the week, when the disciples, as it was usual with them on that day, met together to break bread, that is, to celebrate the eucharist in remembrance of the death of our blessed Redeemer, Paul being now to take his

N O T E S.

they are so called, as being natives of the *Proconular Asia*.—I shall add, only, that it seems from the construction of the original, that only Tychicus and Trophimus went before to Troas, to whom I have accordingly restrained it in the paraphrase.

6 *Come to them at Troas in five days*. Paul in his former progress came from Troas to Philippi in two days; (Acts xvi. 12, 13.) but crossing the sea is very uncertain; and it was easy for the voyage to be lengthened by contrary winds, so that we need not to explain it of the time that passed, before they joined the company that tarried for them. Paul did not set out from Philippi till after the Passover-week; and, if his voyage was deferred, (as some have thought,) that no offence might be given by his travelling at a season which the Jews accounted so peculiarly holy, the same reason would induce those that went before him not to begin their voyage at that time; so that Paul seems to have tarried some days after them, before he set sail; nor is there any reason to suppose with Dr. Lightfoot, (*Cōtra. in loc.*) that these five days were not spent in sailing down the river Strymon from Philippi, and crossing part of the Aegean Sea, but that Paul took a longer circuit, and went first to Corinth, before he came to them at Troas.

7 *Where we continued seven days*. His Paul might chuse to do so much the rather, as he had declined such great views of service, as were opened to him when he passed through it before in his way to Macedonia. (1 Cor. ii. 12, 13.) Perhaps he might now *teach* at the house of Carpus; but it seems to have been his

later journey, that he left there the books, and other things, to which he refers, (1 Tim. iv. 13.) It plainly appears from the manner in which Luke speaks here, and all along afterwards, that he attended him in all this journey and voyage, though, by his altering the expression, he does not seem to have been with him since he was at Philippi in his former progress; (Acts xvii. 12, & seq. Compare with our Acts xvi. 10. pag. 234.)

8 *When the disciples met together to break bread, that is, to celebrate the eucharist*. It is strange, that Mr. Barclay, in his *Apology*, pag. 475, should argue from ver. 11, that this was only a common meal; and not the Lord's supper. It is well known, the primitive Christians administered the eucharist every Lord's day; and, as that was the most solemn and appropriate, as well as the concluding act of their worship, it is no wonder that it should be mentioned as the end of their assembling; whereas, had nothing more than a common meal been intended, Luke would have hardly thought it worth mentioning, especially when, Paul being with them on a Lord's day, they would so naturally have something far nobler and more important in view, in which accordingly we find them employed; and it is quite unreasonable to suppose, they spent their time in feasting, which neither the occasion nor the hour would well admit.

—The argument, which some over-curious Papists, have drawn from this text, for denying the use in the sacrament in the *Latin*, was so solemnly given up in the council of Trent, (Sess. 13. c. 13. pag. 486.) that it is almost impossible to see how any one can be so foolish to believe the divine authority of that

A. D. 61.

CHAPTER XX.

A. D. 61.

7 ¶ And upon ^v the first day of the week, when ^z the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight.

8 And there were many lights ^c in the upper chamber where they were gathered together.

9 And there sat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, ^d being fallen into a deep sleep: and as Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep,

Johs 20:1,19,25. 1 Cor. 16:2. b 9:11,21. 29,33. Neh. 8:3. 9:5. Rev. 1:10. 1 Cor. 16:10. 2 Tim. 4:2. c 1:13. Luke 22:12. 11: 2:42,45. Luke 22:19. 24:34. 2 Joh. 1:6,6. Matt. 26:40,41. 1 Cor. 10:16,17. 11:23,24. Mark 13:36.

and fell down from ^e the third loft, ^f and was taken up dead.

10 And Paul went down, ^g and fell on him, and embracing ^h him, said, ⁱ Trouble not yourselves; for his life is in him.

11 When he therefore was come up again, ^j and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long while, ^k even till break of day, so he departed.

12 And ^l they brought the young man alive, and ^m were not a little comforted.

[Practical Observations.]

13 ¶ And we went before to ship, and

e 1 Kings 17:19. f 14:19,20. Mark 9:26. g 1 Kings 17:21,22. 2 Kings 4:34,35. h Matt. 9:24. Mark 5:39. Luke 7:13,14. Johs 11:11,40. i 7. k 7,9. l 10. m Lu. 40:1. 2 Cor. 1:4. Eph. 6:22. 1 Thea. 3:2. 4:18. 5:11,14. 2 Thea. 2:16,17.

clude that Timothy returned thither before Paul came away; and that he staid there only a short time; before he, on some account, came to Paul in Macedonia. But he might return thither, and take up his stated residence there afterwards, for some time, according to the statement of ecclesiastical writers.—The historian here again speaks in the first person plural, whence we may conclude, that he had now rejoined the company: and he continued with St. Paul, while some of the others went before to Troas, where a Christian church had before been founded; and thither after a short time the apostle followed them. (Marg. Ref. s—x.)

The uproar. (1) Τὸν ὑπηρέτην. 21:34. 24:10. See on Matt. 26:5.—And embraced.] Ἀποσπασμένος. 18:22. 21:6,7,19. 25:13. Matt. 5:47. 10:12. Rom. 16:5. et al.—Greece. (2) Ἑλλάδα. Hence Ἑλληνας and Ἑλληνας.—Laid wait for him. (3) Γενόμενος ἐν τῷ οὐδοῦ. 19. 9:24. 23:30.—Ex vii, et alia, consilium.—He purposed.] Ἐγχετο γρηγοῦ. 1 Cor. 1:10. 7:25,40. 2 Cor. 8:10. Philem. 14. Rev. 17:13,17.

V. 7—12. It is not said, that the disciples were called together, as on a special occasion; but that they came together, as it seems according to their general practice. Hence it is evident, that Christians were accustomed to assemble for religious worship, "on the first day of the week;" but the change, from the seventh to the first, appears to have been gradually and silently introduced, by example rather than by express precept. (Marg. Ref. y.—Note, Johs 20:19—21.) Their principal time of assembling appears to have been in the evening: either for fear of enemies; or because many servants in heathen families, and other poor persons, could not obtain liberty of meeting them at an earlier hour.—"Breaking of bread," or commemorating the death of Christ in the eucharist, was one chief end of their assembling. (Marg. Ref. z, a.) This ordinance seems to have been constantly administered every Lord's day; and probably no professed Christians absented themselves after they had been admitted into the church; unless they lay under some censure, or had some real hindrance. It may be gathered from the narrative, that the apostle hastening to Jerusalem, spending seven days at Troas, and departing the next morning, staid on purpose to spend one Lord's day with them; and, preaching to them on this occasion, as he had seldom spoken to them before, and being about to leave them, not knowing that he should ever see them again, his fervent affection led him to continue his discourse even till midnight. (Marg. Ref. b.) His audience no doubt in general attended to his exhortations

with eagerness and delight; but one young man was overcome with sleep, and, falling from the third story, was taken up dead. He had, probably, been previously wearied with labor; and perhaps was not duly attentive to the important topics, on which the apostle was discoursing.—The enemies of the Christians accused them, of holding nocturnal meetings in the dark; but the sacred historian informs us, that there were many lights in the room. And as it was most likely very much crowded, the windows seem to have been open to admit the air.—The fall of Eutychus interrupted the religious exercises of the company, and excited in them much sorrow and anxiety: Paul, however, went down, and, embracing the body, exhorted them not to disquiet themselves, for his life was in him. It is probable that Eutychus had been dead: but the apostle was assured of his restoration to life, which perhaps took place at the moment when he spoke; and he afterwards gradually recovered health and strength. (Marg. Ref. c—h.) Accordingly, the company returned to their sacred services: and, after the Lord's supper had been celebrated, and the company had taken some refreshment, the apostle, instead of apologizing for the length of his discourse, resumed the subject, and continued to converse with them till the day dawned, and it was time for him and his friends to set out on their journey. At this time the young man was brought among them alive and well; so that the whole concurred in giving them no ordinary degree of encouragement and consolation. (Marg. Ref. i—m.)—We may easily conceive how many things would be said at Troas, about a night spent altogether in preaching, religious conversation, and devotion: and had Eutychus lost his life, it would have given the enemies of the gospel some plausible ground for exclaiming against unseasonable hours, long sermons, and enthronical irregularities.

Upon the first day of the week. (7) Ἐν τῇ πρώτη ἡμέρῃ. Luke 24:1. Johs 20:1,19. 1 Cor. 16:2.—Preached.] διέλογησεν. 9. See on 17:2.—He continued.] ἠπαύσατο. Here only N. T.—Ps. 36:10. Sept. Ex vii, et alia, extendo.—In a window. (8) Ἐν τῷ θρησκῶ. 2 Cor. 11:23. Not elsewhere.—Being fallen.] καταπεσόντος. 28:10. Not elsewhere.—The third loft.] Τὸ τρίτον. Here only. Ex vii, ter, et cetera, lectum; a cetera, lego.—Embracing him. (10) Στραπαλλάσας. Here only. Ex vii, cetera, circum, et alia, capio.—Trouble not yourselves.] Μὴ διαταράσσῃτε. 17:5. Matt. 9:22. Mark 5:39.—And talked. (11) Ὀμιλοῦντος. 24:23. See on Luke 24:14.—Not a little. (12) Οὐ περιττον.—Here only. A περιττον, mensura.

be the same as *Sospater* (Rom. xvi. 21), whom St. Paul calls "his kinsman," though some think "the son of Pyrrhus" was added to distinguish him from him. The Thessalonian *Aristarchus* is doubtless the same as the person named in ch. xix. 29; xvii. 2; and so one would have thought *Gaius* must be the same as is named with *Aristarchus* in ch. xix. 29, were it not that this *Gaius* is described as of *Derbe*, whereas the *Gaius* of ch. xix. 29 was a *man of Macedonia*. *Gaius* of *Derbe* is here coupled with *Timothy*, who was of the neighbouring city of *Lystra* (ch. xvi. 1), but was too well known to make it needful to specify his nationality. *Secundus* is not mentioned elsewhere. Compare *Tertius* and *Quartus* (Rom. xvi. 22, 23), and the common Roman names, *Quinctus*, *Sextus*, *Septimus*, *Octavius*, *Decimus*. *Tychicus*, of *Asia*, is mentioned in Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7; 2 Tim. iv. 12; Titus iii. 12; by which we learn that he continued to be in constant attendance on St. Paul, and have abundant confirmation of his being "of *Asia*." *Trophimus* is called "an *Ephesian*" (ch. xxi. 29), and is named again as a companion of St. Paul, and presumably "of *Asia*" (2 Tim. iv. 20). It is not improbable that some at least of these followers were chosen by the Churches to carry their alms to Jerusalem (see 2 Cor. viii. 19-23; ix. 12, 13; 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4; Rom. xv. 25-28).

Ver. 5.—*But these had gone for these going*, A.V. and T.R.; *and were waiting for tarried*, A.V. The narrative is so concise that the exact details are matters of conjecture. There is consequently much difference of opinion about them. Howson, with whom *Farrar* (vol. ii. 274) apparently agrees, thinks that the whole party travelled together by land through *Beroa* and *Thessalonica*, to *Philippi*; that the party consisting of *Sopater*, *Aristarchus* and *Secundus*, *Gaius*, *Timothy*, *Tychicus*, and *Trophimus*, went on at once from *Philippi* via *Neapolis*, to *Troas*, leaving St. Paul, who was now joined by St. Luke, at *Philippi*, to pass eight or nine days there during the Feast of the Passover. And this seems quite consistent with St. Luke's narrative. But *Lewin* (vol. ii. p. 74) thinks that only St. Paul (accompanied, as he supposes, by *Luko*, *Titus*, and *Jason*) went to *Macedonia*, and that the others sailed direct from *Conchore* to *Troas*. *Renan*, on the other hand, thinks they all sailed together from *Cenobrem* to *Neapolis*, whence Paul's party went to *Philippi*, and the others to *Troas*. There is no clue to the reason why the party thus separated.

Ver. 6.—*Tarried for abode*, A.V. We; distinctly marking that Luke, the author of the narrative, whom we left at *Philippi* (ch. xvi. 14), joined him again at the same place. *Renan* (p. 498) well remarks, "At *Philippi*

Paul once more met the disciple who had guided him for the first time to *Macedonia*. He attached him to his company again, and thus secured as his companion in the voyage the historian who was to write an account of it, with such infinite charm of manner and such perfect truth." It may be noted that this passage is quite conclusive against the notion entertained by some, that *Timothy* was the writer of the Acts. From *Philippi*; i.e. from *Neapolis*, the port of *Philippi*. After the days of unleavened bread, which lasted eight days, including the day of eating the Passover. In five days. An unusually long voyage, owing, doubtless, to unfavourable winds. On the former occasion when he sailed from *Troas* to *Neapolis* he was only two days (ch. xvi. 11). Where we tarried seven days. As the last of these seven days was Sunday—"the first day of the week"—he must have arrived on the preceding Monday, and left *Neapolis* on the preceding Thursday. Some, however, reckon the days differently. It must be remembered that the apostle's movements were dependent upon the arrival and departure of the merchant-ships by which he travelled.

Ver. 7.—*We were gathered for the disciples came*, A.V. and T.R.; *discoursed with for preached unto*, A.V.; *intending for ready*, A.V.; *prolonged for continued*, A.V. The first day of the week. This is an important evidence of the keeping of the Lord's day by the Church as a day for their Church assemblies (see Luke xxiv. 1, 30, 35; John xx. 19, 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 2). To break bread. This is also an important example of weekly communion as the practice of the first Christians. Comparing the phrase, "to break bread," with St. Luke's account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist (Luke xxii. 19) and the passages just quoted in Luke xxiv., and St. Paul's language (1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 24), it is impossible not to conclude that the breaking of bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper is an essential part of the holy sacrament, which man may not for any specious reasons omit. Further, this passage seems to indicate that evening Communion, after the example of the first Lord's Supper, was at this time the practice of the Church. It was preceded (see ver. 11) by the preaching of the Word. The following description, given by *Justin Martyr*, in his second Apology to *Antoninus Pius* (or *Marcus Aurelius*), of the Church assemblies in his day, not a hundred years after this time, is in exact agreement with it:—"On the day which is called Sunday, all (Christians) who dwell either in town or country come together to one place. The memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read for a certain time, and then the president of the meeting, when the

Augustus Neander, General History of the Christian Religion and Church, vol.1,
Henry Bohn:London, 1853, p.460

As we have already remarked, the celebration of the Lord's supper, as appears from Justin Martyr, was still held to constitute an essential part of divine worship on every Sunday and the whole church partook of the communion after they had joined in the Amen of the preceding prayer. The deacons carried the bread and wine to every one present, in order. It was held necessary that all the Christians in the place should, by participating in the communion, maintain their union with the Lord and his church; the deacons therefore carried a portion of the consecrated bread and wine to strangers, to the sick, to prisoners, and all who were prevented from being present in the congregation.*

In some churches, however, as for example that of North Africa, the daily partaking of the communion continued to be held necessary; since it was considered the daily bond of union between the Lord and the church, the daily means of promoting strength, life, and salvation to Christians. Accordingly Tertullian and Cyprian give a *spiritual* explanation of the petition for our daily bread, as looking for an uninterrupted sanctifying union with the body of Christ through the Lord's supper. But when there was no longer a daily service, or a daily celebration of the Lord's supper, the only means left was to carry home a portion of the consecrated bread, which, in this case of necessity, was to be the substitute for the whole communion—the first trace of the practice of receiving the Lord's supper under *one* kind. Thus every Christian, with his family, after the morning devotions, and before engaging in his daily business, partook of the communion at home, that the life of the whole ensuing day might be sanctified by fellowship with the Lord. In all this we recognise ideas which have their foundation in the very depth of the Christian

* In the description of the rite by Justin and by Irenæus, cited in Eusebius, l. V. c. 24: Πρώτη ἰσχυροτάτη εἶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡρώτων, where the author is speaking of the Roman bishops. Thus arose first the custom of communicating with elements previously consecrated (the *προκατασκευασμένα*, as they were afterwards called). The ruling idea was, that the communion could properly be rightly administered only in a church; the communion, therefore, of persons absent was to be considered as only a continuation of that communion of the whole body of the church. But when in Cyprian mention is made of *presbyteris apud confessores offerentibus*, the meaning probably is, that the elements were first consecrated by the presbyters on the spot.

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, XIV, (80-120 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7
 Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1951, p. 381

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

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do what he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you, for with God he hath his judgment; ¹² for so did also the ancient prophets. But whoever saith in the Spirit, Give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he saith to you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII.¹ — RECEPTION OF CHRISTIANS.

¹ But let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received,² and afterward ye shall prove and know him; for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you, except for two or ³ three days, if need be. But if he willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; ⁴ but if he hath no trade, according to your understanding see to it that, as a Christian,⁴ he shall ⁵ not live with you idle. But if he willeth not so to do, he is a Christ-monger.⁵ Watch that ye keep aloof from such.

CHAP. XIII.⁶ — SUPPORT OF PROPHETS.

¹ But every true prophet that willeth to abide ² among you⁷ is worthy of his support.⁸ So also a true teacher is himself worthy, as the workman, ³ of his support.⁹ Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests.¹⁰ ⁴ But if ye have not a prophet, give it to the poor. ⁵ If thou makest a batch of dough, take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment.

ing view of this difficult passage: the mystery is the Church, and a worldly one, because the Church is in the world. The other leading view joins *καταναλωσει* (as accusative) with *συνεωρα*, "making assemblies for a worldly mystery." So Bryennios, who regards the worldly mystery as a symbolical act of the prophet. Others suggest, as the mystery for which the assemblies are called, revelation of future events, celibacy, the Eucharist, the ceremonial law. It seems, at all events, to point to incipient fanaticism on the part of the prophets of those days. [Elucidation III.] This was likely to take the form either of asceticism or of extravagant predictions and mystical fancies about the Church in the world. Did we know the place and the time more accurately, we might decide which was meant. This caution was evidently needed: Let God judge such extravagances.

¹ Verse 1 is almost identical with the beginning of *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28; the remaining verses have no parallel.

² All professed Christians are meant.

³ Comp. 2 Thess. iii. 10.

⁴ The term occurs only here in the *Teaching*.

⁵ "Christ-trafficker." The abuse of Christian fellowship and hospitality naturally followed the remarkable extension of Christianity. This expressive term was coined to designate the class of idlers who would make gain out of their professed Christianity. It occurs in the longer form of the Ignatian Epistles (*Traditions*, vi.) and in literature of the fourth century.

⁶ A large part of this chapter is found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28, 29, but with modifications and additions indicating a later date.

⁷ "Who will settle among you" (Hitchcock and Brown). The itinerant prophets might become stationary, we infer. Chaps. xi.-xv. point to a movement from an itinerant and extraordinary ministry to a more settled one.

⁸ Lit., "nourishment," "food."

⁹ Matt. x. 10; comp. Luke x. 7.

¹⁰ This phrase, indicating a sacerdotal view of the ministry, seems to point to a later date than that claimed for the *Teaching*. Some regard it as an interpolation: others take it in a figurative sense. In *Apostolic Constitutions* the sacerdotal view is more marked. [1 Pet. ii. 9. If the *plebs* = "priests," prophets = "high priests."] Here the term is restricted to the prophets; compare Schaff *in loco*.

So also when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruit and give it to the prophets; and of money (silver) and clothing and every possession, take the first-fruit, as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV.¹¹ — CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY ON THE LORD'S DAY.

But every Lord's day¹² do ye gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving after having confessed your transgressions,¹³ that your sacrifice may be pure.¹⁴ But let no one that is at variance¹⁵ with his fellow come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice;¹⁶ for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations.¹⁷

CHAP. XV.¹⁸ — BISHOPS AND DEACONS; CHRISTIAN REPROOF.

Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money,¹⁹ and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service²⁰ of prophets and teachers. Despise them not therefore, for they are your honoured ones, together with the prophets and teachers. And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel;²¹ but to every one that acts amiss²² against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent. But your prayers and alms and all your deeds so do, as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord.²³

¹¹ Verses 1 and 3 are given substantially in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 30. This chapter would seem to belong more properly before chap. viii.; but the same order of topics is followed in *Apostolic Constitutions*, — a remarkable proof of literary connection.

¹² Comp. Rev. i. 10. Here the full form is *κατα εβδομαχη δε Κυριακη*. If the early date is allowed, this verse confirms the view that from the first the Lord's Day was observed, and that too, by a eucharistic celebration.

¹³ Comp. chap. iv. 14. No parallel in *Apostolic Constitutions*.

¹⁴ On this spiritual sense of "sacrifice," comp. Rom. xii. 1; Phil. ii. 17; Heb. xiii. 15; 1 Pet. ii. 5.

¹⁵ "That hath the (or, any) dispute" (*ἀμφιβολίαν*); comp. Matt. v. 23, 24.

¹⁶ [See Mal. i. 11. See Irenaeus, cap. xvii. 5, vol. i. p. 284.]

¹⁷ Mal. i. 11, 12. Quoted in *Apostolic Constitutions* and by several Ante-Nicene Fathers, with the same reference to the Eucharist.

¹⁸ The larger part of verse 1, and a clause from verses 2, 3, respectively, are found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 31. Verses 1, 2, both in the use of terms and in the Church polity indicated, point to an early date: (1) There are evident marks of a transition from extraordinary to ordinary ministers. (2) The distinction between bishops and elders does not appear [1 Pet. v. 1. Vol. i. p. 16, this series], and yet it is found in Ignatius. (3) The word *ἐπισημωσιν* is here used in the sense of "elect" or "appoint" (by show of hands), and not in that of "ordain" (by laying on of hands). The former is the New Testament sense (Acts xiv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 19), also in Ignatius: the latter sense is found in *Apostolic Canons*, l. (4) The choice by the people also indicates an early period.

¹⁹ Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 4.

²⁰ Or, "ministry." This clause and the following verse indicate that the extraordinary ministers were as yet more highly regarded.

²¹ Comp. Matt. xviii. 15-17.

²² The word *ἀμαρτωλῶν*, occurring here, means "to miss the mark;" in New Testament, "to err" or, "swerve." See 1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 18.

²³ The reference here is probably to the Sermon on the Mount; Matt. v.-vii., especially to chap. vi.

Justin Martyr, First Apology, LXV-LXVII, (114-165 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.185

THE FIRST APOLOGY OF JUSTIN.

understand how the devils, in imitation of what was said by Moses, asserted that Proserpine was the daughter of Jupiter, and instigated the people to set up an image of her under the name of Kore [Cora, i.e., the maiden or daughter] at the spring-heads. For, as we wrote above, Moses said, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and unfurnished: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In imitation, therefore, of what is here said of the Spirit of God moving on the waters, they said that Proserpine [or Cora] was the daughter of Jupiter.¹ And in like manner also they craftily feigned that Minerva was the daughter of Jupiter, not by sexual union, but, knowing that God conceived and made the world by the Word, they say that Minerva is the first conception [*ἄνωγα*]; which we consider to be very absurd, bringing forward the form of the conception in a female shape. And in like manner the actions of those others who are called sons of Jupiter sufficiently condemn them.

CHAP. LXV. — ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized [illuminated] person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation. Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss.² There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen. This word Amen answers in the Hebrew language to *אמן* [so be it]. And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called

¹ Chap. lix.
² And therefore caused her to preside over the waters, as above.
³ The kiss of charity, the kiss of peace, or "the peace" (*ἡ εἰρήνη*), was enjoined by the Apostle Paul in his Epistles to the Corinthians, Thessalonians, and Romans, and thence passed into a common Christian usage. It was continued in the Western Church, under regulations to prevent its abuse, until the thirteenth century. Stanley remarks (*Corinthians*, l. 414), "It is still continued in the worship of the Catholic Church."
⁴ *ἡ εὐχαριστία* *ἡ ἀνάμνησις*. This expression may quite legitimately be translated, "to that one of the brethren who was presiding."

by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion.

CHAP. LXVI. — OF THE EUCHARIST.

And this food is called among us *Εὐχαριστία*⁵ [the Eucharist], of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.⁶ For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, "This do ye in remembrance of Me,"⁷ this is My body;" and that, after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, "This is My blood;" and gave it to them alone. Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done. For, that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn.

CHAP. LXVII. — WEEKLY WORSHIP OF THE CHRISTIANS.

And we afterwards continually remind each other of these things. And the wealthy among us help the needy; and we always keep together; and for all things wherewith we are supplied, we bless the Maker of all through His Son

⁵ Literally, thanksgiving. See Matt. xxvi. 27.
⁶ This passage is claimed alike by Calvinists, Lutherans, and Romanists; and, indeed, the language is so inexact that each party may plausibly maintain that their own opinion is advocated by it. [But the same might he said of the words of our Lord himself; and, if such widely separated Christians can all adopt this passage, who can be sorry?] The expression, "the prayer of His word," or of the word we have from Him, seems to signify the prayer pronounced over the elements, in imitation of our Lord's thanksgiving before breaking the bread. [I must dissent from the opinion that the language is "inexact;" he expresses himself naturally as one who believes it is bread, but yet not "common bread." So Geladius, Bishop of Rome (A. D. 400.), "By the sacraments we are made partakers of the divine nature, and yet the substance and nature of bread and wine do not cease to be in them," etc. (See the original in *Bingham's Antiquities*, book xv. cap. 3. See Chrysost., *Epist. ad Cæsarium*, tom. iii. p. 753. Ed. Migne.) Those desirous to pursue this inquiry will find the Patristic authorities in *Historia Trinitatis*, etc., Edited F. Meyrick, Oxford, 1838. The famous tractate in Kallistos (A. D. 840) was published at Oxford, 1838, with the homily of *Ellic* (A. D. 900) in a cheap edition.]
⁷ Luke xxii. 19.

Justin Martyr, First Apology, LXVII, (114-165 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
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Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day called Sunday,¹ all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability,² and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given,³ and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For He was crucified on the day before that of Saturn (Saturday); and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to His apostles and disciples, He taught them these things, which we have submitted to you also for your consideration.

CHAP. LXVIII. — CONCLUSION.

And if these things seem to you to be reasonable and true, honour them; but if they seem nonsensical, despise them as nonsense, and do not decree death against those who have done no wrong, as you would against enemies. For we forewarn you, that you shall not escape the coming judgment of God, if you continue in your injustice; and we ourselves will invite you to do that which is pleasing to God. And though from the letter of the greatest and most illustrious Emperor Adrian, your father, we could demand that you order judgment to be given as we have desired, yet we have made this appeal and explanation, not on the ground of Adrian's decision, but because we know that what we ask is just. And we have subjoined the copy of

¹ τῆ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς ἡμέρα.
² ὡς δύναμις αὐτοῦ, — a phrase over which there has been much contention, but which seems to admit of no other meaning than that given above. [No need of any "contention." Langus renders, *Proprius sua*, and Grabe illustrates by reference to *Apert. Const.*, lib. viii. cap. 12. Our own learned translators render the same phrase (cap. xiii., above) "to the utmost of our power." Some say this favours extemporary prayers, and others object. Oh! what matter either way? We all sing hymns, "according to our ability."
³ Or, of the eucharistic elements.

Adrian's epistle, that you may know that we are speaking truly about this. And the following is the copy:—

EPISTLE OF ADRIAN* IN BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS.

I have received the letter addressed to me by your predecessor Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man; and this communication I am unwilling to pass over in silence, lest innocent persons be disturbed, and occasion be given to the informers for practising villany. Accordingly, if the inhabitants of your province will so far sustain this petition of theirs as to accuse the Christians in some court of law, I do not prohibit them from doing so. But I will not suffer them to make use of mere entreaties and outcries. For it is far more just, if any one desires to make an accusation, that you give judgment upon it. If, therefore, any one makes the accusation, and furnishes proof that the said men do anything contrary to the laws, you shall adjudge punishments in proportion to the offences. And this, by Hercules, you shall give special heed to, that if any man shall, through mere calumny, bring an accusation against any of these persons, you shall award to him more severe punishments in proportion to his wickedness.

EPISTLE OF ANTONINUS TO THE COMMON ASSEMBLY OF ASIA.²

The Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Supreme Pontiff, in the fifteenth year of his tribuneship, Consul for the third time, Father of the fatherland, to the Common Assembly of Asia, greeting: I should have thought that the gods themselves would see to it that such offenders should not escape. For if they had the power, they themselves would much rather punish those who refuse to worship them; but it is you who bring trouble on these persons, and accuse as the opinion of atheists that which they hold, and lay to their charge certain other things which we are unable to prove. But it would be advantageous to them that they should be thought to die for that of which they are accused, and they conquer you by being lavish of their lives rather than yield that obedience which you require of them. And regarding the earthquakes which have already happened and are now occurring, it is not seemly that you remind us of them, losing heart whenever they occur, and thus set your conduct in contrast with that of these men; for they have much greater confidence towards God than you yourselves have. And you, indeed, seem at such times to ignore the gods, and you neglect the temples, and make

* Addressed to Minucius Fundanus. [Generally credited as genuine.]
² [Regarded as spurious.]

NO INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

of this evil. The former was the expedient of Jerome, Hilary, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Augustine, etc. But the other alternative in turn was also adopted. The churches by ecclesiastical authority were restricted to the use of the Psalter and other canonical songs of the Scriptures. All hymns of merely human composition were prohibited as of a dangerous tendency and unsuitable to the purposes of public worship. The Synod of Laodicea (A.D. 344-346, c. 59) felt itself compelled to pass a decree to that effect. The decree was not, however, fully enforced; the clergy eventually claimed the right of performing the sacred music as a privilege *exclusively their own*. And finally, the more effectually to exclude the people, the singing was in Latin. Where that was not the vernacular tongue, this rule was of necessity an effectual bar to the participation of the people in this part of public worship. Besides, the doctrine was industriously propagated that the Latin was the appropriate language of devotion, which became not the profane lips of the laity in these religious solemnities, but only those of the clergy, who had been consecrated to the service of the sanctuary. This expedient shut out the people from any participation in this delightful part of public worship. The Reformation again restored to the people their ancient and inestimable right. At that time the greater part of the services of the Romish Church was sung to musical notes, and on the occasion of great festivals the choral service was performed with great pomp by a numerous choir of men and boys. That abuses of the most flagrant kind had found their way into this department of Romish worship is beyond a doubt, as the Council of Trent found it necessary to issue a decree on the subject, in which they plainly state that in the celebration of the mass, hymns, some of a profane and others of a lascivious nature, had crept into the service, and given great scandal to professors of the truth. But by this decree the council, while it arranged the choral service on a proper footing, freeing it from all extraneous matter, gave choral music also a sanction which it had hitherto wanted. From that time the Church of Rome began to display that profound veneration for choral music which it has continued to manifest down to the present day.

The Protestants at the Reformation differed on the subject of sacred music. The Lutherans in great measure adopted the Romish ritual, and retained the choral service. Some of the Reformed churches varied more widely from Rome than others. Calvin introduced a plain metrical psalmody, selecting for use in churches the version of the Psalms by Marot, which he divided into small portions, and appointed to be sung in public worship. This Psalter was bound up with the Geneva Catechism. When the Reformation was introduced into England, Henry VIII, himself a musician of considerable celebrity, showed his partiality for the choral service by retaining it. The cathedral musical service of the Reformed Church of England was framed by John Merbeck of Windsor, in a form little different from that which is at present in use. It is a curious fact that the ancient foundations of conventual, collegiate, and cathedral churches make no provision for an organist, but only for canons, minor canons, and choristers. The first Act of Uniformity, passed in the reign of Edward VI, allowed the clergy either to adopt the plain metrical psalmody or to preserve the use of the choral service. The musical part of queen Elizabeth's liturgy is said to have been arranged by Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. The Puritans, however, objected strongly to the cathedral rites, particularly "the using the Psalms from one side to the other," as Cartwright sarcastically describes the musical service; and it was regarded as inconsistent with that beautiful simplicity which ought ever to characterize the ordinance of divine worship. The assaults made by Puritans upon the musical as well as other portions of the cathedral service were answered with great ability and power by Richard Hooker in his fa-

mous work on *Ecclesiastical Polity*, the first four books of which appeared in 1594, and the fifth in 1597. From the date of that masterly defence of the polity of the Church of England down to the present day no material change has taken place in the musical service of that Church. The Lutheran and Episcopal churches, both in Europe and America, have also a solemn service, while the Reformed Church, including the Presbyterian and Independent, have a plain selection of melodies to which the metrical Psalms, Paraphrases, and Hymns are set. There is almost universally a precentor or leader of the sacred music in the congregation, and in some cases a select choir or band of male and female voices, while the whole congregation is expected to join in this solemn part of the devotional exercises of the sanctuary. For a number of years past, while Romish churches in Europe and America have made a gorgeous display of their musical service, which is still divided between the chants of the priests and the theatrical performances of the choir, made up altogether, as a rule, of regularly trained musicians, vocal and instrumental, who have thus perverted most effectually the devotional ends of sacred music, the Protestant churches have aroused to a more careful training of their whole congregation in the art of sacred music, that this interesting and impressive part of divine worship may be conducted both with melody of the voice and of the heart unto the Lord. See, however, for details, especially on the innovations in the Protestant churches, the influence of sacred song as exhibited in recent times in revivals, the articles PSALMODY and REVIVAL.

III. *Use of Instruments in the Church.*—The Greeks as well as the Jews were wont to use instruments as accompaniments in their sacred songs. The converts to Christianity accordingly must have been familiar with this mode of singing; yet it is generally believed that the primitive Christians failed to adopt the use of instrumental music in their religious worship. The word *ψαλμοὶ*, which the apostle uses in Eph. v. 19, has been taken by some critics to indicate that they sang with such accompaniments. The same is supposed by some to be intimated by the golden harp which John, in the Apocalypse, put into the hands of the four-and-twenty elders. But if this be the correct inference, it is strange indeed that neither Ambrose (in *Pan. i. Prof.*, p. 740), nor Basil (in *Pan. i. vol. ii. p. 713*), nor Chrysostom (*Pan. vii. vol. v. p. 131*), in the noble encomiums which they severally pronounce upon music, make any mention of instrumental music. Basil, indeed, expressly condemns it as ministering only to the depraved passions of men (*Hom. iv. vol. i. p. 33*), and must have been led to this condemnation because some had gone astray and borrowed this practice from the heathens. Thus it is reported that at Alexandria it was the custom to accompany the singing with the flute, which practice was expressly forbidden by Clement of Alexandria in A.D. 190 as too worldly, but he then instituted in its stead the use of the harp. In the time of Constantine the Great the Ambrosian chant (q. v.) was introduced, consisting of hymns and psalms sung, it is said, in the four first keys of the ancient Greek. The tendency of this was to secularize the music of the Church, and to encourage singing by a choir. The general introduction of instrumental music can certainly not be assigned to a date earlier than the 5th and 6th centuries; yea, even Gregory the Great, who towards the end of the 6th century added zealously to the existing Church music, absolutely prohibited the use of instruments. Several centuries later the introduction of the organ in sacred service gave a place to instruments as accompaniments for Christian song, and from that time to this they have been freely used with few exceptions. The first organ is believed to have been used in Church service in the 13th century. Organs were, however, in use before this in the theatre. They were never regarded with favor in the Eastern Church, and were vehemently opposed in some of the Western churches. In Scot-

gements on the affirmative. Following so closely after the historical discussion furnished above, the inquiring student will be the better able to judge for himself whether instrumentals can be used in Christian worship.

1. Against the use of instrumentals in Christian churches the following reasons may be urged:

1. There is no warrant in the New Testament for their use. (a) There is no example of such by Peter, Paul, John, James, or the Master himself, nor by any others in the apostolic age; nor have we any in the first three centuries; nor until the mystery of iniquity was strongly at work. (b) We have no command either to make or to use them. It is claimed that ψαλλομεν in Eph. v. 19 requires playing on strings; but that is expressly declared to be done in the heart. (See in a following paragraph.) (c) We find no directions, formal or incidental, for their use; while we have line upon line about singing—what to sing, when to sing, how to sing.

2. Instrumentals were not used in the worship of the ancient synagogue. They belonged to the tabernacle and the Temple, especially the latter; but were never in the congregational assemblies of God's people. The trumpet and other loud instruments were used in the synagogue, not to accompany the psalm, but in celebrating certain feasts (Lev. xxv. 9; Numb. x. 10; Psa. lxxxii. 3). There was a feast of trumpets (Lev. xxiii. 24; Numb. xxix. 1). They were used for proclamation, in going to war, in moving the camps, in assembling the congregations, as well as in triumphs, coronations, and other extraordinary occasions (Numb. x. 1-10; Lev. xxv. 9; 1 Kings i. 34; Joel ii. 1; Jer. vi. 1, et al.). Such celebrations resembled our day of Independence, but were much more devotional, and withal ceremonial in their meaning. Conrad Iken tells us that the Sabbath-day was introduced with blowing trumpets at the synagogues six times. At the first blast they dropped the instruments of husbandry, and returned home from the field. This was on Friday evening, as we call it. At the second blast they closed all offices, shops, and places of business. At the third blast pots were removed from the fire, and culinary occupation was suspended. The other three blowings were to designate the line between common and sacred time. All of these uses, though connected with the worship, were entirely different from the psalmody in which they were used at the Temple; but (a) No hint is given in Old Testament or New that instruments were ever used in the synagogue worship. (b) Orthodox Jews do not allow the organ or any other instrument in their synagogues; only Reformed or Liberal Jews have introduced the organ and many other innovations. (c) Archaeologists (Prideaux, Jahn, Calmet, Townsend, etc.) make no mention of instruments in the worship, while they describe minutely the furniture of the synagogue; and Jahn particularly notices the singing of the doxologies, such as Psa. lxxii. 18; lxxviii. 1; xevi. 6; and cxlii. 1. Iken gives four doxologies for the Sabbath, but no organ or harp.

3. The early Reformers, when they came out of Rome, removed them as the monuments of idolatry. Luther called the organ an ensign of Baal; Calvin said that instrumental music was not fitter to be adopted into the Christian Church than the incense and the candlestick; Knox called the organ a kist [chest] of whistles. The Church of England revived them, against a very strong protest, and the English dissenters would not touch them.

4. The instruments of the former economy were ceremonial. This is probably the chief reason for their use in the Temple. They were not merely figurative, like bread, water, wine, light; nor merely typical, like Isaac, David, Solomon, and the manna; they were figurative, typical, and ceremonial, as appears thus: (a) They depended largely on the priesthood. The trumpet was the leading instrument—master of the whole; this belonged exclusively to the priests (Numb. x. 8, 9; xxxi. 6; Josh. vi. 4; 2 Chron. xiii. 12, 14). The smaller in-

struments belonged to the Levites, whose station was adjoining the priests (1 Chron. xxiii. 28; xxx. 1-5). In the worship, as well as in celebrations, both were combined (1 Kings i. 39, 40; 1 Chron. xv. 14-20; 2 Chron. v. 12, et al.). Thus all were made to depend on the priesthood. (b) They were combined over the sacrifices (see especially Numb. x. 10; xxix. 1, 2, etc.; 1 Chron. xv. 26; 2 Chron. vii. 5, 6; xxix. 26-29; xxx. 21, etc.; Ezra iii. 4, 5, 10, 11; Neh. xii. 43; comp. ver. 27, 35, 36, 41, 45-47). (c) They belonged to the national worship of the peculiar people (Exod. xv. 20; 2 Sam. vi. 5, 15); "All the house of Israel" (1 Chron. xiii. 5, 8; xv. 3, 28; 2 Kings iii. 13-15; Psa. lxxviii. 25). So it had been arranged from the first (1 Chron. xxv. 1-8), and so carried out to the last (Neh. xii. 45). Incidental events, as well as set forms, show the same connection: the "company" in 1 Sam. x. 5 were coming down from the high-place, and those in Isa. xxx. 29 are going up to it. David's individual harp, was like his songs, a preparation for the Temple; and the incident of 2 Kings iii. 15 was a national affair. Hence (d), even when introduced as symbols in the Apocalypse, they are grouped with their usual ceremonial accompaniments. Trumpets are not there presented as part of the music, though prominent for other uses. The "harpers" have their "vials full of odors," stand with the Lamb that had been slain, are on the sea of glass, and sing the Song of Moses and the Lamb. They have their Mount Zion, their twelve tribes, their city of Jerusalem, their Temple and its pillars, their seven candlesticks, ark of the covenant, altar of incense, golden censer, pot of manna, cherubim, white robes, palm-branches, with other things which have passed away together; according to Heb. vii. 12, "The priesthood being changed, there is made, ἑ ἀνάγκη (of necessity), a change also of the law." The use—valid use—of all these things ceased when Christ yielded up his spirit on the cross. The very sanctum sanctorum was thrown open when the veil was rent. The Christian Church carried her singing not from the Temple, but from the synagogue. See SYNAGOGUE.

5. Instrumental music is incompatible with directions for singing given in the N. T. (a) Heb. xiii. 15: "Let us offer the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruit of the lips." This exhortation is given in terms of the O. T. (Psa. l. 14; lxix. 30, 31; cxvii. 17; Hos. xiv. 2, Sept.), yet the formal definition of praise makes it the production of the lips, not of the organ. (b) Eph. v. 19: "Singing and making melody (ψαλλομεν, touching the chords) in the heart to the Lord." Praise requires more than the mere "talk of the lips" (Prov. xiv. 23); but the accompaniment is not an instrument in the hand, but a living organ of some sort. (c) Col. iii. 16: "Singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord." In this passage "grace" answers exactly to ψαλλομεν—"touching the chords" in the heart; both passages harmonize in requiring something besides the voice, as do many others. But that something is not a machine in the hand. What is it? What was symbolized by all these cymbals, organs, harps, trumpets—these "things without life giving sound?" The general idea of the Christian people is that they all were intended to represent grace in the heart—the working of a regenerated soul in gratitude to God. Hence the martyr's exclamation, "O for a well-tuned harp!" and the prayer of the goodly people for their hearts to be put in "tune." John Bunyan's account of Mr. Fearing, who was always playing on the base, with many such allusions, chime in exactly with the whole idea of acceptable worship (John iv. 21, "in spirit and in truth;" 1 Cor. xiv. 15, "I will sing with the spirit").

This idea is supported by the following considerations: (a) In the passages above cited "grace" in answers to "melody" in the other, and both are in the heart. (b) This "melody," this "grace," is distinguished from the "singing"—superadded to the "fruit of the lips." (c) The "harps" hold the same relation to praise

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melodies from the Catholic chant and the German and Bohemian religious and secular folk-song, and recast them to fit the metres of their hymns, so the early Christian choristers would naturally be moved to do with the melodies which they desired to transplant. Much modification was necessary, for while the Greek and Roman songs were metrical, the Christian psalms, antiphons, prayers, responses, etc., were unmetrical; and while the pagan melodies were always sung to an instrumental accompaniment, the church chant was exclusively vocal. Through the influence of this double change of technical and æsthetic basis, the liturgic song was at once more free, aspiring, and varied than its prototype, taking on that rhythmic flexibility and delicate shading in which also the unique charm of the Catholic chant of the present day so largely consists.

In view of the controversies over the use of instrumental music in worship, which have been so violent in the British and American Protestant churches, it is an interesting question whether instruments were employed by the primitive Christians. We know that instruments performed an important function in the Hebrew temple service and in the ceremonies of the Greeks. At this point, however, a break was made with all previous practice, and although the lyre and flute were sometimes employed by the Greek converts, as a general rule the use of instruments in worship was condemned. Many of the fathers, speaking of religious song, make no mention of instruments; others, like Clement of Alexandria and St. Chrysostom, refer to them only to denounce them. Clement says: "Only one instrument

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do we use, *viz.*, the word of peace wherewith we honor God, no longer the old psaltery, trumpet, drum, and flute." Chrysostom exclaims: "David formerly sang in psalms, also we sing to-day with him; he had a lyre with lifeless strings, the Church has a lyre with living strings. Our tongues are the strings of the lyre, with a different tone, indeed, but with a more accordant piety." St. Ambrose expresses his scorn for those who would play the lyre and psaltery instead of singing hymns and psalms; and St. Augustine adjures believers not to turn their hearts to theatrical instruments. The religious guides of the early Christians felt that there would be an incongruity, and even profanity, in the use of the sensuous nerve-exciting effects of instrumental sound in their mystical, spiritual worship. Their high religious and moral enthusiasm needed no aid from external stimulus; the pure vocal utterance was the more proper expression of their faith. This prejudice against instrumental music, which was drawn from the very nature of its æsthetic impression, was fortified by the associations of instruments with superstitious pagan rites, and especially with the corrupting scenes habitually represented in the degenerate theatre and circus. "A Christian maiden," says St. Jerome, "ought not even to know what a lyre or a flute is, or what it is used for." No further justification for such prohibitions is needed than the shameless performances common upon the stage in the time of the Roman empire, as portrayed in the pages of Apuleius and other delineators of the manners of the time. Those who assumed the guardianship of the

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morals of the little Christian communities were compelled to employ the strictest measures to prevent their charges from breathing the moral pestilence which circulated without check in the places of public amusement; most of all must they insist that every reminder of these corruptions, be it an otherwise innocent harp or flute, should be excluded from the common acts of religion.

The transfer of the office of song from the general congregation to an official choir involved no cessation of the production of hymns for popular use, for the distinction must always be kept in mind between liturgical and non-liturgical song, and it was only in the former that the people were commanded to abstain from participation in all but the prescribed responses. On the other hand, as ceremonies multiplied and festivals increased in number, hymnody was stimulated, and lyric songs for private and social edification, for the hours of prayer, and for use in processions, pilgrimages, dedications, and other occasional celebrations, were rapidly produced. As has been shown, the Christians had their hymns from the very beginning, but with the exception of one or two short lyrics, a few fragments, and the great liturgical hymns which were also adopted by the Western Church, they have been lost. Clement of Alexandria, third century, is often spoken of as the first known Christian hymn writer; but the single poem, the song of praise to the Logos, which has gained him this title, is not, strictly speaking, a hymn at all. From the fourth century onward the tide of Oriental hymnody steadily rose, reaching its culmination in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Eastern hymns are

Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization,
W.W. Norton and Co.: New York, 1941, p. 53-4

All our sources deal amply with the vocal music of the Church, but they are chary with mention of any other manifestation of musical art. That there existed a considerable vogue of profane music and entertainment may be guessed from such passages as the following, taken from St. Basil's *Hexameron* (IV, I): "There are towns where one can enjoy all sorts of histrionic spectacles from morning to night. And, we must admit, the more people hear lascivious and pernicious songs, which raise in their souls impure and voluptuous desires, the more they want to hear." Many of the Church Fathers were aware of the sensual attraction of a good voice and tried to keep people away from professional singers. They were especially disturbed by the great number of people who went to the theater to listen to women singers, and went so far as to declare that "those who delight their eyes and ears on such spectacles commit adultery."

Musical instruments were just as much feared as the pleasing tunes which the heretics used with such astonishing success in their propaganda. Many a writer characterized the aulos as intoxicating and warned the faithful to leave these instruments "to the superstitious and to those who are inclined

to idolatry." Almost every one of the earlier churchmen exhorted his congregation on this subject. They had ample reason for doing so. The feasts of the martyrs—to mention one of the excesses known to us—were usually celebrated in a noisy fashion, to the accompaniment of all sorts of instruments. This was understandable inasmuch as they were usually connected with what we may call a fair. St. Ephrem exhorted his congregation to celebrate such feasts like Christians and not like heathens. The same noisy ceremonies must have prevailed at funerals, because we find that the Nestorian Synod (576) forbade the use of tambourines and castanets during those services.

The development of Western music was decisively influenced by the exclusion of musical instruments from the early Christian Church. "We do not need the psalterium, the tuba, drum, and flute, which are liked by those who prepare themselves for war," said Clement of Alexandria. There was no objection, however, to the use of "noble" instruments in the home. The tolerated instrument was the lyre, and we are, no doubt, dealing here with a continuation of classical citharœdia; the tibia, however, was condemned on account of its connection with orgiastic rites. The Church always endeavored to keep liturgical singing within very definite boundaries, with the exclusion of harshness and noisiness. Nevertheless, some of the Oriental churches must have had rather noisy services, accompanied by hand clapping and dancing, a practice which offended Clement of Alexandria. The Coptic churches, especially in Ethiopia, still like dances, and accompany their ritual songs and dances with drums which they occasionally play with deafening furor.

The Oriental elements, which did not disappear for a long time, place extraordinary difficulties in the path of the historian. Even a superficial examination of such elements leads us into forbidding fields of magic and incantation; all we can do here, therefore, is to mention the vitality and tenacity of incantation and magic. In the fourth century all classes of society were profoundly superstitious, and the magicians were still omnipotent. The Christians themselves were wont to turn to them if they were taken ill or had some misgivings. "If we have a headache," says St. Augustine, "we run to the singer of incantations; I see this occur every day." How closely these songs of incantation and primitive worship affect our history of music is shown by the role of the exclamation *Kirie eleison* which has been

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It seems, however, as if the Liturgy was not settled by Canons, nor a uniformity of chanting ordained till the time of St. Gregory, though we find a very early distinction made between the manner of *singing* the hymns, and *chanting* the psalms. St. Athanasius, and Geronticus, a Monk of Alexandria, and many of the fathers of the fourth century, have left testimonies and admonitions concerning this distinction (*k*). It is, however, the opinion of the learned Padre Martini, to which the Prince Abbot of St. Blasius subscribes, that the music of the first five or six ages of the church, consisted chiefly in a plain and simple chant of unisons and octaves, of which many fragments are still remaining in the Canto Fermo of the Romish missals. For, with respect to *music in parts*, as it does not appear, in these early ages, that either the Greeks or Romans were in possession of *harmony* or *counterpoint*, it is in vain to seek it in the church. Indeed, for many ages after the establishment of Christianity, there is not the slightest trace of it to be found in the MS. *Missals, Rituals, Graduals, Psalters, and Antiphonaria* of any of the great libraries in Europe, which have been visited and consulted expressly with a view to the ascertaining this point of musical history.

After the most diligent enquiry concerning the time when instrumental music had admission into the ecclesiastical service, there is reason to conclude, that, before the reign of Constantine, as the converts to the Christian religion were subject to frequent persecution and disturbance in their devotion, the use of instruments could hardly have been allowed: and by all that can be collected from the writings of the primitive Christians, they seem never to have been admitted. But after the full establishment of Christianity, as the national religion of the whole Roman empire, they were used in great festivals, in imitation of the Hebrews, as well as Pagans, who, at all times, had accompanied their psalms, hymns, and religious rites, with instrumental music.

The proofs *for*, and *against*, the early admission of musical instruments in the service of religion before this period, are so numerous, that to give them all, and discuss the point, would be an endless labour to the reader and to myself. The two following passages, however, from fathers of the church, seem conclusive as to the *private* use, at least, of instrumental music in the service of religion, before the time of Constantine, as well as its *public* admission into the church during the reign of that Emperor.

Clemens Alexandrinus (*l*) says, " Though we no longer worship God with the clamour of military instruments, such as the trumpet, drum, and fife, but with peaceful words; this is our most delightful festivity; and if you are able to accompany your voices with the lyre or cithara, you will incur no censure (*m*). " And afterwards, he

(A) It seems as if the chief distinction was, that the hymns were frequently sung by single persons, and the psalms generally chanted in a chorus of the whole congregation.

(l) *Lib. ii. cap. 4. Pedagogi.*

(m) Καὶ ἂν ἴσως εὐλαβῶνται ἡλίως εἶναι τὸ εὐσεβεῖν μὴ μετὰ ὄργανον. Σολεμνὸν, Τίσι. Εκδ. τ. Ὀργάνων.

is not strange that the only kind of music was ritual music and that all our information comes through ecclesiastical annalists.

25. The First Christian Songs. — Singing in public and private worship was a matter of course for the early Christians. For Jewish converts this was a continuance of synagogue customs, but, since the Church grew mostly among non-Jews, the technical forms employed were more Greek than Hebrew. The use of instruments was long resisted, because of their association with pagan sensuality. In addition to the Hebrew Psalms (in the Greek version), the new faith tended constantly to produce new hymns, at first apparently in the form of rhapsodies. From the 2d to the 4th centuries the foundations of the vast structure of Christian hymnody were securely laid, especially in the epoch-making work of certain Latin writers.

The New Testament makes some mention of the singing of hymns. The earliest complete hymn extant is by Clement of Alexandria (d. 220), and parts of canticles like the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Te Deum* may have been somewhat earlier. By about 400, sacred poems have adopted accent, rhyme and stanza in a way quite novel. For two or three centuries thereafter the abundance of original hymns is a sure sign of the cultivation of religious music.

26. The Gregorian Style. — From the 4th century the strong accent upon unity of organization, fixity of creed and uniformity of liturgy led steadily to a demand for richness and stateliness. Costly edifices became common, ministrants were multiplied, and the whole ritual of worship tended to become ornate. This involved a new attention to music.

The first centre of activity was Constantinople, where Greek music was the established type of artistic song. Thus the tradition of the ancient unison melody was handed on to Italy and the West. The evolution that followed is only imperfectly traceable in detail, but in the end it provided the mediæval Church with a large and striking body of melodies, fitted to a variety of prose texts and even to metrical poetry. We must suppose that these ritual melodies grew out of manifold experiments at different places, which were only gradually wrought into a general and uniform system. Even after the system was codified, its usages continued to accumulate, and from time to time considerable modifications in style appeared.

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metrical hymn to the gradual process of growth by which music has become emancipated from the tyranny of language and developed its own artistic structure.

Music and Language

The early Christians refused to have anything to do with the instrumental music which they might have inherited from the ancient world. By limiting their musical tradition, which much later was to be the matrix out of which modern music grew, to choral music, they unconsciously made more difficult the process by which an independent self-sufficient musical art could develop. In other words, music was destined to be bound to language for a good many centuries. The first sign of growing musical strength is the beginning of the breakdown of the Latin language.

The outstanding language trait upon which classic poetry was based was the quantity or length value of the vowel sounds. The poetic foot was a combination of long and short vowels. Music connected with poetry whose structure was based on quantity would, unless a deliberate falsification were to occur, be under the necessity of imitating that quantity. Consequently no rhythmic independence could develop in the music. But by the fourth century A.D., owing perhaps to the fact that Latin had come into contact with countless other less subtle tongues, the quantity value of the vowels was being displaced by speech accent as a basis for the poetic foot. Such is the case with the Ambrosian metrical hymns.

It must not be understood that the rhythm of the musical setting of the Ambrosian hymn was any less dependent upon the structure of the poetic foot than had been the case previously. The important advance lies in the fact that poetry was changing its rhythmic structure to what we later recognize as the normal and natural musical rhythmic basis, not the regular succession of long and short, but the regular succession of strong and weak.

The Ambrosian hymn became a rhythmic formula, iambic tetrameter, based upon speech accent, as can be readily seen in

Kurt Pahlen, Music of the World,
Crown:New York, 1949, p.27-8

Then Christians from the Near East came to Rome. They taught the young Christian community how to pray, illumined their nocturnal meetings by the delivery of strange airs, filled with an austere beauty and a chaste enthusiasm. These were oriental airs, surely quite old and closely related to Jewish temple chants. The revolutionary group in the catacombs found in them all they had been looking for. Age-old melodies became imbued with a new spirit.

This chanted music had come to stay for many long centuries. For a thousand years, it was to fill the entire history of music, most closely joined to the growth of the Christian religion and to its triumphant spread all over the world. The missionaries used it in converting heathen peoples, carrying to them not only a new religion but also a new music. The music was actually quite old, and yet it was new and alien to the peoples of Europe and, a thousand years later, to those of America.

These chants—and the word chants (and not music) is used advisedly, for many centuries were to pass before an instrument accompanied the sung melodies—went through a development of their own, adapting themselves, eliminating some things so as to be able to include others. They survived long interruptions and are to this day used by the Catholic Church. Their name perpetuates that of the Pope who collected, registered, and filed all the melodies then in use at religious services: Gregory the Great (540-604) [Pl. 21]. For many centuries the large book representing his life work was attached by a chain to the altar of St. Peter's Cathedral. The Catholic Church is greatly indebted to him for the uniformity, still maintained, of its religious music. St. Ambrose, too, must be mentioned here (340-397) for the great service he rendered to the development and preservation of occidental church music.

While we are talking of Rome and the early martyrs, the name of St. Cecilia should not be omitted, the patroness saint—and according to an old manuscript the "inventress"—of music. Others ascribe to her the invention of the organ. She died a martyr's death on November 22, of the year 230, a date which is still celebrated in many countries as "Music Day." Her figure became the subject of many pictorial representations of music, especially in the days of the Renaissance.

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MUSIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

As a source for our knowledge of the music of the early Christian Church the New Testament has its own limitations and problems. Far smaller in compass than the Old and lacking anything comparable to the Psalter, its documents are so closely associated with the practical purposes of the Christian missionary enterprise and so sharply delimited in their historical interest that they contain but little material bearing directly upon the question at issue here. Yet critical scholarship, applying itself to the study of the incidental information that does emerge, and keeping in mind both the background out of which Christianity came and the development of hymnody and liturgy in the later Church, has been able to reconstruct tentatively at least certain of the broader outlines of the use of music in the crucial formative years of the Christian movement. So far as we can tell the music of the early Church was almost entirely vocal, Christian usage following in this particular the practice of the Synagogue, in part for the same reasons.¹

Like that of John the Baptist who preceded him and those of others who followed, the movement initiated by Jesus was rooted in the traditional piety of the Jewish people, bringing the search for individual acceptability before God to renewed expression within the framework of the conviction that the religious hopes of the Prophets, so intensely meaningful to the people of his day, were about to come to fulfilment. From the outset, therefore, both movements were pitched at that high level of spiritual exaltation for which the use of lyric material and form was both natural and traditional. Jesus's predecessor John, being of priestly descent, came of circles well acquainted with the music of the Temple. Jesus reflected more nearly the piety and worship of the Synagogue, and addressed himself commonly to the circles whose prayers for personal deliverance had been embodied in so many of the latest of the Biblical psalms, and who in the Psalter as in the New Testament are called 'the poor' (cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 1 and Matt. v. 3). It is not strange, in the circumstances, that echoes of the psalms appear in the sayings ascribed to him.

Both movements tended to create circles of faithful adherents in whose religious life certain of the elements of Jewish observance and the hope of an imminent deliverance were kept continually alive. To

¹ On the Christian opposition to instrumental music and the exceptions to its disuse see J. Quasten, 'Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und der christlichen Frühzeit', *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen* 25 (Münster, 1930), pp. 81-83, 103-10.

The Biblical precept to "sing" the psalms, not merely recite them, was obeyed literally, as is testified by many statements in the writings of the saints. Pope Leo I, who lived about 450, expressly related that "the Psalms of David are piously sung everywhere in the Church." Only singing, however, and no playing of instruments, was permitted in the early Christian Church. In this respect the Jewish tradition was not continued. In the earlier Jewish temple service many instruments mentioned in the Bible had been used. But instrumental music had been thoroughly discredited in the meantime by the lascivious Greek and Roman virtuoso music of the later ages, and consequently it appeared unfit for the divine service. The aulos was held in especial abhorrence, whereas some indulgence was granted to the lyre and cithara, permitted by some saints at least for private worship, though not in church services. It is interesting to note that the later Jewish temple service has conformed to the early Christian practice and, contrary to Biblical tradition, has banned all instruments. Orthodox Jewish synagogues now object even to the use of the organ.

As to the power of song, an anonymous author of about A.D. 370 in a Greek treatise, "Questions and Answers to the Believers," has treated the matter with an eloquence and an inspired beauty of diction that is almost unequalled. After disapproving of "soulless instruments," he pleads for "pure singing." "Song," he writes, "awakens the soul to a glowing longing for what the song contains; song soothes the lusts of the flesh; it banishes wicked thoughts, aroused by invisible foes; it acts like dew to the soul, making it fertile for accomplishing good acts; it makes the pious warrior noble and strong in suffering terrible pain; it is a healing ointment for the wounds suffered in the battle of life; St. Paul calls song the 'sword of the spirit' because it protects the pious knight against the invisible enemy; for 'the Word of God' if sung in emotion has the power to expel demons. All this gives the soul the force to acquire the virtues of devotion and is brought to the pious by ecclesiastic songs."

Centuries later Thomas Aquinas, the greatest authority of scholasticism, discussing in his famous *Summa theologica* (Quaestio 91, Articulus II) some problems of ecclesiastical music, ex-

Pliny the Younger, Letter to Trajan, (111-117 A.D.)
 Letters, X, 96, trans. by Dorjann
Latin Literature in Translation, ed. Guinagh and Dorjann
 Longmans Green and Co.: New York, 1952, P.691

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should be treated like those of more mature years; whether pardon should be granted for repentance, or whether a man who has once been a Christian should have no advantage from giving up his faith; whether a person who merely bears the name of Christian, but is not guilty of any crime, should be punished, or only the crimes accompanying Christianity.

Meanwhile, in the cases of those who have been reported to me as Christians, I have pursued the following method: I asked them, whether they were Christians. If they confessed, I asked them a second and a third time, threatening them with death. If they persisted, I ordered them to be put to death. For, whatever their creed might be, I felt no doubt that their perverseness and unyielding stubbornness ought to be punished. There were others infatuated with a similar madness, but, since they were Roman citizens, I remanded them to the city. So, because of the very handling of the matter, as usually happens, the accusations have spread and many kinds of cases have come up. A list was posted, without the author's signature, containing the names of many people. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians, and who repeated an invocation to the gods, as I dictated it, and who offered wine and incense before your statue, which I had ordered to be brought in for this purpose along with the images of the gods, and who cursed Christ, none of which acts, it is said, true Christians can be compelled to perform: these persons, I thought, should be dismissed. Others, whose names appeared on the list, said that they were Christians, but soon denied it, asserting that they had once been Christians, but had later ceased to be such, some three or more years ago and one man twenty years ago. All worshipped your statue and the images of the gods and reviled Christ. They affirmed, however, that the full extent of their sin, or error, consisted of their habit of meeting on a fixed day before sunrise and singing a song antiphonally to Christ, as a god, and binding themselves by an oath, not to do any evil deeds, but to commit no theft, robbery or adultery, nor to break their word, nor to refuse to return deposited moneys, when called upon. When these ceremonies had been performed, it was their custom, they said, to depart and later to reassemble for the purpose of partaking of food of an ordinary and innocent sort. Even this they had ceased to do subsequent to my edict in which, according to your orders, I had forbidden the existence of fraternal organizations. And so I thought it all the more necessary to determine the truth even by torture in the cases of two female servants, who were called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing more than a base and excessive superstition.

Consequently, I have adjourned the inquiry and betaken myself to your counsels. For the matter appeared to me worthy of consultation, especially in view of the large number of those involved. Indeed, many of all ages and ranks, and even of both sexes are now and will be called to stand trial. For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only through the cities, but also through the villages and the farms; it seems possible, however, to stop it and

Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, III, 11, (ca.190 A.D.) Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.290

not exhibited in the theatres? And what shameless saying is it that is not brought forward by the buffoons? And those who enjoy the evil that is in them, stamp the clear images of it at home. And, on the other hand, those that are proof against these things, and unimpressible, will never make a stumble in regard to luxurious pleasures.

For if people shall say that they betake themselves to the spectacles as a pastime for recreation, I should say that the cities which make a serious business of pastime are not wise; for cruel contests for glory which have been so fatal are not sport. No more is senseless expenditure of money, nor are the riots that are occasioned by them sport. And ease of mind is not to be purchased by zealous pursuit of frivolities, for no one who has his senses will ever prefer what is pleasant to what is good.

Religion in Ordinary Life.

But it is said we do not all philosophize. Do we not all, then, follow after life? What sayest thou? How hast thou believed? How, pray, dost thou love God and thy neighbour, if thou dost not philosophize? And how dost thou love thyself, if thou dost not love life? It is said, I have not learned letters; but if thou hast not learned to read, thou canst not excuse thyself in the case of hearing, for it is not taught. And faith is the possession not of the wise according to the world, but of those according to God; and it is taught without letters; and its handbook, at once rude and divine, is called love—a spiritual book. It is in your power to listen to divine wisdom, ay, and to frame your life in accordance with it. Nay, you are not prohibited from conducting affairs in the world decorously according to God. Let not him who sells or buys aught name two prices for what he buys or sells; but stating the net price, and studying to speak the truth, if he get not his price, he gets the truth, and is rich in the possession of rectitude. But, above all, let an oath on account of what is sold be far from you; and let swearing, too, on account of other things be banished.

And in this way those who frequent the market-place and the shop philosophize. "For thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain: for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain."¹

But those who act contrary to these things—the avaricious, the liars, the hypocrites, those who make merchandise of the truth—the Lord cast out of His Father's court,² not willing that the holy house of God should be the house of unrighteous traffic either in words or in material things.

¹ Ex. xx. 7.
² In allusion to the cleansing of the temple (John ii. 13-17; Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Luke xix. 45, 46).

Going to Church.

Woman and man are to go to church³ decently attired, with natural step, embracing silence, possessing unfeigned love, pure in body, pure in heart, fit to pray to God. Let the woman observe this, further. Let her be entirely covered, unless she happen to be at home. For that style of dress is grave, and protects from being gazed at. And she will never fall, who puts before her eyes modesty, and her shawl; nor will she invite another to fall into sin by uncovering her face. For this is the wish of the Word, since it is becoming for her to pray veiled.⁴

They say that the wife of Æneas, through excess of propriety, did not, even in her terror at the capture of Troy, uncover herself; but, though fleeing from the conflagration, remained veiled.

Out of Church.

Such ought those who are consecrated to Christ appear, and frame themselves in their whole life, as they fashion themselves in the church⁵ for the sake of gravity; and to be, not to seem such—so meek, so pious, so loving. But now I know not how people change their fashions and manners with the place. As they say that polypi, assimilated to the rocks to which they adhere, are in colour such as they; so, laying aside the inspiration of the assembly, after their departure from it, they become like others with whom they associate. Nay, in laying aside the artificial mask of solemnity, they are proved to be what they secretly were. After having paid reverence to the discourse about God, they leave within the church what they have heard. And outside they foolishly amuse themselves with impious playing, and amatory quavering, occupied with flute-playing, and dancing, and intoxication, and all kinds of trash. They who sing thus, and sing in response, are those who before hymned immortality, — found at last wicked and wickedly singing this most pernicious palinode, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But not to-morrow in truth, but already, are these dead to God; burying their dead,⁶ that is, sinking themselves down to death. The apostle very firmly assails them: "Be not deceived; neither adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor railers," and whatever else he adds to these, "shall inherit the kingdom of God."⁷

³ [This early use of the word "church" for the place or house of worship, is to be noted. See Elucidation ii.]
⁴ 1 Cor. xi. 5. [This helps to the due rendering of ἱκανῶς ἐν τῷ ἑσθλάτῃ in 1 Cor. xi. 10.]
⁵ [1 Cor. xi. 22. But I cannot say that the word ἐκκλησία is used for the place of Christian worship, even in this text, where it seems to be in antithesis with the dwelling-house.]
⁶ Matt. viii. 22.
⁷ 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

Tertullian, Treatise on the Soul, IX, (ca.207 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.3
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.188

of God,¹ beheld plainly the souls of the martyrs.²

CHAP. IX.—PARTICULARS OF THE ALLEGED COMMUNICATION TO A MONTANIST SISTER.

When we aver that the soul has a body of a quality and kind peculiar to itself, in this special condition of it we shall be already supplied with a decision respecting all the other accidents of its corporeity; how that they belong to it, because we have shown it to be a body, but that even they have a quality peculiar to themselves, proportioned to the special nature of the body (to which they belong); or else, if any accidents (of a body) are remarkable in this instance for their absence, then this, too, results from the peculiarity of the condition of the soul's corporeity, from which are absent sundry qualities which are present to all other corporeal beings. And yet, notwithstanding all this, we shall not be at all inconsistent if we declare that the more usual characteristics of a body, such as invariably accrue to the corporeal condition, belong also to the soul—such as form³ and limitation; and that triad of dimensions—I mean length, and breadth, and height—by which philosophers gauge all bodies. What now remains but for us to give the soul a figure?⁴ Plato refuses to do this, as if it endangered the soul's immortality.⁵ For everything which has figure is, according to him, compound, and composed of parts;⁶ whereas the soul is immortal; and being immortal, it is therefore indissoluble; and being indissoluble, it is figureless: for if, on the contrary, it had figure, it would be of a composite and structural formation. He, however, in some other manner frames for the soul an effigy of intellectual forms, beautiful for its just symmetry and tuitions of philosophy, but misshapen by some contrary qualities. As for ourselves, indeed, we inscribe on the soul the lineaments of corporeity, not simply from the assurance which reasoning has taught us of its corporeal nature, but also from the firm conviction which divine grace impresses on us by revelation. For, seeing that we acknowledge spiritual *charismata*, or gifts, we too have merited the attainment of the prophetic gift, although coming after John (the Baptist). We have now amongst us a sister whose lot it has been to be favoured with sundry gifts of revelation,

which she experiences in the Spirit by ecstatic vision amidst the sacred rites of the Lord's day in the church: she converses with angels, and sometimes even with the Lord; she both sees and hears mysterious communications;⁷ some men's hearts she understands, and to them who are in need she distributes remedies. Whether it be in the reading of Scriptures, or in the chanting of psalms, or in the preaching of sermons, or in the offering up of prayers, in all these religious services matter and opportunity are afforded to her of seeing visions. It may possibly have happened to us, whilst this sister of ours was rapt in the Spirit, that we had discoursed in some ineffable way about the soul. After the people are dismissed at the conclusion of the sacred services, she is in the regular habit of reporting to us whatever things she may have seen in vision (for all her communications are examined with the most scrupulous care, in order that their truth may be probed). "Amongst other things," says she, "there has been shown to me a soul in bodily shape, and a spirit has been in the habit of appearing to me; not, however, a void and empty illusion, but such as would offer itself to be even grasped by the hand, soft and transparent and of an ethereal colour, and in form resembling that of a human being in every respect." This was her vision, and for her witness 'there was God; and the apostle most assuredly foretold that there were to be "spiritual gifts" in the church.⁸ Now, can you refuse to believe this, even if indubitable evidence on every point is forthcoming for your conviction? Since, then, the soul is a corporeal substance, no doubt it possesses qualities such as those which we have just mentioned, amongst them the property of *colour*, which is inherent in every bodily substance. Now what colour would you attribute to the soul but an ethereal transparent one? Not that its substance is actually the ether or air (although this was the opinion of *Ænesidemus* and *Anaximenes*, and I suppose of *Heraclitus* also, as some say of him), nor transparent light (although *Heraclides* of *Pontus* held it to be so). "Thunder-stones,"⁹ indeed, are not of igneous substance, because they shine with ruddy redness; nor are beryls composed of aqueous matter, because they are of a pure wavy whiteness. How many things also besides these are there which their colour would associate in the same class, but which nature keeps widely apart! Since, however, everything which is very attenuated and transparent

¹ Rev. i. 10.

² Rev. vi. 9.

³ *Habitum*.

⁴ *Illud trinarium distantivum (Τὰ τρία διαστηματα)* Fr. Junius.

⁵ *Frigitum*.

⁶ See his *Phædo*, pp. 105, 106.

⁷ *Structibile*.

⁸ *Sacramenta*.

⁹ 1 Cor. xii. 1-11. [A key to our author's

¹⁰ *Ceraunius gemmis*.

John Chrysostom, Homily XXXVI, 7, (381-398 A.D.)
Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.12
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1956, p.220

her golden ornaments, but bereft of her wealth: such an one doth the present Church resemble. And I say not this in respect of gifts: for it were nothing marvelous if it were this only: but in respect also of life and virtue. Thus the list of her widows, and the choir of her virgins, then gave great ornament to the churches: but now she is made desolate and void, and the tokens only remain. There are indeed widows now, there are also virgins; but they retain not that adornment which women should have who prepare themselves for such wrestlings. For the special distinction of the virgin is the caring for the things of God alone, and the waiting on Him without distraction: and the widow's mark too should be not so much the not engaging in a second marriage, as the other things, charity to the poor, hospitality, continuing instant in prayers, all those other things, which Paul writing to Timothy requires with great exactness. One may see also the married women exhibiting among us great seemliness. But this is not the only thing required, but rather that sedulous attention to the needy, through which those women of old shone out most brightly. Not as the generality now-a-days. For then instead of gold they were clothed with the fair array of almsgiving: but now, having left off this, they are decked out on every side with cords of gold woven of the chain of their sins.

Shall I speak of another repository too emptied of its hereditary splendor? They all met together in old time and sang psalms in common. This we do also now: but then among all was there one soul and one heart: but now not in one single soul can one see that unanimity, rather great is the warfare every where.

"Peace," even now, "to all," he that presides in the Church prays for, entering as it were into his Father's house: but of this peace the name is frequent, but the reality no where.

[8.] Then the very houses were churches: but now the church itself is a house, or rather worse than any house. For in a house one may see much good order: since both the mistress of the house is seated on her chair with all seemliness, and the maidens weave in silence, and each of the domestics hath his appointed task in hand. But here great is the tumult, great the confusion, and our assemblies differ in nothing from a vintner's shop, so loud is the laughter, so great the disturbance; as in baths, as in markets, the cry and tumult is universal. And these things are here only: since elsewhere it is not permitted even to address one's neighbor in the church, not even if one have received back a long absent friend, but these things are done without, and very properly.

For the church is no barber's or perfumer's shop, nor any other merchant's warehouse in the market-place, but a place of angels, a place of archangels, a palace of God, heaven itself. As therefore if one had parted the heaven and had brought thee in thither, though thou shouldest see thy father or thy brother, thou wouldest not venture to speak; so neither here ought one to utter any other sound but those which are spiritual. For, in truth, the things in this place are also a heaven.

And if thou believest not, look to this table, call to mind for Whose sake it is set, and why: consider Who it is that is coming forth here; tremble with awe even before the time. For so, when one sees the throne only of a king, in heart he rises up, expecting the king's coming forth. And do thou accordingly thrill with awe even before that thrilling moment: raise up thyself, and before thou seest the veils drawn aside and the choir of angels marching forth, ascend thou to the very heaven.

But the uninitiated knows not these things. Well then, it is necessary with a view to him also to introduce other topics. For neither towards him shall we want reasons able to stir him up thoroughly and cause him to soar.

Thou then who knowest not these things, when thou shalt hear the prophet² saying, "Thus saith the Lord," quit the earth, ascend thou also unto heaven, consider who it is that by him discourses with thee.

But as things are, for a buffoon who is moving laughter or for a whorish and abandoned woman, so vast an assemblage of spectators is set, listening in entire quietness to what is spoken, and this when none commands silence³; and there is neither tumult, nor cry, nor any the least noise: but when God is speaking from heaven on subjects so awful, we behave ourselves more impudently than dogs, and even to the harlot women we pay greater respect than to God.

Doth it make your flesh creep to be told of these things? Nay then, much rather let it creep when ye do them.

[9.] That which Paul said of them that despised the poor and feasted alone, "What, have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that

¹ See Bingham, xliii. §. 23.; S. Chrys. 3 Hom. in Coloss. i. iv. 206. Ed. Savile.

² Because the Catechumens and others, as it seems, were allowed to hear the Lessons read, though not to be present at what was strictly called the Communion Service. See Bingham, xiv. lii. 1.

³ An allusion to the injunctions for silence used by the Deacon occasionally in the Church: see Bingham, li. 24.; and the Ap. Constit. ii. 37. as quoted by him; "Let the Deacon oversee the people, that none whisper, or doze, or laugh, or nod;" and afterwards in the time of the offering, "Let some of the Deacons observe the people, and make silence among them." Chrys. Hom. 24. on Acts, says, "Prayer is going on, and here are young persons talking and jesting with one another even while on their knees. Do thou who standest by, young or old, rebuke them, if thou test it: reprimand them more sharply; if he take it not well, call the Deacon."

Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 1, *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. O. Strunk W.W. Norton and CO.:New York, 1950, p.62 (ca.185 A.D.)

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let him but follow the Word and he becomes a "man of God."⁸ Others are figuratively called "wolves"⁹ clothed in sheepskins, by which is meant rapacious creatures in the forms of men. And all these most savage beasts, and all such stones, the heavenly song of itself transformed into men of gentleness. "For we, yea we also were aforesaid foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, hating one another," as the apostolic writing says; "but when the kindness of God our Saviour, and His love toward man, appeared, not by works done in righteousness, which we did ourselves, but according to His mercy He saved us."¹⁰

See how mighty is the new song! It has made men out of stones and men out of wild beasts. They who were otherwise dead, who had no share in the real and true life, revived when they but heard the song. Furthermore, it is this which composed the entire creation into melodious order, and tuned into concert the discord of the elements, that the whole universe might be in harmony with it.¹¹ The ocean it left flowing, yet has prevented it from encroaching upon the land; whereas the land, which was being carried away, it made firm, and fixed as a boundary to the sea. Aye, and it softened the rage of fire by air, as one might blend the Dorian harmony with the Lydian; and the biting coldness of air it tempered by the intermixture of fire, thus melodiously mingling these extreme notes of the universe. What is more, this pure song, the stay of the universe and the harmony of all things, stretching from the centre to the circumference and from the extremities to the centre, reduced this whole to harmony, not in accordance with Thracian music,¹² which resembles that of Jubal, but in accordance with the fatherly purpose of God, which David earnestly sought. He who sprang from David and yet was before him, the Word of God, scorned those lifeless instruments of lyre and cithara. By the power of the Holy Spirit He arranged in harmonious order this great world, yes, and the little world of man too, body and soul together; and on this many-voiced instrument of the universe He makes music to God, and sings to the human instrument. "For thou art my harp and my pipe and my temple"¹³—my harp by reason of the music, my pipe by reason of the breath of the Spirit, my temple by reason of the Word—God's purpose being that the music should resound, the Spirit inspire, and the temple

⁸ I Timothy 6:11.

⁹ Matthew 7:15.

¹⁰ Titus 3:3-5.

¹¹ Having credited to the New Song the wonders attributed by Greek legend to Orpheus, Amphion, and Arion, Clement now goes on to identify with it the harmonic principle, in accordance with which the Pythagoreans held the cosmos and

the human microcosmos to have been formed from the four elements—water, earth, fire, and air.

¹² The music of Orpheus.

¹³ The source of this quotation is unknown. It may be a fragment of an early Christian hymn, the metaphors being suggested by such passages as Psalm 57:8; I Corinthians 6:19. [Butterworth]

Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, 1.
 Source Readings in Music History, ed. O. Strunk
 W.W. Norton and Co.: New York, 1950, p.63
 (ca.185 A.D.)

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

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receive its Lord. Moreover, King David the harpist, whom we mentioned just above, urged us toward the truth and away from idols. So far was he from singing the praises of daemons that they were put to flight by him with the true music; and when Saul was possessed, David healed him merely by playing the harp.¹⁴ The Lord fashioned man a beautiful, breathing instrument, after His own image; and assuredly He Himself is an all-harmonious instrument of God, melodious and holy, the wisdom that is above this world, the heavenly Word.

What then is the purpose of this instrument, the Word of God, the Lord, and the New Song? To open the eyes of the blind, to unstop the ears of the deaf, and to lead the halt and erring into the way of righteousness; to reveal God to foolish men, to make an end of corruption, to vanquish death, to reconcile disobedient sons to the Father. The instrument of God is loving to men. The Lord pities, chastens, exhorts, admonishes, saves, and guards us; and, over and above this, promises the kingdom of heaven as reward for our discipleship, while the only joy He has of us is that we are saved. For wickedness feeds upon the corruption of men; but truth, like the bee, does no harm to anything in the world, but takes delight only in the salvation of men. You have then God's promise; you have His love to man: partake of His grace.

¹⁵ And do not suppose that my song of salvation is new in the same sense as an implement or a house. For it was "before the morning star";¹⁵ and, "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."¹⁶ But error is old, and truth appears to be a new thing. Whether then the Phrygians are really proved to be ancient by the goats in the story;¹⁷ or the Arcadians by the poets who describe them as older than the moon; or, again, the Egyptians by those who dream that this land first brought to light both gods and men; still, not one of these nations existed before this world. But we were before the foundation of the world, we who, because we were destined to be in Him, were begotten beforehand by God. We are the rational images formed by God's Word, or Reason, and we date from the beginning on account of our connection with Him, because "the Word was in the beginning." Well, because the Word was from the first, He was and is the divine beginning of all things; but because He lately took a name,—the name consecrated of old and worthy of power, the Christ,—I have called Him a New Song.

¹⁴ I Samuel 16:23.

¹⁵ Psalm 110:3.

¹⁶ John 1:1.

¹⁷ See the story in Herodotus, II, 2. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, being desirous of discovering which was the most ancient people, put two children in charge of a herdsman. Goats were to be

brought to them for giving milk, but no articulate speech was to be uttered in their presence. The first articulate sound they made was taken to be the Phrygian word for bread; hence the king assumed that Phrygians were the primitive race. [Butterworth]

The Spirit, to purify the divine liturgy from any such unrestrained revelry, chants: 'Praise Him with sound of trumpet,'¹ for, in fact, at the sound of the trumpet the dead will rise again; 'praise Him with harp,' for the tongue is a harp of the Lord; 'and with the lute, praise Him,' understanding the mouth as a lute moved by the Spirit as the lute is by the plectrum; 'praise Him with timbal and choir,' that is, the Church awaiting the resurrection of the body in the flesh which is its echo; 'praise Him with strings and organ,' calling our bodies an organ and its sinews strings, for from them the body derives its co-ordinated movement, and when touched by the Spirit, gives forth human sounds; 'praise Him on high-sounding² cymbals,' which mean the tongue of the mouth, which, with the movement of the lips, produces words. (42) Then, to all mankind He calls out: 'Let every spirit praise the Lord,' because He rules over every spirit He has made. In reality, man is an instrument made for peace, but these other things, if anyone concerns himself overmuch with them, become instruments of conflict, for they either enkindle desires or inflame the passions. The Etruscans, for example, use the trumpet for war; the Arcadians, the horn; the Sicels, the flute; the Cretans, the lyre; the Lacedaemonians, the pipe; the Thracians, the bugle; the Egyptians, the drum; and the Arabs, the cymbal. But as for us, we make use of one instrument alone: only the Word of peace, by whom we pay homage to God, no longer with ancient harp or trumpet or drum or flute which those trained for war employ. They give little thought to fear of God in their festive

¹ Cf. Ps. 150.3-6.

² The Scholion says: 'This word (*atalagmon*) means a shout of victory. To those who have conquered sensual uncleanness, a shout of victory is very appropriately assigned.'

and, in their wine-drinking, promote drunkenness and promiscuity. They are brazen celebrations that work deeds of shame. The exciting rhythm of flutes and harps, choruses and dances, Egyptian castanets and other entertainments get out of control and become indecent and burlesque, especially when they are re-enforced by cymbals and drums and accompanied by the noise of all these instruments of deception. It seems to me that a banquet easily turns into a mere exhibition of drunkenness. The Apostle warned: 'Laying aside the works of darkness, put on the armor of light. Let us walk becomingly as in the day, not occupying ourselves in revelry and drunkenness, not in debauchery and wantonness.'¹

(41) Leave the pipe to the shepherd, the flute to the men who are in fear of gods and are intent on their idol-worshiping. Such musical instruments must be excluded from our wineless feasts, for they are more suited for beasts and for the class of men that is least capable of reason than for men. We are told that deer are called by horns and hunted by huntsmen to traps, there to be captured by the playing of some melody; that, when mares are being foaled, a tune is played on a flute as a sort of hymeneal which musicians call a *hip-pothorus*.² In general, we must completely eliminate every such base sight or sound—in a word, everything immodest that strikes the senses (for this is an abuse of the senses)—if we would avoid pleasures that merely fascinate the eye or ear, and emasculate. Truly, the devious spells of syncopated tunes and of the plaintive rhythm of Carian music³ corrupt morals by their sensual and affected style, and insidiously inflame the passions.

¹ Rom. 13.12.

² Literally, 'horse's mating-song.'

³ Carian melodies were a sort of funeral dirge.

Basil, Homily IV. (ca. 370 A.D.)
The Fathers of the Church,
Catholic University of America Press: Washington, 1954, p. 55

HOMILY 4

The Gathering of the Waters

(ON THE HEXAEMERON)

HERE ARE SOME COMMUNITIES that feast their eyes on the manifold spectacles of conjurors from the dim morning twilight until evening itself. Nevertheless, they never have their fill of listening to soft and dissolute melodies, which undoubtedly engender in souls great impurity. Many even pronounce such people happy, because, leaving behind their business in the market or their plans for a livelihood from the arts, they pass the time of life allotted to them in all laziness and pleasure. They do not know that a theatre, flourishing with impure sights, is a common and public school of licentiousness for those who sit there, and that the elaborate melodies of the flutes and the lewd songs, sinking into the souls of the listeners, do nothing else than move them all to unseemly behavior, as they imitate the notes of the lyre or flute players. For instance, some of those who are mad with love of horses, wrangle over their horses in their sleep, unyoking the chariots and transferring the drivers, and they do not at all leave off their daytime folly even in their dreams. And we, whom the Lord, the great Wonder-worker and Craftsman, has called together for a manifestation of His works, shall we become weary in contemplating or reluctant to hear the eloquence of the Spirit? Rather, shall we not, standing around this vast and varied workshop of the divine creation, and going back in thought, each one, to the times

John Crysostom, *Exposition of Psalms XLI*, (381-398 A.D.)
Source Readings in Music History, ed. O. Strunk
 W.W. Norton and CO.:New York, 1950, p.70

70 THE EARLY CHRISTIAN VIEW

conscience. If having these you have entered into God's sacred choir, you may stand beside David himself.

Here there is no need for the cithara, or for stretched strings, or for the plectrum, or for art, or for any instrument; but, if you like, you may yourself become a cithara, mortifying the members of the flesh and making a full harmony of mind and body.* For when the flesh no longer lusts against the Spirit,† but has submitted to its orders and has been led at length into the best and most admirable path, then will you create a spiritual melody.

Here there is no need for art which is slowly perfected; there is need only for lofty purpose, and we become skilled in a brief decisive moment. Here there is no need for place or for season; in all places and at all seasons you may sing with the mind. For whether you walk in the market place, or begin a journey, or sit down with your friends you may rouse up your mind or call out silently. So also Moses called out, and God heard him.‡ If you are an artisan, you may sing sitting and working in your shop. If you are a soldier, or if you sit in judgment, you may do the very same. One may also sing without voice, the mind resounding inwardly. For we sing, not to men, but to God, who can hear our hearts and enter into the silences of our minds.

In proof of this, Paul also cries out: "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities. And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God."§ This does not mean that the Spirit groans; it means that spiritual men, having the gifts of the Spirit, praying for their kinsmen and offering supplications, do so with contrition and groanings. Let us also do this, daily conversing with God in psalms and prayers. And let us not offer mere words, but let us know the very meaning of our speeches.

* For further examples of this figurative treatment of musical instruments, see Hermann Abert, *Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Halle, 1905), pp. 211-223.

§ Galatians 5:17.

† Exodus 14:15.

‡ Romans 8:26, 27.

Jerome, Letters, CVII, 8, (392-405 A.D.)
Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.6
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1954, p.193

have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?"¹

8. Let her not take her food with others, that is, at her parents' table; lest she see dishes she may long for. Some, I know, hold it a greater virtue to disdain a pleasure which is actually before them, but I think it a safer self-restraint to shun what must needs attract you. Once as a boy at school I met the words: 'It is ill blaming what you allow to become a habit.' Let her learn even now not to drink wine "wherein is excess."² But as, before children come to a robust age, abstinence is dangerous and trying to their tender frames, let her have baths if she require them, and let her take a little wine for her stomach's sake.³ Let her also be supported on a flesh diet, lest her feet fail her before they commence to run their course. But I say this by way of concession not by way of command; because I fear to weaken her, not because I wish to teach her self-indulgence. Besides why should not a Christian virgin do wholly what others do in part? The superstitious Jews reject certain animals and products as articles of food, while among the Indians the Brahmans and among the Egyptians the Gymnosophists subsist altogether on porridge, rice, and apples. If mere glass repays so much labour, must not a pearl be worth more labour still?⁴ Paula has been born in response to a vow. Let her life be as the lives of those who were born under the same conditions. If the grace accorded is in both cases the same, the pains bestowed ought to be so too. Let her be deaf to the sound of the organ, and not know even the uses of the pipe, the lyre, and the cithern.

9. And let it be her task daily to bring to you the flowers which she has culled from scripture. Let her learn by heart so many verses in the Greek, but let her be instructed in the Latin also. For, if the tender lips are not from the first shaped to this, the tongue is spoiled by a foreign accent and its native speech debased by alien elements. You must yourself be her mistress, a model on which she may form her childish conduct. Never either in you nor in her father let her see what she cannot imitate without sin. Remember both of you that you are the parents of a consecrated virgin, and that your example will teach her more than your precepts. Flowers are quick to fade and a baleful wind soon withers the violet, the lily, and the crocus. Let her never appear in public unless accompanied by you. Let her never visit a church or a martyr's shrine unless with her mother. Let no young man greet her with smiles; no dandy with

curled hair pay compliments to her. If our little virgin goes to keep solemn eyes and all-night vigils, let her not stir a hair's breadth from her mother's side. She must not single out one of her maids to make her a special favourite or a confidante. What she says to one all ought to know. Let her choose for a companion not a handsome well-dressed girl, able to warble a song with liquid notes but one pale and serious, sombrelly attired and with the hue of melancholy. Let her take as her model some aged virgin of approved faith, character, and chastity, apt to instruct her by word and by example. She ought to rise at night to recite prayers and psalms; to sing hymns in the morning; at the third, sixth, and ninth hours to take her place in the line to do battle for Christ; and, lastly, to kindle her lamp and to offer her evening sacrifice.⁵ In these occupations let her pass the day, and when night comes let it find her still engaged in them. Let reading follow prayer with her, and prayer again succeed to reading. Time will seem short when employed on tasks so many and so varied.

10. Let her learn too how to spin wool, to hold the distaff, to put the basket in her lap, to turn the spinning wheel and to shape the yarn with her thumb. Let her put away with disdain silken fabrics, Chinese fleeces,⁶ and gold brocades: the clothing which she makes for herself should keep out the cold and not expose the body which it professes to cover. Let her food be herbs and wheaten bread⁷ with now and then one or two small fishes. And that I may not waste more time in giving precepts for the regulation of appetite (a subject I have treated more at length elsewhere,⁸ let her meals always leave her hungry and able on the moment to begin reading or chanting. I strongly disapprove—especially for those of tender years—of long and immoderate fasts in which week is added to week and even oil and apples are forbidden as food. I have learned by experience that the ass toiling along the high way makes for an inn when it is weary.⁹ Our abstinence may turn to gluttony, like that of the worshippers of Isis and of Cybele who gobble up pheasants and turtle-doves piping hot that their teeth may not violate the gifts of Ceres.¹⁰ If perpetual fasting is allowed, it must be so regulated that those who have a long journey before them may hold out all through; and we must take care that we do not, after starting well, fall halfway. However in Lent, as I have written before now, those who

¹ Cant. v. 3. ² Again quoted in Letter CXXVIII. § 4.
³ Eph. v. 18. ⁴ 1 Tim. v. 23.
⁵ Cf. Letter LXXIX. § 7. The heathen sage is glass, the Christian virgin the pearl.

¹ See note on Letter XXII. § 37.
² A Virgilian expression. *g.* 11, 121.
³ *Similia*, but as elsewhere (*L.* 52, 6) this is spoken of as a luxury, perhaps we should read *similia* = 'and such like.'
⁴ Jerome refers to his second book against Jovinian.
⁵ Cf. the dying words of S. Francis (which have a similar reference) 'I have sinned against my brother the ass.'
⁶ *i.e.* having vowed to abstain from bread, they indemnify themselves with flesh.

BAPTISM AS NECESSARY FOR SALVATION

What, then, does he mean? That we ought to join ourselves to those that fear the Lord, those who meditate in their heart on the commandment which they have received, those who both utter the judgments of the Lord and observe them, those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate upon the word of the Lord. But what means the cloven-footed? That the righteous man also walks in this world, yet looks forward to the holy state [to come]. Behold how well Moses legislated. But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? We then, rightly understanding his commandments, explain them as the Lord intended. For this purpose He circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might understand these things.

CHAP. XI. — BAPTISM AND THE CROSS PREFIGURED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Let us further inquire whether the Lord took any care to foreshadow the water [of baptism] and the cross. Concerning the water, indeed, it is written, in reference to the Israelites, that they should not receive that baptism which leads to the remission of sins, but should procure another for themselves. The prophet therefore declares, "Be astonished, O heaven, and let the earth tremble at this, because this people hath committed two great evils: they have forsaken Me, a living fountain, and have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns.¹ Is my holy hill Zion a desolate rock? For ye shall be as the fledglings of a bird, which fly away when the nest is removed."² And again saith the prophet, "I will go before thee and make level the mountains, and will break the brazen gates, and bruise in pieces the iron bars; and I will give thee the secret,³ hidden, invisible treasures, that they may know that I am the Lord God."⁴ And "He shall dwell in a lofty cave of the strong rock."⁵ Furthermore, what saith He in reference to the Son? "His water is sure;⁶ ye shall see the King in His glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord."⁷ And again He saith in another prophet, "The man who doeth these things shall be like a tree planted by the courses of waters, which shall yield its fruit in due season; and his leaf shall not fade, and all that he doeth shall prosper. Not so are

the ungodly, not so, but even as chaff, which the wind sweeps away from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the just; for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish."⁸ Mark how He has described at once both the water and the cross. For these words imply, Blessed are they who, placing their trust in the cross, have gone down into the water; for, says He, they shall receive their reward in due time: then He declares, I will recompense them. But now He saith,⁹ "Their leaves shall not fade." This meaneth, that every word which proceedeth out of your mouth in faith and love shall tend to bring conversion and hope to many. Again, another prophet saith, "And the land of Jacob shall be extolled above every land."¹⁰ This meaneth the vessel of His Spirit, which He shall glorify. Further, what says He? "And there was a river flowing on the right, and from it arose beautiful trees; and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever."¹¹ This meaneth, that we indeed descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up, bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear [of God] and trust in Jesus in our spirit. "And whosoever shall eat of these shall live for ever." This meaneth: Whosoever, He declares, shall hear thee speaking, and believe, shall live for ever.

CHAP. XII. — THE CROSS OF CHRIST FREQUENTLY ANNOUNCED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In like manner He points to the cross of Christ in another prophet, who saith,¹² "And when shall these things be accomplished? And the Lord saith, When a tree shall be bent down, and again arise, and when blood shall flow out of wood."¹³ Here again you have an intimation concerning the cross, and Him who should be crucified. Yet again He speaks of this¹⁴ in Moses, when Israel was attacked by strangers. And that He might remind them, when assailed, that it was on account of their sins they were delivered to death, the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses, that he should make a figure of the cross,¹⁵ and of Him about to suffer thereon; for unless they put their trust in Him, they shall be overcome for ever. Moses therefore placed one weapon above another in the midst of the hill,¹⁶ and

¹ Cod. Sin. here has the singular, "one who ruminates."
² Literally, "holy age."
³ Cod. Sin. inserts again, "rightly."
⁴ Literally, "should build."
⁵ Cod. Sin. has, "confine still more," corrected to "tremble still more."
⁶ Cod. Sin. has, "have dug a pit of death." See Jer. ii. 22, 23.
⁷ Comp. Isa. xvi. 1, 2.
⁸ Literally, "dark." Cod. Sin. has, "of darkness."
⁹ Isa. xlv. 2, 3.
¹⁰ Isa. xxxiii. 16. Cod. Sin. has, "thou shalt dwell."
¹¹ Cod. Sin. entirely omits the question given above, and joins "the water is sure" to the former sentence.
¹² Isa. xxxiii. 16-18.

¹³ Ps. i. 3-6.
¹⁴ Cod. Sin. has, "what meaneth?"
¹⁵ Zeph. iii. 19.
¹⁶ Ezek. xlvii. 12.
¹⁷ Omitted in Cod. Sin.
¹⁸ Cod. Sin. refers this to God, and not to the prophet.
¹⁹ From some unknown apocryphal book. Hilgenfeld compares Hab. ii. 11.
²⁰ Cod. Sin. reads, "He speaks to Moses."
²¹ Cod. Sin. omits "and."
²² Cod. Sin. reads $\omega\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon$, which must here be translated "heap" or "mass." According to Hilgenfeld, however, $\omega\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon$ is here equivalent to $\omega\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma$, "a fight." The meaning would then be, that "Moses piled weapon upon weapon in the midst of the battle," instead of "hill" ($\omega\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon$), as above.

Justin Martyr, First Apology, LXI, (114-165 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.183

THE FIRST APOLOGY OF JUSTIN.

CHAP. LX. — PLATO'S DOCTRINE OF THE CROSS.

And the physiological discussion¹ concerning the Son of God in the *Timæus* of Plato, where he says, "He placed him crosswise² in the universe," he borrowed in like manner from Moses; for in the writings of Moses it is related how at that time, when the Israelites went out of Egypt and were in the wilderness, they fell in with poisonous beasts, both vipers and asps, and every kind of serpent, which slew the people; and that Moses, by the inspiration and influence of God, took brass, and made it into the figure of a cross, and set it in the holy tabernacle, and said to the people, "If ye look to this figure, and believe, ye shall be saved thereby."³ And when this was done, it is recorded that the serpents died, and it is handed down that the people thus escaped death. Which things Plato reading, and not accurately understanding, and not apprehending that it was the figure of the cross, but taking it to be a placing crosswise, he said that the power next to the first God was placed crosswise in the universe. And as to his speaking of a third, he did this because he read, as we said above, that which was spoken by Moses, "that the Spirit of God moved over the waters." For he gives the second place to the Logos which is with God, who he said was placed crosswise in the universe; and the third place to the Spirit who was said to be borne upon the water, saying, "And the third around the third."⁴ And hear how the Spirit of prophecy signified through Moses that there should be a conflagration. He spoke thus: "Everlasting fire shall descend, and shall devour to the pit beneath."⁵ It is not, then, that we hold the same opinions as others, but that all speak in imitation of ours. Among us these things can be heard and learned from persons who do not even know the forms of the letters, who are uneducated and barbarous in speech, though wise and believing in mind; some, indeed, even maimed and deprived of eyesight; so that you may understand that these things are not the effect of human wisdom, but are uttered by the power of God.

CHAP. LXI. — CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

I will also relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we had been made new through Christ; lest, if we omit this, we seem to be unfair in the explanation we are

making. As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said, "Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."⁶

Now, that it is impossible for those who have once been born to enter into their mothers' wombs, is manifest to all. And how those who have sinned and repent shall escape their sins, is declared by Esaias the prophet, as I wrote above; ⁷ he thus speaks: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from your souls; learn to do well; judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow: and come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. And though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white like wool; and though they be as crimson, I will make them white as snow. But if ye refuse and rebel, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."⁸

And for this [rite] we have learned from the apostles this reason. Since at our birth we were born without our own knowledge or choice, by our parents coming together, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked training; in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water the remission of sins formerly committed, there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again, and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe; he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed calling him by this name alone. For no one can utter the name of the ineffable God; and if any one dare to say that there is a name, he raves with a hopeless madness. And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, he who is illuminated is washed.

CHAP. LXII. — ITS IMITATION BY DEMONS.

And the devils, indeed, having heard this washing published by the prophet, instigated

¹ Literally, "that which is treated physiologically."
² He impressed him as a gamma, i.e., in the form of the letter γ upon the universe." Plato is speaking of the Lord of the universe. [Timæus, Dial., vol. ix, p. 31e. And see also G. Laguez (p. 37) on p. 113 of *Oracles*.] It is proper to the Platonic philosopher speaking after the fashion of the Pythagoreans, to employ a conciliatory reverence. See Professor Swett's Introduction to the *Timæus*, which will aid the student.
³ Num. xxi. 8.
⁴ Τα ἑξ ἑπτα νεπι τῶν νετων.
⁵ Deut. xxxii. 22.

⁶ John iii. 5.
⁷ Chap. xlv.
⁸ Isa. i. 16-20.

understand how the devils, in imitation of what was said by Moses, asserted that Proserpine was the daughter of Jupiter, and instigated the people to set up an image of her under the name of Kore [Cora, i.e., the maiden or daughter] at the spring-heads. For, as we wrote above, Moses said, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and unfurnished: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In imitation, therefore, of what is here said of the Spirit of God moving on the waters, they said that Proserpine [or Cora] was the daughter of Jupiter.² And in like manner also they craftily feigned that Minerva was the daughter of Jupiter, not by sexual union, but knowing that God conceived and made the world by the Word, they say that Minerva is the first conception [*ἄνωμα*]; which we consider to be very absurd, bringing forward the form of the conception in a female shape. And in like manner the actions of those others who are called sons of Jupiter sufficiently condemn them.

CHAP. LXV. — ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized [illuminated] person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation. Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss.³ There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen. This word Amen answers in the Hebrew language to *yéouero* [so be it]. And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called

¹ Chap. lix.
² And therefore caused her to preside over the waters, as above.
³ The kiss of charity, the kiss of peace, or "the peace" (*ἡ εἰρήνη*), was enjoined by the Apostle Paul in his Epistles to the Corinthians, Thessalonians, and Romans, and thence passed into a common Christian usage. It was continued in the Western Church, under regulations to prevent its abuse, until the thirteenth century. Stanley remarks (*Corinthians*, i. 414), "It is still continued in the worship of the Coptic Church."
⁴ τὸ προσεῖναι τὸν ἀδελφόν. This expression may quite legitimately be translated, "to that one of the brethren who was presiding."

by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion.

CHAP. LXVI. — OF THE EUCHARIST.

And this food is called among us *Εὐχαριστία* [the Eucharist], of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who lives as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.⁵ For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, "This do ye in remembrance of Me," this is My body;" and that, after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, "This is My blood;" and gave it to them alone. Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done. For, that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn.

CHAP. LXVII. — WEEKLY WORSHIP OF THE CHRISTIANS.

And we afterwards continually remind each other of these things. And the wealthy among us help the needy; and we always keep together; and for all things wherewith we are supplied, we bless the Maker of all through His Son

⁵ Literally, thanksgiving. See Matt. xxvi. 27.
⁶ This passage is claimed alike by Calvinists, Lutherans, and Romanists; and, indeed, the language is so inexact, that each party may plausibly maintain that their own opinion is advocated by it. [But the same might be said of the words of our Lord himself: and, if such widely separated Christians can all adopt this passage, who can be sorry?] The expression, "the prayer of His word," or of the word we have from Him, seems to signify the prayer pronounced over the elements, in imitation of our Lord's thanksgiving before breaking the bread. [I must dissent from the opinion that the language is "inexact;" he expresses himself naturally as one who believes it is bread, but yet not "common bread." So Gelasius, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 490.), "By the sacraments we are made partakers of the divine nature, and yet the substance and nature of bread and wine do not cease to be in them," etc. (See the original in *Sing-Arm's Antiquities*, book xv. cap. 5. See Chrysost., *Epist. ad Constantium*, tom. iii. p. 751. Ed. Migne.) Those desirous to pursue this inquiry will find the Patristic authorities in *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*, etc., Edited F. Meynck, Oxford, 1838. The famous tractate of Ratramn (A.D. 840) was published at Oxford, 1838, with the homily of Eilric (A.D. 900) in a cheap edition.]
⁷ Luke xxii. 19.

Shepherd of Hermas, III, (160 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.22

persists in such deeds, and repents not, withdraw from him, and cease to live with him, otherwise you are a sharer in his sin. Therefore has the injunction been laid on you, that you should remain by yourselves, both man and woman, for in such persons repentance can take place. But I do not," said he, "give opportunity for the doing of these deeds, but that he who has sinned may sin no more. But with regard to his previous transgressions, there is One who is able to provide a cure;¹ for it is He, indeed, who has power over all."

CHAP. II.

I asked him again, and said, "Since the Lord has vouchsafed to dwell always with me, bear with me while I utter a few words;² for I understand nothing, and my heart has been hardened by my previous mode of life. Give me understanding, for I am exceedingly dull, and I understand absolutely nothing." And he answered and said unto me, "I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all who repent. Do you not think," he said, "that it is great wisdom to repent? for repentance is great wisdom.³ For he who has sinned understands that he acted wickedly in the sight of the Lord, and remembers the actions he has done, and he repents, and no longer acts wickedly, but does good munificently, and humbles and torments his soul because he has sinned. You see, therefore, that repentance is great wisdom." And I said to him, "It is for this reason, sir, that I inquire carefully into all things, especially because I am a sinner; that I may know what works I should do, that I may live: for my sins are many and various." And he said to me, "You shall live if you keep my commandments,⁴ and walk in them; and whosoever shall hear and keep these commandments, shall live to God."

CHAP. III.

And I said to him, "I should like to continue my questions." "Speak on," said he. And I said, "I heard, sir, some teachers maintain that there is no other repentance than that which takes place, when we descended into the water⁵ and received remission of our former sins." He said to me, "That was sound doctrine which you heard; for that is really the case. For he who has received remission of his sins ought not to sin any more, but to live in purity. Since,

¹ *There . . . cure.* God, who has power to heal, will provide a remedy. — *Val.* [This whole passage seems to refer to the separation of penitents under canonical discipline. Tertullian, *Paedict.*, capp. 5, 13, and *De Penitent.*, cap. 9. 2 Thess. iii. 14.]

² *Bear . . . words.* Give me a few words of explanation. — *Val.*

³ *Repentance . . . wisdom.* For he who repents obtains great intelligence. For he feels that he has sinned and acted wickedly. — *Val.* ["Wisdom and understanding;" spiritual gifts here instanced as requisite to true penitence and spiritual life.]

⁴ [Matt. xix. 17. Saint-Pierre, *Harm. de la Nature*, iii. p. 180.]

⁵ [Immersion continues to be the usage, then, even in the West, at this epoch.]

however, you inquire diligently into all things, I will point this also out to you, not as giving occasion for error to those who are to believe, or have lately believed, in the Lord. For those who have now believed, and those who are to believe, have not repentance for their sins; but they have remission of their previous sins. For to those who have been called before these days, the Lord has set repentance. For the Lord, knowing the heart, and foreknowing all things, knew the weakness of men and the manifold wiles of the devil, that he would inflict some evil on the servants of God, and would act wickedly towards them.⁶ The Lord, therefore, being merciful, has had mercy on the work of His hand, and has set repentance for them; and He has entrusted to me power over this repentance. And therefore I say to you, that if any one is tempted by the devil, and sins after that great and holy calling in which the Lord has called His people to everlasting life,⁷ he has opportunity to repent but once. But if he should sin frequently after this, and then repent, to such a man his repentance will be of no avail; for with difficulty will he live."⁸ And I said, "Sir, I feel that life has come back to me in listening attentively to these commandments; for I know that I shall be saved, if in future I sin no more." And he said, "You will be saved, you and all who keep these commandments."

CHAP. IV.

And again I asked him, saying, "Sir, since you have been so patient in listening to me, will you show me this also?" "Speak," said he. And I said, "If a wife or husband die, and the widower or widow marry, does he or she commit sin?" "There is no sin in marrying again," said he; "but if they remain unmarried, they gain greater honour and glory with the Lord; but if they marry, they do not sin.⁹ Guard, therefore, your chastity and purity, and you will live to God. What commandments I now give you, and what I am to give, keep from henceforth, yea, from the very day when you were entrusted to me, and I will dwell in your house. And your former sins will be forgiven, if you keep my commandments. And all shall be forgiven who keep these my commandments, and walk in this chastity."

⁶ *For . . . them.* Since God knows the thoughts of all hearts, and the weakness of men, and the manifold wickedness of the devil which he practises in plotting against the servants of God, and in malignant designs against them. — *Val.*

⁷ *In . . . life.* These words occur only in Pal. [Can the following words be genuine? They reflect the very Montanism here so strictly opposed. Wake has followed a very different text. The Scriptures, it is true, use very awful language of the same kind: Heb. x. 26, 27, xii. 16, 17: 1 John iii. 9.]

⁸ *With . . . live.* With difficulty will he live to God. — *Val.*

⁹ [1 Cor. vii. 39: Rom. vii. 3. See my note on Simil. ix. cap. 28. Here are touching illustrations of the new spirit as to the sanctity of marriage, to which the Gospel was awakening the heathen mind.]

Theophilus, To Autolycus, XVI, (ca.168 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.101

three days which were before the luminaries,¹ are types of the Trinity,² of God, and His Word, and His wisdom.³ And the fourth is the type of man, who needs light, that so there may be God, the Word, wisdom, man. Wherefore also on the fourth day the lights were made. The disposition of the stars, too, contains a type of the arrangement and order of the righteous and pious, and of those who keep the law and commandments of God. For the brilliant and bright stars are an imitation of the prophets, and therefore they remain fixed, not declining, nor passing from place to place. And those which hold the second place in brightness, are types of the people of the righteous. And those, again, which change their position, and flee from place to place, which also are called planets,⁴ they too are a type of the men who have wandered from God, abandoning His law and commandments.

CHAP. XVI. — OF THE FIFTH DAY.

On the fifth day the living creatures which proceed from the waters were produced, through which also is revealed the manifold wisdom of God in these things; for who could count their multitude and very various kinds? Moreover, the things proceeding from the waters were blessed by God, that this also might be a sign of men's being destined to receive repentance and remission of sins, through the water and laver of regeneration,—as many as come to the truth, and are born again, and receive blessing from God. But the monsters of the deep and the birds of prey are a similitude of covetous men and transgressors. For as the fish and the fowls are of one nature,—some indeed abide in their natural state, and do no harm to those weaker than themselves, but keep the law of God, and eat of the seeds of the earth; others of them, again, transgress the law of God, and eat flesh, and injure those weaker than themselves: thus, too, the righteous, keeping the law of God, bite and injure none, but live holily and righteously. But robbers, and murderers, and godless persons are like monsters of the deep, and wild beasts, and birds of prey; for they virtually devour those weaker than themselves. The race, then, of fishes and of creeping things, though partaking of God's blessing, received no very distinguishing property.

¹ Following Wolf's reading.

² Τριάδος. [The earliest use of this word "Trinity." It seems to have been used by this writer in his lost works, also; and, as a learned friend suggests, the use he makes of it is familiar. He does not lug it in as something novel: "types of the Trinity," he says, illustrating an accepted word, not introducing a new one.]

³ [An eminent authority says, "It is certain, that, according to the notions of Theophilus, God, His Word, and His wisdom constitute a Trinity; and it should seem a Trinity of persons." He notes that the title *πνεύμα*, is here assigned to the Holy Spirit, although he himself elsewhere gives this title to the Son (book ii, cap. x., *supra*), as is more usual with the Fathers." Consult Kaye's *Justin Martyr*, p. 157. Ed. 1853.]

⁴ i.e., wandering stars.

CHAP. XVII. — OF THE SIXTH DAY.

And on the sixth day, God having made the quadrupeds, and wild beasts, and the land reptiles, pronounced no blessing upon them, reserving His blessing for man, whom He was about to create on the sixth day. The quadrupeds, too, and wild beasts, were made for a type of some men, who neither know nor worship God, but mind earthly things, and repent not. For those who turn from their iniquities and live righteously, in spirit fly upwards like birds, and mind the things that are above, and are well-pleasing to the will of God. But those who do not know nor worship God, are like birds which have wings, but cannot fly nor soar to the high things of God. Thus, too, though such persons are called men, yet being pressed down with sins, they mind grovelling and earthly things. And the animals are named wild beasts [*θηρία*], from their being hunted [*θηρευέσθαι*], not as if they had been made evil or venomous from the first—for nothing was made evil by God,⁵ but all things good, yea, very good,—but the sin in which man was concerned brought evil upon them. For when man transgressed, they also transgressed with him. For as, if the master of the house himself acts rightly, the domestics also of necessity conduct themselves well; but if the master sins, the servants also sin with him; so in like manner it came to pass, that in the case of man's sin, he being master, all that was subject to him sinned with him. When, therefore, man again shall have made his way back to his natural condition, and no longer does evil, those also shall be restored to their original gentleness.

CHAP. XVIII. — THE CREATION OF MAN.

But as to what relates to the creation of man, his own creation cannot be explained by man, though it is a succinct account of it which holy Scripture gives. For when God said, "Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness," He first intimates the dignity of man. For God having made all things by His Word, and having reckoned them all mere bye-works, reckons the creation of man to be the only work worthy of His own hands. Moreover, God is found, as if needing help, to say, "Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness." But to no one else than to His own Word and wisdom did He say, "Let Us make." And when He had made and blessed him, that he might increase and replenish the earth, He put all things under his dominion, and at his service; and He appointed from the first that he should find nutriment from the fruits of the earth, and from seeds, and herbs, and acorns, having at the same time appointed that

⁵ [Note the solid truth that God is not the author of evil, and the probable suggestion that all nature sympathized with man's transgression. Rom. viii. 22.]

Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, I, 6, (ca.190 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.215

The King, then, who is Christ, beholds from above our laughter, and looking through the window, as the Scripture says, views the thanksgiving, and the blessing, and the rejoicing, and the gladness, and furthermore the endurance which works together with them and their embrace: views His Church, showing only His face, which was wanting to the Church, which is made perfect by her royal Head. And where, then, was the door by which the Lord showed Himself? The flesh by which He was manifested. He is Isaac (for the narrative may be interpreted otherwise), who is a type of the Lord, a child as a son; for he was the son of Abraham, as Christ the Son of God, and a sacrifice as the Lord, but he was not immolated as the Lord. Isaac only bore the wood of the sacrifice, as the Lord the wood of the cross. And he laughed mystically, prophesying that the Lord should fill us with joy, who have been redeemed from corruption by the blood of the Lord. Isaac did everything but suffer, as was right, yielding the precedence in suffering to the Word. Furthermore, there is an intimation of the divinity of the Lord in His not being slain. For Jesus rose again after His burial, having suffered no harm, like Isaac released from sacrifice. And in defence of the point to be established, I shall adduce another consideration of the greatest weight. The Spirit calls the Lord Himself a child, thus prophesying by Esaias: "Lo, to us a child has been born, to us a son has been given, on whose own shoulder the government shall be; and His name has been called the Angel of great Counsel." Who, then, is this infant child? He according to whose image we are made little children. By the same prophet is declared His greatness: "Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace; that He might fulfil His discipline: and of His peace there shall be no end." O the great God! O the perfect child! The Son in the Father, and the Father in the Son. And how shall not the discipline of this child be perfect, which extends to all, leading as a schoolmaster us as children, who are His little ones? He has stretched forth to us those hands of His that are conspicuously worthy of trust. To this child additional testimony is borne by John, "the greatest prophet among those born of women:" "Behold the Lamb of God!"¹ For since Scripture calls the infant children lambs, it has also called Him—God the Word—who became man for our sakes, and who wished in all points to be made like to us—"the Lamb of God"—Him, namely, that is the Son of God, the child of the Father.

¹ Isa. ix. 6.
² Luke vii. 28.
³ John i. 29, 36.

CHAP. VI. — THE NAME CHILDREN DOES NOT EMPLOY INSTRUCTION IN ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES.

We have ample means of encountering those who are given to carping. For we are not termed children and infants with reference to the childish and contemptible character of our education, as those who are inflated on account of knowledge have calumniously alleged. Straightway, on our regeneration, we attained that perfection after which we aspired. For we were illuminated, which is to know God. He is not then imperfect who knows what is perfect. And do not reprehend me when I profess to know God; for so it was deemed right to speak to the Word, and He is free.⁴ For at the moment of the Lord's baptism there sounded a voice from heaven, as a testimony to the Beloved, "Thou art My beloved Son, to-day have I begotten Thee." Let us then ask the wise, Is Christ, begotten to-day, already perfect, or — what were most monstrous — imperfect? If the latter, there is some addition He requires yet to make. But for Him to make any addition to His knowledge is absurd, since He is God. For none can be superior to the Word, or the teacher of the only Teacher. Will they not then own, though reluctant, that the perfect Word born of the perfect Father was begotten in perfection, according to æconomic fore-ordination? And if He was perfect, why was He, the perfect one, baptized? It was necessary, they say, to fulfil the profession that pertained to humanity. Most excellent. Well, I assert, simultaneously with His baptism by John, He becomes perfect? Manifestly. He did not then learn anything more from him? Certainly not. But He is perfected by the washing — of baptism — alone, and is sanctified by the descent of the Spirit? Such is the case. The same also takes place in our case, whose exemplar Christ became. Being baptized, we are illuminated; illuminated, we become sons; being made sons, we are made perfect; being made perfect, we are made immortal. "I" says He, "have said that ye are gods, and all sons of the Highest."⁵ This work is variously called grace,⁶ and illumination, and perfection, and washing: washing, by which we cleanse away our sins; grace, by which the penalties accruing to transgressions are remitted; and illumination, by which that holy light of salvation is beheld, that is, by which we see God clearly. Now we call that perfect which wants nothing. For what is yet wanting to him who knows God? For it were truly monstrous that that which is not complete should be called a gift (or act) of God's grace. Being perfect, He consequently bestows perfect gifts. As at

⁴ In allusion apparently to John viii. 35, 36.
⁵ Ps. lxxxii. 6.
⁶ χάρισμα.

mination, that our characters are not the same as before our washing. And since knowledge springs up with illumination, shedding its beams around the mind, the moment we hear, we who were untaught become disciples. Does this, I ask, take place on the advent of this instruction? You cannot tell the time. For instruction leads to faith, and faith with baptism is trained by the Holy Spirit. For that faith is the one universal salvation of humanity, and that there is the same equality before the righteous and loving God, and the same fellowship between Him and all, the apostle most clearly showed, speaking to the following effect: "Before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed, so that the law became our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith; but after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster."¹ Do you not hear that we are no longer under that law which was accompanied with fear, but under the Word, the master of free choice? Then he subjoined the utterance, clear of all partiality: "For ye are all the children of God through faith in Christ Jesus. For as many as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."² There are not, then, in the same Word some "illuminated (gnostics); and some animal (or natural) men;" but all who have abandoned the desires of the flesh are equal and spiritual before the Lord. And again he writes in another place: "For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free, and we have all drunk of one cup."³ Nor were it absurd to employ the expressions of those who call the reminiscence of better things the filtration of the spirit, understanding by filtration the separation of what is baser, that results from the reminiscence of what is better. There follows of necessity, in him who has come to the recollection of what is better, repentance for what is worse. Accordingly, they confess that the spirit in repentance retraces its steps. In the same way, therefore, we also, repenting of our sins, renouncing our iniquities, purified by baptism, speed back to the eternal light, children to the Father. Jesus therefore, rejoicing in the spirit, said: "I thank Thee, O Father, God of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes;"⁴ the Master and Teacher applying the

name babes to us, who are readier to embrace salvation than the wise in the world, who, thinking themselves wise, are inflated with pride. And He exclaims in exultation and exceeding joy, as if lisping with the children, "Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in Thy sight."⁵ Wherefore those things which have been concealed from the wise and prudent of this present world have been revealed to babes. Truly, then, are we the children of God, who have put aside the old man, and stripped off the garment of wickedness, and put on the immortality of Christ; that we may become a new, holy people by regeneration, and may keep the man undefiled. And a babe, as God's little one,⁶ is cleansed from fornication and wickedness. With the greatest clearness the blessed Paul has solved for us this question in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, writing thus: "Brethren, be not children in understanding; howbeit in malice be children, but in understanding be men."⁷ And the expression, "When I was a child, I thought as a child, I spake as a child,"⁸ points out his mode of life according to the law, according to which, thinking childish things, he persecuted, and speaking childish things he blasphemed the Word, not as having yet attained to the simplicity of childhood, but as being in its folly; for the word *νηπιον* has two meanings.⁹ "When I became a man," again Paul says, "I put away childish things."¹⁰ It is not incomplete size of stature, nor a definite measure of time, nor additional secret teachings in things that are manly and more perfect, that the apostle, who himself professes to be a preacher of childishness, alludes to when he sends it, as it were, into banishment; but he applies the name "children" to those who are under the law, who are terrified by fear as children are by bugbears; and "men" to us who are obedient to the Word and masters of ourselves, who have believed, and are saved by voluntary choice, and are rationally, not irrationally, frightened by terror. Of this the apostle himself shall testify, calling as he does the Jews heirs according to the first covenant, and us heirs according to promise: "*Now I say, as long as the heir is a child, he differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors, till the time appointed by the father. So also we, when we were children, were in bondage under the rudiments of the world: but when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to*

¹ Gal. iii. 23-25. [Here the schoolmaster should be the child-guide; for the law leads us to the Master, says Clement, and we are no longer under the disciplinary guide, but "under the Word, the master of our free choice." The schoolmaster then is the Word, and the law merely led us to his school.]

² Gal. iii. 26-28.

³ 1 Cor. xii. 13.

⁴ Luke x. 21.

⁵ Luke x. 21.

⁶ [Clement here considers all believers as babes, in the sense he explains; but the tenderness towards children of the allusions running through this chapter are not the less striking.]

⁷ 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

⁸ 1 Cor. xiii. 11. [A text much misused by the heretical gnostics whom Clement confutes.]

⁹ *viz.*, simple or innocent as a child, and foolish as a child.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. xiii. 11.

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(b) Certain ceremonies, "empty" (vacuae) Tertullian calls them, but to us illustrative of many an interesting point of ritual and practice of the time, are next considered. A bare enumeration of them must suffice here:—Washing the hands before prayer; the custom of spraying with the cloak taken off; sitting after prayer; the kiss of peace; the "Stations" (ch. xix.; see Oehler's note); the dress of women, and veiling or non-veiling of virgins (a point (chs. xxi., xxii.) discussed at greater length and with a Montanist tendency in the later tract *De Virginitate Velandis*); kneeling in prayer; place and time of prayer; prayer when brethren met or parted; prayer and psalm (ch. xxvii.); on the practice of frequent repetition of the word Hallelujah in the prayers and in those Psalms (the 'Hallelujah' Ps. civ.—cvi., cxiii., cxv.—cxviii., cxxxv., cxlvi.—l.) which furnished that response to the congregation].

The closing chapter deals with the power and effect of prayer; and is one of the gems of Tertullian's writings. 'Sola est oratio quae Deum vincit,' and Christ had willed that prayer should never operate for ill but only for good. "Never," he cries, "let us walk unarmed by prayer. Under the arms of prayer, regard us the standard of our emperor; in prayer, await us the Angel's trump. Angels pray; every creature prays. 'Quid amplius? Quis ipse Dominus oravit.'"

De Baptismo.—One Quintilla (al. quin illa) a viper of the Cainite heresy, had made it her object to destroy Baptism. "What good could water do? Was it to be believed that a man could go down into the water, have a few words spoken over him, and rise again the gainer of eternity?" (see ch. vi.). Quintilla would seem to have been a Gnostic, and the very simplicity of the means of grace repelled her. "Miratur simplicia quasi vana, magnifica quasi impossibilia." Tertullian addressed himself to this mighty "foolishness" and "impossibility." What was attacked was a bulwark of the faith; 'felix sacramentum aquae nostrae!' Quintilla's sneers had corrupted some; others were disturbed by such doubts as, Why was Baptism necessary? Abraham was justified without it. The Christ Himself did not baptize. No mention was made in Scripture of the Baptism of the Apostles; and St. Paul himself was bidden not to practise it. Answers were given, but they had to be given, lest catechumens should perish through lack of right instruction.

1. The foundation for the Sacrament (re-baptism) of Baptism he finds in (chs. i.—ix.) the history of the creation. The hovering of the Spirit of God over the waters was typical of Baptism; and water still, after invocation of God, furnished the Sacrament of sanctification. The heathen used waters, though bereft of God's Spirit (aquae viduae), with a similar intention. Washing was the channel for initiation into the rites of Isis or Mithra, the preparatory act for the Eleusinian games, the purification previous to murder. Demon and devil emulated in this, as in so much else, the dealings of God.

Shortly but beautifully Tertullian describes the baptismal ceremonies of the day (cp. also *De Spect.* ch. iv.), notes the types and figures of

Baptism in the Old Testament, and the testimony to Baptism in the life and Passion of the Lord. Next he reviews some of the points under debate, e.g.—

(1) The Lord did not baptize (St. John iv. 2); to which the common-sense answer might be given (ch. xi.), 'Semper is dicitur facere cui praeministratur'; but in truth the disciples baptized with the baptism of St. John, for the Baptism of Christ could not have been given then by Himself or by His disciples, inasmuch as the glory of the Lord was not yet made perfect, nor the efficacy of the font established by His Passion and Resurrection.

(2) If without Baptism no one could obtain salvation (cp. St. John iii. 5), how could salvation be affirmed of the Apostles, of whom St. Paul alone was baptized in the Lord (ch. xii.)? Tertullian's answer is twofold. (a) There was nothing to show that they were not baptized with St. John's baptism; the probability rather being that if they who opposed the Lord refused it, they who followed Him received it. But whether they were baptized or not, (b) the privilege of being the first chosen by the Lord, and of inseparable companionship with Him, bestowed the benefits of Baptism upon those whose faith bade them follow Him. And no one would say that faith was altogether lacking to the Apostles.

(3) Out of this concession, the Cainites and such as they had made capital (ch. xiii.). Baptism, they said, was not then necessary for those to whom faith was sufficient. Abraham pleased God, not by a Sacrament of water but of faith. Tertullian practically answers, What was demanded of Abraham was one thing, what was demanded of the Christian was another. Granted that salvation was once attainable through bare faith; it was so no longer, since faith was a belief in the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ. Enlargement of the Sacrament of faith had followed. The sealing of Baptism was, in a sense, the clothing of the faith which before was bare. The law of Baptism had been established and the form prescribed (St. Matt. xxviii. 19).

II. Larger questions acquiescing in the necessity of Baptism awaited consideration. To two such Tertullian now refers.

(1) Heretical baptism.—Christians held firmly to a belief in one God, one Baptism, one Church. This unity was, as regards Baptism, imperilled by heretical baptism. The *ademptio communicationis* (by some=deprivation of communion; by others=excommunication) stamped heretics as strangers. "We and they have not the same God, nor one—i.e. the same—Christ. Therefore we and they have not one—i.e. the same—Baptism. What (baptism) they have, they have it not rightly, and therefore have not baptism at all." On these grounds he rejected heretical baptism. On the whole subject consult *L. of the F.*, x. p. 280 sq.

(2) Second Baptism.—The belief and practice of the Church Tertullian states thus: "We enter the font but once; our sins are washed away but once, because they ought not to be repeated." The Christian had, nevertheless, a second Baptism, viz. the Baptism of Blood (cp. St. Luke xii. 50). Two Baptisms had Christ sent forth from the wounds in His pierced side,

Tertullian, On Baptism, (before 199 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.3,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.669-679

II.

ON BAPTISM.

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. S. THELWALL.]

CHAP. I.—INTRODUCTION. ORIGIN OF THE
TREATISE.

HAPPY is our sacrament of water, in that, by washing away the sins of our early blindness, we are set free and admitted into eternal life! A treatise on this matter will not be superfluous; instructing not only such as are just becoming formed (in the faith), but them who, content with having simply believed, without full examination of the grounds¹ of the traditions, carry (in mind), through ignorance, an untried *though* probable faith. The consequence is, that a viper of the Cainite heresy, lately conversant in this quarter, has carried away a great number with her most venomous doctrine, making it her first aim to destroy baptism. Which is quite in accordance with nature; for vipers and asps and basilisks themselves generally do affect arid and waterless places. But we, little fishes, after the example of our ΙΧΘΥΣ² Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor have we safety in any other way than by permanently abiding in water; so that most monstrous creature, who had no right to teach even sound doctrine,³ knew full well how to kill the little fishes, by taking them away from the water!

CHAP. II.—THE VERY SIMPLICITY OF GOD'S MEANS
OF WORKING, A STUMBLING-BLOCK TO THE
CARNAL MIND.

Well, but how great is the force of perversity for so shaking the faith or entirely preventing its reception, that it impugns it on the very principles of which *the faith con-*

sists! There is absolutely nothing which makes men's minds more obdurate than the simplicity of the divine works which are visible in the *act*, when compared with the grandeur which is promised thereto in the *effect*; so that from the very fact, that with so great simplicity, without pomp, without any considerable novelty of preparation, finally, without expense, a man is dipped in water, and amid the utterance of some few words, is sprinkled, and then rises again, not much (or not at all) the cleaner, the consequent attainment of eternity⁴ is esteemed the more incredible. I am a deceiver if, on the contrary, it is not from their circumstance, and preparation, and expense, that *idols'* solemnities or mysteries get their credit and authority built up. Oh, miserable incredulity, which quite deniest to God His own properties, simplicity and power! What then? Is it not wonderful, too, that death should be washed away by bathing? But it is the more to be believed if the wonderfulness be the reason why it is *not* believed. For what does it behove divine works to be in their quality, except that they be above all wonder?⁵ We also ourselves wonder, but it is *because* we believe. Incredulity, on the other hand, wonders, but does *not* believe: for the simple *acts* it wonders at, as if they were vain; the grand *results*, as if they were impossible. And grant that it be just as you think,⁶ sufficient to meet each point is the divine declaration which has fore-run: "The foolish things of the world hath God elected to confound its wisdom;"⁷ and, "The things very difficult with men are easy with God."⁸ For if God is wise and powerful (which even they who pass Him by do not deny), it is with good reason that He lays the material causes of His own operation in the

¹ i. e. Christian (Oehler).

² Rationibus.

³ This curious allusion it is impossible, perhaps, to render in our language. The word ΙΧΘΥΣ (*Ichthys*) in Greek means "a fish"; and it was used as a name for our Lord Jesus, because the initials of the words Ιησους Χριστος Θεου Υιου Ιεσου Χριστου the Son of (God, the Saviour), make up that word. Oehler with these remarks, gives abundant references on the point. [Dr. Altus suspects Montanism here, but see: Kaye, p. 43, and Lardner, *Credib.* II. p. 335. We may date it circa A. D. 193.]

⁴ As being a woman. See 1 Tim. ii. 12, 13.

⁵ Consecutio æternitatis.

⁶ Admirationem.

⁷ i. e. that the simple be vain, and the grand impossible.

⁸ 1 Cor. i. 27, not quite exactly quoted.

⁹ Luke xviii. 27, again inexact.

contraries of wisdom and of power, that is, in foolishness and impossibility; since every virtue receives its cause from those things by which it is called forth.

CHAP. III.—WATER CHOSEN AS A VEHICLE OF DIVINE OPERATION AND WHEREFORE. ITS PROMINENCE FIRST OF ALL IN CREATION.

Mindful of this declaration as of a conclusive prescript, we nevertheless proceed to treat the question, "How foolish and impossible it is to be formed anew by water. In what respect, pray, has this material substance merited an office of so high dignity?" The authority, I suppose, of the liquid element has to be examined. This, however, is found in abundance, and that from the very beginning. For water is one of those things which, before all the furnishing of the world, were quiescent with God in a yet unshapen state. "In the first beginning," saith Scripture, "God made the heaven and the earth. But the earth was invisible, and unorganized, and darkness was over the abyss; and the Spirit of the Lord was hovering over the waters." The first thing, O man, which you have to venerate, is the age of the, waters in that their substance is ancient; the second, their dignity, in that they were the seat of the Divine Spirit, more pleasing to Him, no doubt, than all the other then existing elements. For the darkness was total thus far, shapeless, without the ornament of stars; and the abyss gloomy; and the earth unfurnished; and the heaven unwrought: water alone—always a perfect, glad some, simple material substance, pure in itself—supplied a worthy vehicle to God. What of the fact that waters were in some way the regulating powers by which the disposition of the world thenceforward was constituted by God? For the suspension of the celestial firmament in the midst He caused by "dividing the waters;" the suspension of "the dry land" He accomplished by "separating the waters." After the world had been hereupon set in order through its elements, when inhabitants were given it, "the waters" were the first to receive the precept "to bring forth living creatures." Water was the first to produce that which had life, that it might be no wonder in baptism if waters know how to give life. For was not the work of fashioning man himself also

achieved with the aid of waters? Suitable material is found in the earth, yet not apt for the purpose unless it be moist and juicy; which (earth) "the waters," separated the fourth day before into their own place, temper with their remaining moisture to a clayey consistency. If, from that time onward, I go forward in recounting universally, or at more length, the evidences of the "authority" of this element which I can adduce to show how great is its power or its grace; how many ingenious devices, how many functions, how useful an instrumentality, it affords the world, I fear I may seem to have collected rather the praises of water than the reasons of baptism; although I should thereby teach all the more fully, that it is not to be doubted that God has made the material substance which He has disposed throughout all His products and works, obey Him also in His own peculiar sacraments; that the material substance which governs terrestrial life acts as agent likewise in the celestial.

CHAP. IV.—THE PRIMEVAL HOVERING OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD OVER THE WATERS TYPICAL OF BAPTISM. THE UNIVERSAL ELEMENT OF WATER THUS MADE A CHANNEL OF SANCTIFICATION. RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN THE OUTWARD SIGN AND THE INWARD GRACE.

But it will suffice to have thus called at the outset those points in which withal is recognised that primary principle of baptism,—which was even then fore-noted by the very attitude assumed for a type of baptism,—that the Spirit of God, who hovered over (the waters) from the beginning, would continue to linger over the waters of the baptized. But a holy thing, of course, hovered over a holy; or else, from that which hovered over that which was hovered over borrowed a holiness, since it is necessary that in every case an underlying material substance should catch the quality of that which overhangs it, most of all a corporeal of a spiritual, adapted (as the spiritual is) through the subtleness of its substance, both for penetrating and insinuating. Thus the nature of the waters, sanctified by the Holy One, itself conceived withal the power of sanctifying. Let no one say, "Why then, are we, pray, baptized with the very waters which then existed in the first beginning?" Not with those waters, of course, except in so far as the genus indeed is one, but the species very many. But what is an attribute to the genus reappears likewise in the species. And accordingly it makes no

1 Compare the Jews' question, Matt. xxi. 23.
2 Its authority.
3 Impolita.
4 Incomposita.
5 Ferrebat.
6 Gen. 1. 1, 2, and comp. the LXX.
7 Liquor.
8 Gen. 1. 6, 7, 8.
9 Animas.
10 Animarum.

11 Rebus.
12 Intrinsecum.
13 Redundat.

difference whether a man be washed in a sea or a pool, a stream or a fount, a lake or a trough; nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber, unless withal the eunuch whom Philip baptized in the midst of his journeys with chance water, derived (therefrom) more or less of salvation *than others*.² All waters, therefore, in virtue of the pristine privilege of their origin, do, after invocation of God, attain the sacramental power of sanctification; for the Spirit immediately supervenes from the heavens, and rests over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and being thus sanctified, they imbibe at the same time the power of sanctifying. Albeit the similitude may be admitted to be suitable to the simple act; that, since we are defiled by sins, as it were by dirt, we should be washed from those stains in waters. But as sins do not show themselves in our *flesh* (inasmuch as no one carries on his skin the spot of idolatry, or fornication, or fraud), so persons of that kind are foul in the *spirit*, which is the author of the sin; for the spirit is lord, the flesh servant. Yet they each mutually share the guilt: the spirit, on the ground of command; the flesh, of subservience. Therefore, after the waters have been in a manner endued with medicinal virtue³ through the intervention of the angel,⁴ the spirit is corporeally washed in the waters, and the flesh is in the same spiritually cleansed.

CHAP. V.—USE MADE OF WATER BY THE HEATHEN. TYPE OF THE ANGEL AT THE POOL OF BETHSAIDA.⁵

“Well, but the nations, who are strangers to all understanding of spiritual powers, ascribe to their idols the imbuing of waters with the self-same efficacy.” (So they do) but they cheat themselves with waters which are widowed.⁶ For washing is the channel through which they are initiated into some sacred rites—of some notorious Isis or Mithras. The gods themselves likewise they honour by washings. Moreover, by carrying water around, and sprinkling it, they everywhere expiate⁷ country-seats, houses, temples, and whole cities: at all events, at the Apollinarian and Eleusinian games they are baptized; and they presume that the effect of their doing that is their regeneration and

the remission of the penalties due to their perjuries. Among the ancients, again, whoever had defiled himself with murder, was wont to go in quest of purifying waters. Therefore, if the mere nature of water, in that it is the appropriate material for washing away, leads men to flatter themselves with a belief in omens of purification, how much more truly will waters render that service through the authority of God, by whom all their nature has been constituted! If men think that water is endued with a medicinal virtue by religion, what religion is more effectual than that of the living God? Which fact being acknowledged, we recognise here also the zeal of the devil rivalling the things of God,⁸ while we find him, too, practising baptism in his *subjects*. What similarity is there? The unclean cleanses! the ruiner sets free! the damned absolves! He will, forsooth, destroy his own work, by washing away the sins which himself inspires! These (remarks) have been set down by way of testimony against such as reject the faith; if they put no trust in the things of God, the spurious imitations of which, in the case of God's rival, they do trust in. Are there not other cases too, in which, without any sacrament, unclean spirits brood on waters, in spurious imitation of that brooding⁹ of the Divine Spirit in the very beginning? Witness all shady founts, and all unfrequented brooks, and the ponds in the baths, and the conduits¹⁰ in *private* houses, or the cisterns and wells which are said to have the property of “spiriting away,”¹¹ through the power, that is, of a hurtful spirit. Men whom waters have drowned¹² or affected with madness or with fear, they call nymph-caught,¹³ or “lymphatic,” or “hydrophobic.” Why have we adduced these instances? Lest any think it too hard *for belief* that a holy angel of God should grant his presence to waters, to temper them to man's salvation; while the evil angel holds frequent profane commerce with the selfsame element to man's ruin. If it seems a novelty for an angel to be present in waters, an example of what was to come to pass has forerun. An angel, by his intervention, was wont to stir the pool at Bethsaida.¹⁴ They who were complaining of ill-health used to watch for him; for whoever had been the first to descend into them, after his washing, ceased to complain. This figure of corporeal healing sang of a

² Alvea.

³ Acts viii. 26-28.

⁴ Medicatis.

⁵ See c. vi. *ad init.*, and c. v. *ad fin.*

⁶ Bethesda, Eng. Ver.

⁷ i. e., as Oehler rightly explains, “lacking the Holy Spirit's presence and virtue.”

⁸ Or, “purify.”

⁹ {Diabulus Dei Simius.}

¹⁰ Gestationem.

¹¹ Kurpi.

¹² Kapere.

¹³ Nerauerunt.

¹⁴ Νυμφολεπτος, restored by Oehler. = νυμφολεπτος.

¹⁵ So Tertullian reads, and some copies, but not the best, of the New Testament in the place referred to, John v. 1-9. [And note Tertullian's textual testimony as to this Scripture.]

spiritual healing, according to the rule by which things carnal are always antecedent¹ as figurative of things spiritual. And thus, when the grace of God advanced to higher degrees among men,² an accession of efficacy was granted to the waters and to the angel. They who³ were wont to remedy bodily defects,⁴ now heal the spirit; they who used to work temporal salvation,⁵ now renew eternal; they who did set free but once in the year, now save peoples in a body⁶ daily, death being done away through ablution of sins. The guilt being removed, of course the penalty is removed too. Thus man will be restored for God to His "likeness," who in days by-gone had been *conformed* to "the image" of God; (the "image" is counted (to be) in his *form*: the "likeness" in his *eternity*;) for he receives again that Spirit of God which he had then first received from His *afflatus*, but had afterward lost through sin.

CHAP. VI.—THE ANGEL THE FORERUNNER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. MEANING CONTAINED IN THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA.

Not that *in*⁷ the waters we obtain the Holy Spirit; but in the water, under (the witness of) the angel, we are cleansed, and prepared for the Holy Spirit. In this case also a type has preceded; for thus was John beforehand the Lord's forerunner, "preparing His ways."⁸ Thus, too, does the angel, the witness⁹ of baptism, "make the paths straight"¹⁰ for the Holy Spirit, who is about to come upon us, by the washing away of sins, which faith, sealed in (the name of) the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, obtains. For if "in the mouth of three witnesses every word shall stand:"¹¹—while, through the benediction, we have the same (three) as witnesses of our faith whom we have as sureties¹² of our salvation too—how much more does the number of the divine names suffice for the assurance of our hope likewise! Moreover, after the pledging both of the attestation of faith and the promise¹³ of salvation under "three witnesses," there is added, of necessity, mention of the Church;¹⁴ inasmuch as, wherever there are three, (that is, the Father,

¹ Compare 1 Cor. xv. 46.
² John i. 16, 17.
³ Qui: i. e. probably "angeli qui."
⁴ Vita.
⁵ Or, "health"—salutem.
⁶ Conservant populos.
⁷ Compare c. viii., where Tertullian appears to regard the Holy Spirit as given *after* the baptized had come up out of the waters and received the "unction."
⁸ Luke i. 76.
⁹ Arbitr. [Eccles. v. 6, and Acts xii. 15.]
¹⁰ Isa. xl. 3; Matt. iii. 3.
¹¹ Deut. xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16; 1 Cor. xiii. 1.
¹² Sponsores.
¹³ Sponsio.
¹⁴ Compare *de Orat.* c. ii. *sub fin.*

the Son, and the Holy Spirit,) there is the Church, which is a body of three."¹⁵

CHAP. VII.—OF THE UNCTION.

After this, when we have issued from the font,¹⁶ we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction,—(a practice derived) from the old discipline, wherein on entering the priesthood, *men* were wont to be anointed with oil from a horn, ever since Aaron was anointed by Moses.¹⁷ Whence Aaron is called "Christ,"¹⁸ from the "chrism," which is "the unction;" which, when made spiritual, furnished an appropriate name to the Lord, because He was "anointed" with the Spirit by God the Father; as *written* in the Acts: "For truly they were gathered together in this city" against Thy Holy Son whom Thou hast anointed."¹⁹ Thus, too, in *our* case, the unction runs carnally, (*i. e.* on the body,) but profits spiritually; in the same way as the *act* of baptism itself too is carnal, in that we are plunged in water, *but* the *effect* spiritual, in that we are freed from sins.

CHAP. VIII.—OF THE IMPOSITION OF HANDS. TYPES OF THE DELUGE AND THE DOVE.

In the next place the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through benediction.²⁰ Shall it be granted possible for human ingenuity to summon a spirit into water, and, by the application of hands from above, to animate their union into one body²¹ with another spirit of so clear sound;²² and shall it not be possible for God, in the case of His own organ,²³ to produce, by means of "holy hands,"²⁴ a sublime spiritual modulation? But this, as well as the former, is derived from the old sacramental rite in which Jacob blessed his grandsons, born of Joseph, Ephrem²⁵ and Manasses; with his hands laid on them and interchanged, and indeed so transversely slanted one over the other, that, by delineating Christ, they even portended the future benediction into Christ.²⁶ Then,

¹⁵ Compare the *de Orat.* quoted above, and *de Patien.* xxi.; and see Matt. xviii. 20.
¹⁶ Lavacro.
¹⁷ See Ex. xxix. 7; Lev. viii. 12; Ps. cxxxiii. 2.
¹⁸ *i. e.* "Anointed." Aaron, or at least the priest, is actually so called in the LXX., in Lev. iv. 5, 16, 6 *ἵερως ὁ Χριστός*: as in the Hebrew it is the word whence *Messiah* is derived which is used.
¹⁹ Civitate.
²⁰ Acts iv. 27. "In this city" (*ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ*) is omitted in the English version; and the name *Ἰησοῦς*, "Jesus," is omitted by Tertullian. Compare Acts x. 38 and Lev. iv. 28 with Isa. lxi. 1 in the LXX.
²¹ [See Bunsen, *Hippol.* Vol. III. Sec. xiii. p. 25.]
²² Concorporationem.
²³ The reference is to certain hydraulic organs, which the editors tell us are described by Vitruvius, ix. 9 and x. 13, and Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 37.
²⁴ *i. e.* Man. There may be an allusion to Eph. ii. 10, "We are His workmanship," and to Ps. cl. 4.
²⁵ Compare 1 Tim. ii. 8.
²⁶ *i. e.* Ephraim.
²⁷ In Christum.

over our cleansed and blessed bodies willingly descends from the Father that Holiest Spirit. Over the waters of baptism, recognising as it were His primeval seat,¹ He reposes: (He who) glided down on the Lord "in the shape of a dove,"² in order that the nature of the Holy Spirit might be declared by means of the creature (the emblem) of simplicity and innocence, because even in her bodily structure the dove is without literal³ gall. And accordingly He says, "Be ye simple as doves."⁴ Even this is not without the supporting evidence⁵ of a preceding figure. For just as, after the waters of the deluge, by which the old iniquity was purged—after the baptism, so to say, of the world—a *dove* was the herald which announced to the earth the assuagement⁶ of celestial wrath, when she had been sent her way out of the ark, and had returned with the olive-branch, a sign which even among the nations is the fore-token of *peace*;⁷ so by the self-same law⁸ of heavenly effect, to earth—that is, to our flesh⁹—as it emerges from the font,¹⁰ after its old sins, flies the *dove* of the Holy Spirit, bringing us the peace of God, sent out from the heavens, where is the Church, the typified ark.¹¹ But the world returned unto sin; in which point baptism would ill be compared to the deluge. And so it is destined to fire; just as the man too is, who after baptism renews his sins:¹² so that this also ought to be accepted as a sign for our admonition.

CHAP. IX.—TYPES OF THE RED SEA, AND THE WATER FROM THE ROCK.

How many, therefore, are the pleas¹³ of nature, how many the privileges of grace, how many the solemnities of discipline, the figures, the preparations, the prayers, which have ordained the sanctity of water? First, indeed, when the people, set unconditionally free,¹⁴ escaped the violence of the Egyptian king by crossing over *through water*, it was *water* that extinguished¹⁵ the king himself, with his entire forces.¹⁶ What figure more manifestly

fulfilled in the sacrament of baptism? The nations are set free from the world" by means of *water*, to wit: and the devil, their old tyrant, they leave quite behind, overwhelmed in the *water*. Again, *water* is restored from its defect of "bitterness" to its native grace of "sweetness" by the tree¹⁷ of Moses. That tree was Christ,¹⁸ restoring, to wit, of Himself, the *veins* of sometime envenomed and bitter nature into the all-salutary *waters* of baptism. This is the *water* which flowed continuously down for the people from the "accompanying rock;" for if Christ is "the Rock," without doubt we see baptism blest by the *water* in Christ. How mighty is the grace of *water*, in the sight of God and His Christ, for the confirmation of baptism! Never is Christ without *water*: if, that is, He is Himself baptized in *water*;¹⁹ inaugurates in *water* the first rudimentary displays of His power, when invited to the nuptials;²⁰ invites the thirsty, when He makes a discourse, to His own sempiternal *water*;²¹ approves, when teaching concerning love,²² among works of charity,²³ the cup of *water* offered to a poor (child);²⁴ recruits His strength at a *well*;²⁵ walks over the *water*;²⁶ willingly crosses the *sea*;²⁷ ministers *water* to His disciples.²⁸ Onward even to the passion does the witness of baptism last: while He is being surrendered to the cross, *water* intervenes; witness Pilate's hands:²⁹ when He is wounded, forth from His side bursts *water*; witness the soldier's lance!³⁰

CHAP. X.—OF JOHN'S BAPTISM.

We have spoken, so far as our moderate ability permitted, of the *generals* which form the groundwork of the sanctity³¹ of baptism. I will now, equally to the best of my power, proceed to the rest of its character, touching certain minor questions.

The baptism announced by John formed the subject, even at that time, of a question, proposed by the Lord Himself indeed to the Pharisees, whether that baptism were heavenly, or truly earthly:³² about which they were unable to give a consistent³⁴ answer,

¹ See. c. iv. p. 668.

² Matt. iii. 16; Luke iii. 22.

³ *Ipsa*. The ancients held this.

⁴ Matt. x. 16. Tertullian has rendered *simplices* (*unmixed*) by "simplices," i. e. without fold.

⁵ *Argumento*.

⁶ *Pacem*.

⁷ *Paci*.

⁸ *Dispositiones*.

⁹ See *de Orat.* iv. *ad init.*

¹⁰ *Lavacro*.

¹¹ Compare *de Idol.* xxiv. *ad fin.*

¹² [I. Pet. i. 9. Heb. x. 26, 27, 30. These awful texts are too little felt by modern Christians. They are too often explained away.]

¹³ *Patrocinia*—"pleas in defence."

¹⁴ "Libere expeditus," set free, and that without any conditions, such as Pharaoh had from time to time tried to impose. See Ex. vii. 25, 28. x. 10, 11, 24.

¹⁵ "Extinxit," as it does *Arx*.

¹⁶ Ex. xiv. 27-30.

¹⁷ *Sarculo*.

¹⁸ See Ex. xv. 24, 25.

¹⁹ "The Tree of Life," "the True Vine," etc.

²⁰ Matt. iii. 13-17.

²¹ John ii. 1-11.

²² John vii. 37, 38.

²³ *Agape*. See *de Orat.* c. 28, *ad fin.*

²⁴ *Dilectionis*. See *de Patien.* c. xii.

²⁵ Matt. x. 42.

²⁶ John iv. 6.

²⁷ Matt. xiv. 25.

²⁸ Mark iv. 30.

²⁹ John xiii. 1-12.

³⁰ Matt. xxvii. 34. Comp. *de Orat.* c. xiii.

³¹ John xix. 14. See c. xviii. *sub fin.*

³² *Religionem*.

³³ Matt. xxi. 25; Mark xi. 30; Luke xx. 4.

³⁴ *Constanter*.

inasmuch as they understood not, because they believed not. But *we*, with but as poor a measure of understanding as of faith, are able to determine that that baptism was *divine* indeed, (yet in respect of the command, not in respect of efficacy¹ too, in that we read that John was *sent by the Lord* to perform this duty,² but *human* in its nature: for it conveyed nothing celestial, but it fore-ministered to things celestial; being, to wit, appointed over *repentance*, which is in man's power.³ In fact, the doctors of the law and the Pharisees, who were unwilling to "believe," did not "repent" either.⁴ But if repentance is a thing human, its baptism must necessarily be of the same nature: else, if it had been celestial, it would have given both the Holy Spirit and remission of sins. But none either pardons sins or freely grants the Spirit save God only.⁵ Even the Lord Himself said that the Spirit would not descend on any other condition, but that He should first ascend to the Father.⁶ What the Lord was not yet conferring, of course the servant could not furnish. Accordingly, in the Acts of the Apostles, we find that men who had "John's baptism" had not received the Holy Spirit, whom they knew not even by hearing.⁷ That, then, was no celestial thing which furnished no celestial (endowments): whereas the very thing which *was* celestial in John—the Spirit of prophecy—so completely failed, after the transfer of the whole Spirit to the Lord, that he presently sent to inquire whether He whom he had himself preached,⁸ whom he had pointed out when coming to him, were "HE."⁹ And so "the baptism of repentance"¹⁰ was dealt with¹¹ as if it were a candidate for the remission and sanctification shortly about to follow in Christ: for in that John used to preach "baptism *for* the remission of sins,"¹² the declaration was made with reference to a *future* remission; if it be true, (as it is,) that repentance is antecedent, remission subsequent; and this is "preparing the way."¹³ But he who "prepares" does not himself "perfect," but procures for another to perfect. John himself professes that the celestial things are not his, but Christ's, by saying, "He who is from the earth speaketh concerning the earth; He who comes from

the *realms* above is above all;"¹⁴ and again, by saying that he "baptized in repentance only, but that One would shortly come who would baptize in the Spirit and fire;"¹⁵—of course because true and stable faith is baptized with *water*, unto salvation; pretended and weak faith is baptized with *fire*, unto judgment.

CHAP. XI.—ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION THAT
"THE LORD DID NOT BAPTIZE."

"But behold," say some, "the Lord came, and baptized not; for we read, 'And yet He used not to baptize, but His disciples!'"¹⁶ As if, in truth, John had preached that He would baptize with His own hands! Of course, his words are not so to be understood, but as simply spoken after an ordinary manner; just as, for instance, we say, "The emperor set forth an edict," or, "The prefect cudgelled him." Pray does the emperor in person set forth, or the prefect in person cudgel? One whose ministers do a thing is always said to do it.¹⁷ So "He will baptize you" will have to be understood as standing for, "Through Him," or "Into Him," "you will be baptized." But let not (the fact) that "He Himself baptized not" trouble any. For into whom should He baptize? Into repentance? Of what use, then, do you make His forerunner? Into remission of sins, which He used to give by a word? Into Himself, whom by humility He was concealing? Into the Holy Spirit, who had not yet descended from the Father? Into the Church, which His apostles had not yet founded? And thus it was with the selfsame "baptism of John" that His disciples used to baptize, as ministers, with which John before had baptized as forerunner. Let none think it was with some other, because no other exists, except that of Christ subsequently; which at that time, of course, could not be given by His disciples, inasmuch as the glory of the Lord had not yet been fully attained,¹⁸ nor the efficacy of the font¹⁹ established through the passion and the resurrection; because neither can our death see dissolution except by the Lord's passion, nor our life be restored without His resurrection.

CHAP. XII.—OF THE NECESSITY OF BAPTISM TO
SALVATION.

When, however, the prescript is laid down that "without baptism, salvation is attainable

¹ Pusey's note.
² See John i. 33.
³ It is difficult to see how this statement is to be reconciled with Acts v. 31. [i.e. under the universal illumination, John i. 9.]
⁴ Matt. iii. 7-11, 2nd. 27, 31, 32.
⁵ Mark ii. 5; 1 Thon. iv. 5; 1 Cor. i. 21, 22, v. 5.
⁶ John xvi. 7.
⁷ Acts xix. 1-7. [John vii. 39.]
⁸ Matt. iii. 11, 12; John i. 8-26.
⁹ Matt. xi. 9-12; Luke vii. 28-33. [He repeats this view.]
¹⁰ Acts xix. 4.
¹¹ Agabus.
¹² Mark i. 4.
¹³ Luke i. 76.

¹⁴ John iii. 30, 31, briefly quoted.
¹⁵ Matt. iii. 11, not quite exactly given.
¹⁶ John iv. 2.
¹⁷ For instances of this, compare Matt. viii. 3 with Luke vii. 37; and Mark x. 35 with Matt. xx. 20.
¹⁸ Cf. 1 Pet. i. 11, ad fin.
¹⁹ Lavner.

by none" (chiefly on the ground of that declaration of the Lord, who says, "Unless one be born of water, he hath not life"), there arise immediately scrupulous, nay rather audacious, doubts on the part of some, "how, in accordance with that prescript, salvation is attainable by the apostles, whom—Paul excepted—we do not find baptized in the Lord? Nay, since Paul is the only one of them who has put on *the garment of Christ's baptism*,¹ either the peril of all the others who lack the water of Christ is prejudged, that the prescript may be maintained, or else the prescript is rescinded if salvation has been ordained even for the unbaptized." I have heard—the Lord is my witness—doubts of that kind: that none may imagine me so abandoned as to ex-cogitate, unprovoked, in the licence of my pen, ideas which would inspire others with scruple.

And now, as far as I shall be able, I will reply to them who affirm "that the apostles were unbaptized." For if they had undergone the human baptism of John, and were longing for that of the Lord, *then* since the Lord Himself had defined baptism to be *one*,² (saying to Peter, who was desirous³ of being thoroughly bathed, "He who hath once bathed hath no necessity *to wash* a second time;"⁴ which, of course, He would not have said at all to one *not* baptized;) even here we have a conspicuous⁵ proof against those who, in order to destroy the sacrament of water, deprive the apostles even of John's baptism. Can it seem credible that "the way of the Lord," that is, the baptism of John, had not then been "prepared" in those persons who were being destined to *open* the way of the Lord throughout the whole world? The Lord Himself, though no "repentance" was due from *Him*, was baptized: was baptism not necessary for *sinners*? As for the fact, then, that "others were not baptized"—they, however, were not companions of Christ, but enemies of the faith, doctors of the law and Pharisees. From which fact is gathered an additional suggestion, that, since the *opposers* of the Lord *refused* to be baptized, they who *followed* the Lord *were* baptized, and were not like-minded with their own rivals: especially when, if there were any one to whom they clave, the Lord had exalted John above him (by the testimony) saying, "Among them who are born of women *there is* none greater than John the Baptist."⁷

¹ John iii. 5, not fully given.

² See Gal. iii. 27.

³ See Eph. iv. 5.

⁴ "Volenti," which Oehler notes as a suggestion of Fr. Junius, is adopted here in preference to Oehler's "noletis."

⁵ John xiii. 9, 10.

⁶ Exerta. Comp. c. xviii. *sub init.*; ad Ux. li. c. i. *sub fin.*

⁷ Matt. xii. 11, *εγγύς* omitted.

Others make the suggestion (forced enough, clearly) "that the apostles then served the turn of baptism when, in their little ship, they were sprinkled and covered with the waves: that Peter himself also was immersed enough when he walked on the sea."⁸ It is, however, as I think, one thing to be sprinkled or intercepted by the violence of the sea; another thing to be baptized in obedience to the discipline of religion. But that little ship did present a figure of the Church, in that she is disquieted "in the sea," that is, in the world,⁹ "by the waves," that is, by persecutions and temptations; the Lord, through patience, sleeping as it were, until, roused in their last extremities by the prayers of the saints, He checks the world,¹⁰ and restores tranquillity to His own.

Now, whether they were baptized in any manner whatever, or whether they continued unbathed" to the end—so that even that saying of the Lord touching the "one bath"¹¹ does, under the person of Peter, merely regard *us*—still, to determine concerning the salvation of the apostles is audacious enough, because on *them* the prerogative even of first choice,¹² and thereafter of undivided intimacy, might be able to confer the compendious grace of baptism, seeing they (I think) followed Him who was wont to promise salvation to every believer. "Thy faith," He would say, "hath saved thee;"¹³ and, "Thy sins shall be remitted thee,"¹⁴ on thy believing, of course, albeit thou be not *yet* baptized. If that¹⁵ was wanting to the apostles, I know not in the faith of what things it was, that, roused by one word of the Lord, *one* left the toll-booth behind for ever;¹⁶ *another* deserted father and ship, and the craft by which he gained his living;¹⁷ *a third*, who disdained his father's obsequies,¹⁸ fulfilled, before he heard it, that highest precept of the Lord, "He who prefers father or mother to me, is not worthy of me."¹⁹

CHAP. XIII.—ANOTHER OBJECTION: ABRAHAM PLEASSED GOD WITHOUT BEING BAPTIZED.

ANSWER THERETO. OLD THINGS MUST GIVE PLACE TO NEW, AND BAPTISM IS NOW A LAW.

Here, then, those miscreants²⁰ provoke

⁸ Matt. viii. 24, xiv. 28, 30. [Our author seems to allow that sprinkling is baptism, but not Christian baptism: a very curious passage. Compare the foot-washing, John xiii. 8.]

⁹ Sæculo.

¹⁰ Sæculum.

¹¹ Iloti.

¹² Lavacrum. [John xiii. 9, 10, as above.]

¹³ i. e. of being the first to be chosen.

¹⁴ Luke xviii. 42; Mark x. 52.

¹⁵ "Remittuntur" is Oehler's reading: "remittuntur" others read: but the Greek is in the perfect tense. See Mark ii. 5.

¹⁶ i. e. faith, or perhaps the "compendious grace of baptism."

¹⁷ Matt. ix. 9.

¹⁸ Matt. iv. 21, 22.

¹⁹ Luke ix. 59, 60; but it is not said there that the man *did* it.

²⁰ Matt. x. 37.

²¹ i. e. probably the Carnites. See c. i.

questions. And so they say, "Baptism is not necessary for them to whom faith is sufficient; for withal, Abraham pleased God by a sacrament of no water, but of faith." But in all cases it is the *later* things which have a conclusive force, and the *subsequent* which prevail over the antecedent. Grant that, in days gone by, there was salvation by means of bare faith, before the passion and resurrection of the Lord. But now that faith has been enlarged, and is become a faith which believes in His nativity, passion, and resurrection, there has been an amplification added to the sacrament,¹ viz., the sealing act of baptism; the clothing, in some sense, of the faith which before was bare, and which cannot exist now without its proper law. For the *law* of baptizing has been *imposed*, and the formula prescribed: "Go," *He* saith, "teach the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."² The comparison with this law of that definition, "Unless a man have been reborn of water and Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens,"³ has tied faith to the necessity of baptism. Accordingly, all thereafter *who became* believers used to be baptized. *Then* it was, too,⁴ that Paul, when he believed, was baptized; and this is the meaning of the precept which the Lord had given him when smitten with the plague of loss of sight, saying, "Arise, and enter Damascus; there shall be demonstrated to thee what thou oughtest to do," to wit,—be baptized, which was the only thing lacking to him. That point excepted, he had sufficiently *learnt and believed* "the Nazarene" to be "the Lord, the Son of God."⁵

CHAP. XIV.—OF PAUL'S ASSERTION, THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN SENT TO BAPTIZE.

But they roll back *an objection* from that apostle himself, in that he said, "For Christ sent me not to baptize;"⁶ as if by this argument baptism were done away! For *if so*, why did he baptize Gaius, and Crispus, and the house of Stephanas?⁷ However, even if Christ had not sent *him* to baptize, yet He had given *other* apostles the precept to baptize. But these words were written to the Corinthians in regard of the circumstances of that particular time; seeing that schisms and

dissensions were agitated among them, while one attributes *everything* to Paul, another to Apollos.* For which reason the "peace-making"⁸ apostle, for fear he should seem to claim all *gifts* for himself, says that he had been sent "not to baptize, but to preach." For preaching is the prior thing, baptizing the posterior. Therefore the preaching came *first*: but I think baptizing withal was *lawful* to him to whom preaching was.

CHAP. XV.—UNITY OF BAPTISM. REMARKS ON HERETICAL AND JEWISH BAPTISM.

I know not whether any further point is mooted to bring baptism into controversy. Permit me to call to mind what I have omitted above, lest I seem to break off the train of impending thoughts in the middle. There is to us one, and but one, baptism; as well according to the Lord's gospel⁹ as according to the apostle's letters,¹⁰ inasmuch as *he says*, "One God, and one baptism, and one church in the heavens."¹¹ But it must be admitted that the question, "What rules are to be observed with regard to heretics?" is worthy of being treated. For it is to *us*¹² that that assertion¹³ refers. Heretics, however, have no fellowship in our discipline, whom the mere fact of their excommunication¹⁴ testifies to be outsiders. I am not bound to recognize in *them* a thing which is enjoined on *me*, because they and we have not the same God, nor one—that is, *the same*—Christ. And therefore their baptism is not *one with ours* either, because it is not *the same*; a baptism which, since they have it not duly, doubtless they have *not at all*; nor is that capable of being *counted* which is not *had*.¹⁵ Thus they cannot *receive* it either, because they *have it not*. But this point has already received a fuller discussion from us in Greek. We enter, then, the font¹⁶ *once: once* are sins washed away, because they ought never to be repeated. But the Jewish Israel bathes daily,¹⁷ because he is daily being defiled: and, for fear that *defilement* should be practised among *us* also, therefore was the definition touching the one bathing¹⁸ made. Happy water, which *once* washes away; which does not mock sinners (with vain hopes); which does not, by

¹ i. e. the sacrament, or obligation of faith. See beginning of chapter.
² Matt. xxviii. 19: "all" omitted.
³ John iii. 5: "shall not" for "cannot;" "kingdom of the heavens"—an expression only occurring in Matthew—for "kingdom of God."
⁴ i. e. from the time when the Lord gave the "law."
⁵ i. e. not till *after* the "law" had been made.
⁶ See Acts ix. 1-31.
⁷ 1 Cor. i. 17.
⁸ 1 Cor. i. 14, 16.

⁹ 1 Cor. i. 21, 22, iii. 3, 4.
¹⁰ Matt. v. 9; referred to in *de Nation.* c. ii.
¹¹ Oehler refers us to c. xii. above. "He who hath once bathed."
¹² i. e. the Epistle to the Ephesians especially.
¹³ Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6, but very inexactly quoted.
¹⁴ i. e. us Christians; or, "Catholics," as Oehler explains it.
¹⁵ i. e. touching the "one baptism."
¹⁶ An attempt at communication. [See Bunsen, *Hippol.* III. p. 114. Canon 46.]
¹⁷ Comp. Eccles. i. 25.
¹⁸ Lavarium.
¹⁹ Compare *de Orat.* c. xiv.
²⁰ In John xiii. 10, and Eph. iv. 5.

being infected with the repetition of impurities, again defile them whom it has washed!

CHAP. XVI.—OF THE SECOND BAPTISM—WITH BLOOD.

We have indeed, likewise, a *second font*, (itself withal *one with the former*,) of *blood*, to wit; concerning which the Lord said, "I have to be baptized with a baptism,"¹ when He had been baptized already. For He had come "by means of water and blood,"² just as John has written; that He might be baptized by the water, glorified by the blood; to make *us*, in like manner, *called by water, chosen³ by blood*. These two baptisms He sent out from the wound in His pierced side,⁴ in order that they who believed in His blood might be bathed with the water; they who had been bathed in the water might likewise drink the blood.⁵ This is the baptism which both stands in lieu of the fontal bathing⁷ when that has not been received, and restores it when lost.

CHAP. XVII.—OF THE POWER OF CONFERRING BAPTISM.

For concluding our brief subject,⁸ it remains to put you in mind also of the due observance of giving and receiving baptism. Of giving it, the chief priest⁹ (who is the bishop) has the right: in the next place, the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop's authority, on account of the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Beside these, even laymen have the right; for what is equally received can be equally given. Unless bishops, or priests, or deacons, be on the spot, *other disciples* are called *i.e. to the work*. The word of the Lord ought not to be hidden by any: in like manner, too, baptism, which is equally God's property,¹⁰ can be administered by all. But how much more is the rule¹¹ of reverence and modesty incumbent on laymen—seeing that these *powers*¹² belong to their superiors—lest they assume to themselves the *specific*¹³ function of the bishop! Emulation of the episcopal office is the mother of schisms. The most holy apostle has said, that "all things

are *lawful*, but not all *expedient*."¹⁴ Let it suffice assuredly, in cases of *necessity*, to avail yourself (of that rule¹⁵), if at any time circumstance either of place, or of time, or of person compels you (so to do); for *then* the stedfast courage of the succourer, when the situation of the endangered one is urgent, is exceptionally admissible; inasmuch as he will be guilty of a human creature's loss if he shall refrain from bestowing what he had free liberty to bestow. But the woman of pertness,¹⁶ who has usurped the power to teach, will of course not give birth for herself likewise to a right of baptizing, unless some new beast shall arise¹⁷ like the former; so that, just as the one abolished baptism,¹⁸ so some other should in her own right confer it! But if the writings which wrongly go under Paul's name, claim Thecla's example as a licence for women's teaching and baptizing, let them know that, in Asia, the presbyter who composed that writing,¹⁹ as if he were augmenting Paul's fame from his own store, after being convicted, and confessing that he had done it from love of Paul, was removed²⁰ from his office. For how credible would it seem, that he who has not permitted a *woman*²¹ even to *learn* with overboldness, should give a *female*²² the power of *teaching* and of *baptizing*! "Let them be silent," he says, "and at home consult their own husbands."²³

CHAP. XVIII.—OF THE PERSONS TO WHOM, AND THE TIME WHEN, BAPTISM IS TO BE ADMINISTERED.

But they whose office it is, know that baptism is not rashly to be administered. "Give to every one who beggeth thee,"²⁴ has a reference of its own, appertaining especially to almsgiving. On the contrary, this *precept* is rather to be looked at carefully: "Give not the holy thing to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine;"²⁵ and, "Lay not hands easily on *any*; share not other men's sins."²⁶ If Philip so "easily" baptized the chamberlain, let us reflect that a manifest and conspicuous²⁷ evidence that the Lord deemed him worthy

Lavacrum. [See Aquinas, *Quest. lxxvi. 11.*]
¹ Luke xii. 50, not given in full.
² John v. 6.
³ Matt. xx. 16; Rev. xvii. 14.
⁴ John xix. 34. See c. ix. *ad fin.*
⁵ See John vi. 53, etc.
⁶ Lavacrum. [The three baptisms: *Aquas, Fumens, sanguinis.*]
⁷ Matenolam.
⁸ Summus sacerdos. Compare *de Orat. xviii.*, "nos . . . veri sacerdotes," etc.; and *de Eccl. Cast. c. vii.*, "nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?"
⁹ Census.
¹⁰ Disciplina.
¹¹ i.e. the powers of administering baptism and "sowing the word." [i.e. "The Keys." *Scriptact.*, p. 643.]
¹² Dicitum.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. x. 33, where nos. in the received text seems interpolated.
¹⁵ Or, as (Jehier explains it, of your power of baptizing, etc.
¹⁶ Quintilla. See c. i.
¹⁷ Evenerit. Perhaps Tertullian means literally—though that sense of the word is very rare—"shall issue out of her," alluding to his "panet" above.
¹⁸ See c. i. *ad fin.*
¹⁹ The allusion is to a spurious work entitled *Acta Pauli et Theclae*. [Of which afterwards. But see Jones, *on the Canon*, II. p. 353, and Lardner, *Credibility*, II. p. 305.]
²⁰ Decessisse.
²¹ Mulieri.
²² Fœminæ.
²³ 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35.
²⁴ Luke vi. 30. [See note 4, p. 676.]
²⁵ Matt. vii. 6.
²⁶ 1 Tim. v. 22; *μὴ ἐπιθεὶς ὅτι ἐπιθεὶς* rendered by "facile," and *μὴ ἐπιθεὶς* by "ne."
²⁷ Exertam, as in c. xii.: "probatio exerta," "a conspicuous proof."

had been interposed.¹ The Spirit had enjoined Philip to proceed to that road: the eunuch himself, too, was not found idle, nor as one who was suddenly seized with an eager desire to be baptized; but, after going up to the temple for prayer's sake, being intently engaged on the divine Scripture, was thus suitably discovered—to whom God had, unasked, sent an apostle, which one, again, the Spirit bade adjoin himself to the chamberlain's chariot. The Scripture which *he was reading*² falls in opportunely with his faith: *Phillip*, being requested, is taken to sit beside him; the Lord is pointed out; faith lingers not; water needs no waiting for; the work is completed, and the apostle snatched away. "But Paul too was, in fact, 'speedily' baptized:" for Simon,³ his host, speedily recognized him to be "an appointed vessel of election." God's approbation sends sure premonitory tokens before it; every "petition"⁴ may both deceive and be deceived. And so, according to the circumstances and disposition, and even age, of each individual, the delay of baptism is preferable; principally, however, in the case of little children. For why is it necessary—if (baptism itself) is not so necessary⁵—that the sponsors likewise should be thrust into danger? Who both themselves, by reason of mortality, may fail to fulfil their promises, and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition, *in those for whom they stood?* The Lord does indeed say, "Forbid them not to come unto me."⁶ Let them "come," then, while they are growing up; let them "come" while they are learning, while they are learning whither to come;⁷ let them become Christians⁸ when they have become able to know Christ. Why does the innocent period of life hasten to the "remission of sins?" More caution will be exercised in worldly⁹ matters: so that one who is *not* trusted with earthly substance *is* trusted with divine! Let them know how to "ask" for salvation, that you may seem (at least) to have given "to him that asketh."¹⁰ For no less cause must the

unwedded also be deferred—in whom *the ground of temptation is prepared, alike in such as never were wedded*" by means of their maturity, and in the *widowed* by means of their freedom—until they either marry, or else be more fully strengthened for continence. If any understand the weighty import of baptism, they will fear its reception more than its delay: sound faith is secure of salvation.

CHAP. XIX.—OF THE TIMES MOST SUITABLE FOR BAPTISM.

The Passover affords a more *than usually* solemn day for baptism; when, withal, the Lord's passion, in which we are baptized, was completed. Nor will it be incongruous to interpret figuratively *the fact* that, when the Lord was about to celebrate the last Passover, He said to the disciples who were sent to make preparation, "Ye will meet a man bearing water."¹¹ He points out the place for celebrating the Passover by the sign of *water*. After that, Pentecost is a most joyous space¹² for conferring baptisms;¹³ wherein, too, the resurrection of the Lord was repeatedly proved¹⁴ among the disciples, and the hope of the advent of the Lord indirectly pointed to, in that, at that time, when He had been received back into the heavens, the angels¹⁵ told the apostles that "He would so come, as He had withal ascended into the heavens;"¹⁶ at Pentecost, of course. But, moreover, when Jeremiah says, "And I will gather them together from the extremities of the land in the feast-day," he signifies the day of the Passover and of Pentecost, which is properly a "feast-day."¹⁷ However, *every* day is the Lord's; every hour, every time, is apt for baptism: if there is a difference in the *solemnity*, distinction there is none in the *grace*.

CHAP. XX.—OF PREPARATION FOR, AND CONDUCT AFTER, THE RECEPTION OF BAPTISM.

They who are about to enter baptism ought to pray with repeated prayers, fasts, and bendings of the knee, and vigils all the night through, and with the confession of all by-

¹ Comp. Acts viii. 26-30.
² Acts viii. 28, 30, 32, 33, and Isa. liii. 7, 8, especially in LXX. The quotation, as given in Acts, agrees nearly *verbatim* with the Cod. Alex. there.
³ Tertullian seems to have confused the "Judas" with whom Saul stayed (Acts ix. 11) with the "Simon" with whom St. Peter stayed (Acts ix. 43); and it was Ananias, not Judas, to whom he was pointed out as "an appointed vessel," and by whom he was baptized. [So above, he seems to have confounded Philip, the deacon, with Philip the apostle.]
⁴ See note 24. [where Luke vi. 30 is shown to be abused].
⁵ Tertullian has already allowed (in c. xvi) that baptism is not *indispensably* necessary to salvation.
⁶ Matt. xii. 12; Mark x. 14; Luke xviii. 16.
⁷ Or, "whither they are coming."
⁸ i. e. in baptism.
⁹ *Secularibus*.
¹⁰ See beginning of chapter, [where Luke vi. 30, is shown to be abused].

¹¹ *Virginibus*; but he is speaking about men as well as women. Comp. *de Orat.* c. xxii. [I need not point out the bearings of the above chapter, nor do I desire to interpose any comments. The Editor's interpolations, where purely gratuitous, I have even stricken out, though I agree with them. See that work of genius, *the Liberty of Prophecy*, by Jer. Taylor, sect. xviii. and its candid admissions.]
¹² Mark xiv. 13, Luke xxii. 10, "a small earthen pitcher of water."
¹³ [He means the whole fifty days from the Paschal Feast till Pentecost, including the latter. Bunsen *Hippol.* lli. 18.]
¹⁴ *Lavacris*.
¹⁵ *Frequentata*, i. e. by His frequent appearance. See Acts i. 3.
¹⁶ *ἡμερῶν ἑξαήκοντα ὑπερῷον αὐτοῦ*.
¹⁷ Comp. Acts i. 10 and Luke ix. 30: in each place St. Luke says, *ἡμέρας ἑξήκοντα*: as also in xxiv. 4 of his Gospel.
¹⁸ Acts i. 10, 11; but it is *expressed* throughout in the Greek.
¹⁹ Jer. xxxi. 8, xxxviii. 8 in LXX, where *ἡ ἐσθὴ* *ἑσθῆς* is found, which is not in the English version.

gone sins, that they may express *the meaning* even of the baptism of John: "They were baptized," saith (the Scripture), "confessing their own sins."¹ To us it is matter for thankfulness if we do *now* publicly confess our iniquities or our turpitudes:² for we do at the same time both make satisfaction³ for our former sins, by mortification of our flesh and spirit, and lay beforehand the foundation of defences against the temptations which will closely follow. "Watch and pray," saith (the Lord), "lest ye fall into temptation."⁴ And the reason, I believe, why they *were* tempted was, that they fell asleep; so that they deserted the Lord when apprehended, and he who continued to stand by Him, and used the sword, even denied Him thrice: for withal the word had gone before, that "no one *un*-tempted should attain the celestial kingdoms."⁵ The Lord Himself forthwith after baptism⁶ temptations surrounded, when in forty days He had kept fast. "Then," some one will say, "it becomes *us*, too, rather to fast *after* baptism."⁷ Well, and who forbids you, unless it be the necessity for joy, and the thanksgiving for salvation? But so far as I, with my poor powers, understand, the Lord figuratively retorted upon Israel the reproach *they had cast on the Lord*.⁸ For the people,

after crossing the sea, and being carried about in the desert during forty years, although they were there nourished with divine supplies, nevertheless were more mindful of their belly and their gullet than of God. Thereupon the Lord, driven apart into desert places after baptism,⁹ showed, by maintaining a fast of forty days, that the man of God lives "not by bread alone," but "by the word of God;"¹⁰ and that temptations incident to fullness or immoderation of appetite are shattered by abstinence. Therefore, blessed ones, whom the grace of God awaits, when you ascend from that most sacred font¹¹ of your new birth, and spread your hands¹² for the first time in the house of your mother,¹³ together with your brethren, ask from the Father, ask from the Lord, that His own specialties of grace *and* distributions of gifts¹⁴ may be supplied you. "Ask," saith He, "and ye shall receive."¹⁵ Well, you *have* asked, and have received; you *have* knocked, and it has been opened to you. Only, I pray that, when you are asking, you be mindful likewise of Tertullian the sinner.¹⁶

¹ Matt. iii. 6. [See the collection of Dr. Bunsen for the whole primitive discipline to which Tertullian has reference, *Hippol.* Vol. III. pp. 5-23, and 29.]

² Perhaps Tertullian is referring to Prov. xviii. 13. If we confess *now*, we shall be forgiven, and not put to shame at the judgment day.

³ See *de Orat.* c. xxiii. *ad fin.*, and the note there.

⁴ Matt. xxvi. 41.

⁵ What passage is referred to is doubtful. The editors point us to Luke xxiii. 28, 29; but the reference is unsatisfactory.

⁶ Lavacrum.

⁷ Lavacro. Compare the beginning of the chapter.

⁸ Vix. by their murmuring for bread (see Ex. xvi. 3, 7); and again—nearly forty years after—in another place. See Num. xxx. 5.

⁹ Aquam: just as St. Paul says the Israelites had been "*baptized*" (or "*baptized themselves*") "into Moses in the cloud and in the sea." 1 Cor. x. 2.

¹⁰ Matt. iv. 1-4.

¹¹ Lavacro.

¹² In prayer: comp. *de Orat.* c. xiv.

¹³ i.e. the Church: comp. *de Orat.* c. 2.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. xii. 4-12.

¹⁵ Matt. vii. 7; Luke xi. 9: *αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν* in both places.

¹⁶ [The translator, though so learned and helpful, too often encumbers the text with superfluous interpolations. As many of these, while making the reading difficult, add nothing to the sense yet destroy the terse, crabbed force of the original, I have occasionally restored the spirit of a sentence, by removing them.]

ELUCIDATION.

The argument (p. 673, note 6,) is conclusive, but not clear. The disciples of John must have been baptized by him, (Luke vii. 29, 30,) and "all the people," must have included those whom Jesus called. But, this was not Christ's baptism: See Acts xix. 2, 5. Compare note 8, p. 673. And see the American Editor's "Apollos."

Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures, III, On Baptism,
(348 A.D.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7,
Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1955, p. 14-18

LECTURE III.

ON BAPTISM.

ROMANS vi. 3, 4

Or know ye not that all we who were baptised into Christ Jesus were baptised into His death? were buried therefore with Him by our baptism into death, &c.

1. Rejoice, ye heavens, and let the earth be glad¹, for those who are to be sprinkled with hyssop, and cleansed with the spiritual² hyssop, the power of Him to whom at His Passion drink was offered on hyssop and a reed³. And while the Heavenly Powers rejoice, let the souls that are to be united to the spiritual Bridegroom make themselves ready. For the voice is heard of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord⁴. For this is no light matter, no ordinary and indiscriminate union according to the flesh⁵, but the All-searching Spirit's election according to faith. For the inter-marriages and contracts of the world are not made altogether with judgment: but wherever there is wealth or beauty, there the bridegroom speedily approves: but here it is not beauty of person, but the soul's clear conscience; not the condemned Mammon, but the wealth of the soul in godliness.

2. Listen then, O ye children of righteousness, to John's exhortation when he says, *Make straight the way of the Lord*. Take away all obstacles and stumbling-blocks, that ye may walk straight onward to eternal life. Make ready the vessels⁶ of the soul, cleansed by unfeigned faith, for reception of the Holy Ghost. Begin at once to wash your robes in repentance, that when called to the bride-chamber ye may be found clean. For the Bridegroom invites all without distinction, because His grace is bounteous; and the cry of loud-voiced heralds assembles them all: but the same Bridegroom afterwards separates those who have come in to the figurative marriage. O may none of those whose names have now been enrolled hear the words, *Friend, how comest thou in hither, not having a wedding gar-*

ment? But may you all hear, *Well done, good and faithful servant; thou wast faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord*⁷.

For now meanwhile thou standest outside the door: but God grant that you all may say, *The King hath brought me into His chamber⁸. Let my soul rejoice in the Lord: for He hath clothed me with a garment of salvation, and a robe of gladness: He hath crowned me with ornaments as a bridegroom⁹, and decked me with ornaments as a bride: that the soul of every one of you may be found not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing¹⁰; I do not mean before you have received the grace, for how could that be? since it is for remission of sins that ye have been called; but that, when the grace is to be given, your conscience being found uncondemned may concur with the grace.*

3. This is in truth a serious matter, brethren, and you must approach it with good heed. Each one of you is about to be presented to God before tens of thousands of the Angelic Hosts: the Holy Ghost is about to seal¹¹ your souls: ye are to be enrolled in the army of the Great King. Therefore make you ready, and equip yourselves, by putting on I mean, not bright apparel¹², but piety of soul with a good conscience. Regard not the Laver as simple water, but rather regard the spiritual grace that is given with the water. For just as the offerings brought to the heathen altars¹³, though simple in their nature, become defiled by the invocation of the idols¹⁴, so contrariwise

¹ Pa. xvi. 11.

² The invisible or spiritual (πνευματικὸν) hyssop is the cleansing power of the Holy Ghost in baptism. Compare Pa. li. 7.

³ S. Cyril here, and still more emphatically in xiii. 39, distinguishes the hyssop (John xix. 29) from the reed (Matt. xxvii. 42), implying that the sponge filled with vinegar was bound round with hyssop, and then fixed on a reed. Another opinion is that the reed itself was that of hyssop. See Dictionary of the Bible, "Hyssop." ⁴ Is. xl. 3. ⁵ Compare.

⁶ So in I. 13, the soul is regarded as a vessel for receiving grace.

⁷ Matt. xxiii. 12.

⁸ Matt. xxv. 12.

⁹ Cant. i. 4.

¹⁰ Is. lxi. 10. Compare Cant. iii. 11: *Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother hath crowned him in the day of his espousals.* In the passage of Isaiah the bridegroom's crown is likened to the priestly mitre.

¹¹ Eph. v. 7.

¹² See Index, "Seal."

¹³ Index, "White."

¹⁴ Both here and in xix. 7, Cyril speaks of things offered to idols just as St. Paul in I Cor. x. 20. The benediction of the water of baptism is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 43: "Look down from heaven, and sanctify this water, and give it grace and power, that so he that is to be baptised according to the command of Thy Christ, may be crucified with Him, and may die with Him, and be buried with Him, and may rise with Him to the adoption which is in Him, that he may be used to sin and live to righteousness."

the simple water having received the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and of Christ, and of the Father, acquires a new power of holiness.

4. For since man is of twofold nature, soul and body, the purification also is twofold, the one incorporeal for the incorporeal part, and the other bodily for the body: the water cleanses the body, and the Spirit seals the soul; that we may draw near unto God, *having our heart sprinkled by the Spirit, and our body washed with pure water*⁷. When going down, therefore, into the water, think not of the bare element, but look for salvation by the power of the Holy Ghost: for without both thou canst not possibly be made perfect⁸. It is not I that say this, but the Lord Jesus Christ, who has the power in this matter: for He saith, *Except a man be born anew (and He adds the words) of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*⁹. Neither doth he that is baptized with water, but not found worthy of the Spirit, receive the grace in perfection; nor if a man be virtuous in his deeds, but receive not the seal by water, shall he enter into the kingdom of heaven. A bold saying, but not mine, for it is Jesus who hath declared it: and here is the proof of the statement from Holy Scripture. Cornelius was a just man, who was honoured with a vision of Angels, and had set up his prayers and alms-deeds as a good memorial¹⁰ before God in heaven. Peter came, and the Spirit was poured out upon them that believed, and they spake with other tongues, and prophesied: and after the grace of the Spirit the Scripture saith that Peter *commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ*¹¹: in order that, the soul having been born again by faith¹², the body also might by the water partake of the grace.

5. But if any one wishes to know why the grace is given by water and not by a different element, let him take up the Divine Scriptures and he shall learn. For water is a grand thing, and the noblest of the four visible elements of the world. Heaven is the dwelling-place of Angels, but the heavens are from the waters¹³: the earth is the place of men, but the earth is from the waters: and before the whole six days' formation of the things that were made, *the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*¹⁴. The water was the beginning of the world,

and Jordan the beginning of the Gospel tidings: for Israel deliverance from Pharaoh was through the sea, and for the world deliverance from sins *by the washing of water with the word*¹⁵ of God. Where a covenant is made with any, there is water also. After the flood, a covenant was made with Noah: a covenant for Israel from Mount Sinai, but *with water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop*¹⁶. Elias is taken up, but not apart from water: for first he crosses the Jordan, then in a chariot mounts the heaven. The high-priest is first washed, then offers incense; for Aaron first washed, then was made high-priest: for how could one who had not yet been purified by water pray for the rest? Also as a symbol of Baptism there was a laver set apart within the Tabernacle.

6. Baptism is the end of the Old Testament, and beginning of the New. For its author was John, than whom was none greater among them that are born of women. The end he was of the Prophets: *for all the Prophets and the law were until John*¹⁷: but of the Gospel history he was the first-fruit. For it saith, *The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, &c.: John came baptizing in the wilderness*¹⁸. You may mention Elias the Tishbite who was taken up into heaven, yet he is not greater than John: Enoch was translated, but he is not greater than John: Moses was a very great lawgiver, and all the Prophets were admirable, but not greater than John. It is not I that dare to compare Prophets with Prophets: but their Master and ours, the Lord Jesus, declared it: *Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John*¹⁹: He saith not "among them that are born of virgins," but *of women*²⁰. The comparison is between the great servant and his fellow-servants: but the pre-eminence and the grace of the Son is beyond comparison with servants. Seest thou how great a man God chose as the first minister of this grace?—a man possessing nothing, and a lover of the desert, yet no hater of mankind: who ate locusts, and winged his soul for heaven²¹: feeding upon honey, and speaking things both sweeter and more salutary than honey: clothed with a garment of camel's hair, and shewing in himself the pattern of the ascetic life; who also was sanctified by the Holy Ghost while yet he was carried in his mother's womb. Jeremiah was sanctified, but

⁷ Heb. x. 22.

⁸ See the note on "the twofold grace perfected by water and the Spirit," at the end of this Lecture.

⁹ John iii. 5.

¹⁰ *errata*, Sept. A pillar of stone, bearing an inscription, was a common form of memorial among the Israelites and other ancient nations. See Dictionary of the Bible, "Pillar."

¹¹ Acts x. 48.

¹² S. Cyril considers that Cornelius and his friends were regenerated, as the Apostles were, apart from Baptism; as August. *Serm.* 205, n. 2, and Chrysost. in *Act. Apost. Rom.* 25, seem to do. R. W. C.

¹³ Compare *ix.* 5.

¹⁴ Gen. i. 9.

¹⁵ Ephes. v. 26.

¹⁶ Heb. ix. 19.

¹⁷ Matt. xi. 13.

¹⁸ Matt. xi. 11.

¹⁹ Mark i. 7, 8.

²⁰ From the Clementine Recognitions, L. 54 and 60, we learn that there were some who asserted that John was the Christ, and not Jesus, inasmuch as Jesus Himself declared that John was greater than all men, and all Prophets. The answer is there given, that John was greater than all who are born of women, yet not greater than the Son of Man.

²¹ The locust being winged suggests the idea of growing wings for the soul. *Is.* xl. 31: *et alibi*.

did not prophesy, in the womb⁴: John alone while carried in the womb leaped for joy⁵, and though he saw not with the eyes of flesh, knew his Master by the Spirit: for since the grace of Baptism was great, it required greatness in its founder also.

7. This man was baptizing in Jordan, and there went out unto him all Jerusalem⁶, to enjoy the first-fruits of baptisms: for in Jerusalem is the prerogative of all things good. But learn, O ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, how they that came out were baptized by him, *confessing their sins*, it is said⁷. First they shewed their wounds, then he applied the remedies, and to them that believed gave redemption from eternal fire. And if thou wilt be convinced of this very point, that the baptism of John is a redemption from the threat of the fire, hear how he says, *O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come*⁸? Be not then henceforth a viper, but as thou hast been formerly a viper's brood, put off, saith he, the slough⁹ of thy former sinful life. For every serpent creeps into a hole and casts its old slough, and having rubbed off the old skin, grows young again in body. In like manner enter thou also through the strait and narrow gate¹⁰: rub off thy former self by fasting, and drive out that which is destroying thee. Put off the old man with his doings¹¹, and quote that saying in the Canticles, *I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on*¹²?

But there is perhaps among you some hypocrite, a man-pleaser, and one who makes a pretence of piety, but believes not from the heart; having the hypocrisy of Simon Magus; one who has come hither not in order to receive of the grace, but to spy out what is given: let him also learn from John: *And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees, Every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire*¹³. The Judge is inexorable; put away thine hypocrisy.

8. What then must you do? And what are the fruits of repentance? *Let him that hath two coats give to him that hath none*¹⁴: the teacher was worthy of credit, since he was also the first to practise what he taught: he was not ashamed to speak, for conscience hindered not his tongue: *and he that hath meat, let him do likewise*. Wouldst thou enjoy the grace of the Holy Spirit, yet judgest the poor not

worthy of bodily food? Seekest thou the great gifts, and impartest not of the small? Though thou be a publican, or a fornicator, have hope of salvation: *the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you*¹⁵. Paul also is witness, saying, *Neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor the rest, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you: but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified*¹⁶. He said not, *such are some of you*, but *such were some of you*. Sin committed in the state of ignorance is pardoned, but persistent wickedness is condemned.

9. Thou hast as the glory of Baptism the Son Himself, the Only-begotten of God. For why should I speak any more of man? John was great, but what is he to the Lord? His was a loud-sounding voice, but what in comparison with the Word? Very noble was the herald, but what in comparison with the King? Noble was he that baptized with water, but what to Him that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost and with fire¹⁷? The Saviour baptized the Apostles with the Holy Ghost and with fire, when suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. *And there appeared unto them eleven tongues like as of fire: and it sat upon each one of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost*¹⁸.

10. If any man receive not Baptism, he hath not salvation; except only Martyrs, who even without the water receive the kingdom. For when the Saviour, in redeeming the world by His Cross, was pierced in the side, He shed forth blood and water; that men, living in times of peace, might be baptized in water, and, in times of persecution, in their own blood. For martyrdom also the Saviour is wont to call a baptism, saying, *Can ye drink the cup which I drink, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptised with*¹⁹? And the Martyrs confess, by being made a spectacle unto the world, and to Angels, and to men²⁰; and thou wilt soon confess:—but it is not yet the time for thee to hear of this.

11. Jesus sanctified Baptism by being Himself baptized. If the Son of God was baptized, what godly man is he that despiseth Baptism? But He was baptized not that He might receive remission of sins, for He was sinless; but being sinless, He was baptized, that He might give to them that are baptized a divine and excellent grace. For *since the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise partook of the same*²¹, that having been

⁴ Jer. i. 5.

⁵ Luke i. 40.

⁶ Matt. iii. 5.

⁷ Matt. iii. 6.

⁸ Lu. iii. 9.

⁹ The Greek word (*υδραγωγία*) is used by Polybius (xxxiv. 9) for the deposit of silver from crushed ore, and by Hippocrates for any sediment or deposit. Here it means, as the context clearly shews, the old skin cast by a snake. Compare ii. 5.

¹⁰ Matt. vii. 13, 14.

¹¹ Col. iii. 9.

¹² Cant. v. 3. In the Song, this saying is an excuse for not rising from bed. S. Cyril applies it in a different way.

¹³ Matt. iii. 10.

¹⁴ Luke iii. 11.

¹⁵ Matt. xxi. 31.

¹⁶ 1 Cor. vi. 9, 20.

¹⁷ Matt. iii. 11.

¹⁸ Acts ii. 2.

¹⁹ Mark x. 38.

²⁰ 1 Cor. iv. 9.

²¹ Heb. ii. 14.

made partakers of His presence in the flesh, we might be made partakers also of His Divine grace: thus Jesus was baptized, that thereby we again by our participation might receive both salvation and honour. According to Job, there was in the waters the dragon that *draweth up Jordan into his mouth*⁴. Since, therefore, it was necessary to *break the heads of the dragon in pieces*⁵, He went down and bound the strong one in the waters, that we might receive power to *tread upon serpents and scorpions*⁶. The beast was great and terrible. *No fishing-vessel was able to carry one scale of his tail*⁷: *destruction ran before him*⁸, ravaging all that met him. The Life encountered him, that the mouth of Death might henceforth be stopped, and all we that are saved might say, *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory*⁹? The sting of death is drawn by Baptism.

12. For thou goest down into the water, bearing thy sins, but the invocation of grace¹, having sealed thy soul, suffereth thee not afterwards to be swallowed up by the terrible dragon. Having gone down dead in sins, thou comest up quickened in righteousness. For if thou hast been united with the likeness of the Saviour's death², thou shalt also be deemed worthy of His Resurrection. For as Jesus took upon Him the sins of the world, and died, that by putting sin to death He might rise again in righteousness; so thou by going down into the water, and being in a manner buried in the waters, as He was in the rock, art raised again *walking in newness of life*³.

13. Moreover, when thou hast been deemed worthy of the grace, He then giveth thee strength to wrestle against the adverse powers. For as after His Baptism He was tempted forty days (not that He was unable to gain the victory before, but because He wished to do all things in due order and succession), so thou likewise, though not daring before thy baptism to wrestle with the adversaries, yet after thou hast received the grace and art henceforth confident in the armour of righteousness⁴, must then do battle, and preach the Gospel, if thou wilt.

14. Jesus Christ was the Son of God, yet He preached not the Gospel before His Baptism. If the Master Himself followed the right time in due order, ought we, His servants, to

venture out of order? *From that time Jesus began to preach*⁵, when the Holy Spirit had descended upon Him in a bodily shape, like a dove⁶; not that Jesus might see Him first, for He knew Him even before He came in a bodily shape, but that John, who was baptizing Him, might behold Him. For I, saith he, *knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding on Him, that is He*⁷. If thou too hast unfeigned piety, the Holy Ghost cometh down on thee also, and a Father's voice sounds over thee from on high—not, "This is My Son," but, "This has now been made My son;" for the "is" belongs to Him alone, because *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*⁸. To Him belongs the "is," since He is always the Son of God: but to thee "has now been made:" since thou hast not the sonship by nature, but receivest it by adoption. He eternally "is;" but thou receivest the grace by advancement.

15. Make ready then the vessel of thy soul, that thou mayest become a son of God, and an heir of God, and joint-heir with Christ⁹; if, indeed, thou art preparing thyself that thou mayest receive; if thou art drawing nigh in faith that thou mayest be made faithful; if of set purpose thou art putting off the old man. For all things whatsoever thou hast done shall be forgiven thee, whether it be fornication, or adultery, or any other such form of licentiousness. What can be a greater sin than to crucify Christ? Yet even of this Baptism can purify. For so spake Peter to the three thousand who came to him, to those who had crucified the Lord, when they asked him, saying, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* For the wound is great. Thou hast made us think of our fall, O Peter, by saying, *Ye killed the Prince of Life*¹⁰. What salve is there for so great a wound? What cleansing for such foulness? What is the salvation for such perdition? *Repent, saith he, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*¹¹. O unspeakable loving-kindness of God! They have no hope of being saved, and yet they are thought worthy of the Holy Ghost. Thou seest the power of Baptism! If any of you has crucified the Christ by blasphemous words; if any of you in ignorance has denied Him before men; if any by wicked works has caused the doctrine to be blasphemed; let him repent and be of good hope, for the same grace is present even now.

⁴ Job xl. 23.

⁵ Ps. lxxiv. 14.

⁶ Luke x. 20.

⁷ Job xl. 26, in the Sept. in place of xli. 7: Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons, or his head with fish spears? (A.V. and R.V.)

⁸ Job xli. 23, Sept. but in R.V. xli. 23: And terror danced before him. ⁹ 1 Cor. xv. 55.

¹⁰ Compare III. 3, and see Index, "Baptism." ¹¹ Rom. vi. 9.

¹² Rom. vi. 4. Instead of "might rise again" (Koe Casaub. Men.), the older Editions have "might raise thee up," which is less appropriate in this part of the sentence.

¹³ 2 Cor. vi. 7.

¹⁴ Matt. iv. 17.

¹⁵ Luke iii. 22.

¹⁶ John i. 33.

¹⁷ Ib. i. 2.

¹⁸ Rom. viii. 17. ¹⁹ Acts ii. 37. ²⁰ Ib. iii. 15. ²¹ Ib. ii. 36.

16. *Be of good courage, O Jerusalem; the Lord will take away all thine iniquities⁴. The Lord will wash away the filth of His sons and of His daughters by the Spirit of judgment, and by the Spirit of burning⁵. He will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your sin⁶. Angels shall dance around you, and say, Who is this that cometh up in white array, leaning upon her beloved?* For the soul that was formerly a slave has now adopted her Master Himself as her kinsman: and He accepting the unfeigned purpose will answer: *Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair: thy teeth are like flocks of sheep new shorn,* (because of the confession of a good conscience: and further) *which have all of them twins⁷*; because of the twofold grace, I mean

that which is perfected of water and of the Spirit⁸, or that which is announced by the Old and by the New Testament. And God grant that all of you when you have finished the course of the fast, may remember what I say, and bringing forth fruit in good works, may stand blameless beside the Spiritual Bridegroom, and obtain the remission of your sins from God; to whom with the Son and Holy Spirit be the glory for ever. Amen.

⁴ The Fathers sometimes speak as if Baptism was primarily the Sacrament of remission of sins, and *supra* that came the gift of the Spirit, which notwithstanding was but begun in Baptism and completed in Confirmation. Vid. Tertullian, *de Bapt.* 7, & *supra* 1. 5. Hence, as in the text, Baptism may be said to be made up of two gifts, Water, which is Christ's blood, and the Spirit. There is no real difference between this and the ordinary way of speaking on the subject:—Water, which conveys both gifts, is considered as a *type* of one especially,—conveys both remission of sins through Christ's blood and the grace of the Spirit, but is the *type* of one, *viz.* the blood of Christ, as the Oil in Confirmation is of the other. And again, remission of sins is a complete gift given at once, sanctification an increasing one. (R. W. C.) See Index, "Baptism."

⁴ Zeph. iii. 14, 15. ⁵ Is. lv. 4. ⁶ Ezek. xxxvi. 25.
⁷ Cant. viii. 5. Gr. ἀδελφός, "brother," "kinsman."
⁸ 1b. iv. 2, a.

Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures, IV,
(348 A.D.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7,
Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1955, p. 26

fiercest beasts, and greedily devour things strangled. But do thou, the servant of Christ, in eating observe to eat with reverence. And so enough concerning meats.

OF APPAREL.

29. But let thine apparel be plain, not for adornment, but for necessary covering: not to minister to thy vanity, but to keep thee warm in winter, and to hide the unseemliness of the body: lest under pretence of hiding the unseemliness, thou fall into another kind of unseemliness by thy extravagant dress.

OF THE RESURRECTION.

30. Be tender, I beseech thee, of this body, and understand that thou wilt be raised from the dead, to be judged with this body. But if there steal into thy mind any thought of unbelief, as though the thing were impossible, judge of the things unseen by what happens to thyself. For tell me; a hundred years ago or more, think where wast thou thyself: and from what a most minute and mean substance thou art come to so great a stature, and so much dignity of beauty? What then? Cannot He who brought the non-existent into being, raise up again that which already exists and has decayed? He who raises the corn, which is sown for our sakes, as year by year it dies,—will He have difficulty in raising us up, for whose sakes that corn also has been raised? Seest thou how the trees stand now for many months without either fruit or leaves: but when the winter is past they spring up whole into life again as if from the dead⁵: shall not we much rather and more easily return to life? The rod of Moses was transformed by the will of God into the unfamiliar nature of a serpent: and cannot a man, who has fallen into death, be restored to himself again?

31. Heed not those who say that this body is not raised; for it is raised: and Esaias is witness, when he says: *The dead shall arise, and they that are in the tombs shall awake*: and according to Daniel, *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame*⁶. But though to rise again is common to all men, yet the resurrection is not alike to all: for the bodies received by us all are eternal, but not like bodies by all: for the just receive them, that through eternity they may join

the Choirs of Angels; but the sinners, that they may endure for ever the torment of their sins.

OF THE LAVER.

32. For this cause the Lord, preventing us according to His loving-kindness, has granted repentance at Baptism⁷, in order that we may cast off the chief—nay rather the whole burden of our sins, and having received the seal by the Holy Ghost, may be made heirs of eternal life. But as we have spoken sufficiently concerning the Laver the day before yesterday, let us now return to the remaining subjects of our introductory teaching.

OF THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES.

33. Now these the divinely-inspired Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament teach us. For the God of the two Testaments is One, Who in the Old Testament foretold the Christ Who appeared in the New; Who by the Law and the Prophets led us to Christ's school. *For before faith came, we were kept in ward under the law, and, the law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ*⁸. And if ever thou hear any of the heretics speaking evil of the Law or the Prophets, answer in the sound of the Saviour's voice, saying, *Jesus came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*⁹. Learn also diligently, and from the Church, what are the books of the Old Testament, and what those of the New. And, pray, read none of the apocryphal writings¹⁰: for why dost thou, who knowest not those which are acknowledged among all, trouble thyself in vain about those which are disputed? Read the Divine Scriptures, the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, these that have been translated by the Seventy-two Interpreters⁴.

⁷ Gr. *ἁγροῦ μετανοίας*. Other readings are *ἁγροῦ μετανοίας*, "redemption by repentance," and *ἁγροῦ μετανοίας* "a laver (baptism) of repentance."

⁸ Gal. iii. 24. The *Παιδαγωγία* is described by Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.* i. 7) as one who both conducts a boy to school, and helps to teach him,—an usher: "under-master" (Wicliff).
⁹ Matt. v. 17.

¹⁰ *ἁποκρυφῶν*. The sense in which Cyril uses this term may be learned from Rufinus (*Expositio Symboli*, § 38), who distinguishes three classes of books: (1) The Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments, which alone are to be used in proof of doctrine; (2) Ecclesiastical, which may be read in Churches, including Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Books of the Maccabees, in the Old Testament, and *The Shepherd of Hermas*, and *The Two Ways* in the New Testament; (3) The other writings they called "Apocryphal," which they would not have read in Churches. The distinction is useful, though the second class is not complete.

⁴ The original source of this account of the Septuagint version is a letter purporting to have been written by Aristeas, or Aristeus, a confidential minister of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to his brother Philocrates. Though the letter is not regarded as genuine its statements are in part admitted to be true, being confirmed by a fragment, preserved by Eusebius (*Preparatio Evangelica*, ix. 6), of a work of Aristobolus, a Jewish philosopher who wrote in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, 181—146, B.C. Upon these testimonies it is generally admitted that "the whole Law," i.e. the Pentateuch was translated into Greek at Alexandria in the reign

⁵ XVIII. 9.

⁶ Compare xviii. 6, 9; Athenagoras, *On the Resurrection of the Dead*, c. 3.

⁷ XVIII. 6. John xii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 36.

⁸ 1. xxv. 19.

⁹ XVIII. 7.

¹⁰ Dan. xii. 2.

Basil, On the Spirit, XV, (374 A.D.)
 Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 8
 Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1955, p. 21

ON THE SPIRIT.

21

the words are, "They were baptized unto Moses."¹ Why then do these calumniators of the truth, by means of the shadow and the types, endeavour to bring contempt and ridicule on the "rejoicing" of our "hope,"² and the rich gift of our God and Saviour, who through regeneration renews our youth like the eagle's?³ Surely it is altogether childish, and like a babe who must needs be fed on milk,⁴ to be ignorant of the great mystery of our salvation; inasmuch as, in accordance with the gradual progress of our education, while being brought to perfection in our training for godliness,⁵ we were first taught elementary and easier lessons, suited to our intelligence, while the Dispenser of our lots was ever leading us up, by gradually accustoming us, like eyes brought up in the dark, to the great light of truth. For He spares our weakness, and in the depth of the riches⁶ of His wisdom, and the inscrutable judgments of His intelligence, used this gentle treatment, fitted for our needs, gradually accustoming us to see first the shadows of objects, and to look at the sun in water, to save us from dashing against the spectacle of pure unadulterated light, and being blinded. Just so the Law, having a shadow of things to come, and the typical teaching of the prophets, which is a dark utterance of the truth, have been devised as means to train the eyes of the heart, in that hence the transition to the wisdom hidden in mystery⁷ will be made easy. Enough so far concerning types; nor indeed would it be possible to linger longer on this topic, or the incidental discussion would become many times bulkier than the main argument.

CHAPTER XV.

Reply to the suggested objection that we are baptized "into water." Also concerning baptism.

34. WHAT more? Verily, our opponents are well equipped with arguments. We are baptized, they urge, into water, and of course we shall not honour the water above all creation, or give it a share of the honour of the Father and of the Son. The arguments of these men are such as might be expected from angry disputants, leaving no means untried in their attack on him who has offended them, because their reason is clouded over by their feelings. We will not, however, shrink from the discussion even

of these points. If we do not teach the ignorant, at least we shall not turn away before evil doers. But let us for a moment retrace our steps.

35. The dispensation of our God and Saviour concerning man is a recall from the fall, and a return from the alienation caused by disobedience to close communion with God. This is the reason for the sojourn of Christ in the flesh, the pattern life described in the Gospels, the sufferings, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection; so that the man who is being saved through imitation of Christ receives that old adoption. For perfection of life the imitation of Christ is necessary, not only in the example of gentleness,¹ lowliness, and long suffering set us in His life, but also of His actual death. So Paul, the imitator of Christ,² says, "being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead."³ How then are we made in the likeness of His death?⁴ In that we were buried with Him by baptism. What then is the manner of the burial? And what is the advantage resulting from the imitation? First of all, it is necessary that the continuity of the old life be cut. And this is impossible unless a man be born again, according to the Lord's word;⁵ for the regeneration, as indeed the name shews, is a beginning of a second life. So before beginning the second, it is necessary to put an end to the first. For just as in the case of runners who turn and take the second course,⁶ a kind of halt and pause intervenes between the movements in the opposite direction, so also in making a change in lives it seemed necessary for death to come as mediator between the two, ending all that goes before, and beginning all that comes after. How then do we achieve the descent into hell? By imitating, through baptism, the burial of Christ. For the bodies of the baptized are, as it were, buried in the water. Baptism then symbolically signifies the putting off of the works of the flesh; as the apostle says, ye were "circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism."⁷

¹ ἀσπύγρια in Arist. *Eth.* iv. 5, 5, is the defect where meekness (εὐσπλαγχνία) is the mean. In Plutarch, who wrote a short treatise on it, it is a virtue. In Mark iii. 5, Jesus looked round on them "with anger," ἀπὸ ὀργῆς, but in Matt. xi. 29, He calls Himself ἄσπυγρος.

² cf. 1 Cor. xi. 1. ³ Phil. iii. 10, 11. ⁴ Rom. vi. 4, 5.

⁵ A. V., "are buried." Grk. and R. V., "were buried."

⁶ John iii. 3.

⁷ In the double course (διπλῆς) the runner turned (ἐπέστρεψε) the post at the end of the stadium. So "ἐπέστρεψε δὲ πάλιν ἐπί τῆς ἀρχῆς" in *Arch. Ag.* 315, for retracing one's steps another way.

⁸ Col. ii. 11, 12.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 2.

² Heb. iii. 6.

³ cf. Ps. ciii. 5.

⁴ cf. Heb. v. 12.

⁵ cf. 1 Tim. iv. 7.

⁶ Rom. xi. 33.

⁷ 1 Cor. ii. 7.

Basil, On the Spirit, XV, (374 A.D.)
Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.8
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1955, p.22

And there is, as it were, a cleansing of the soul from the filth¹ that has grown on it from the carnal mind,² as it is written, "Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow."³ On this account we do not, as is the fashion of the Jews, wash ourselves at each defilement, but own the baptism of salvation⁴ to be one.⁵ For there the death on behalf of the world is one, and one the resurrection of the dead, whereof baptism is a type. For this cause the Lord, who is the Dispenser of our life, gave us the covenant of baptism, containing a type of life and death, for the water fulfils the image of death, and the Spirit gives us the earnest of life. Hence it follows that the answer to our question why the water was associated with the Spirit⁶ is clear: the reason is because in baptism two ends were proposed; on the one hand, the destroying of the body of sin,⁷ that it may never bear fruit unto death;⁸ on the other hand, our living unto the Spirit,⁹ and having our fruit in holiness;¹⁰ the water receiving the body as in a tomb figures death, while the Spirit pours in the quickening power, renewing our souls from the deadness of sin unto their original life. This then is what it is to be born again of water and of the Spirit, the being made dead being effected in the water, while our life is wrought in us through the Spirit. In three immersions,¹¹ then, and with three invocations, the great mystery of baptism is performed, to the end that the type of death may be fully figured, and that by the tradition of the divine knowledge the baptized may have their souls enlightened. It follows that if there is any grace in the water, it is not of the nature of the water, but of the presence of the Spirit. For baptism is "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good

conscience towards God."¹² So in training us for the life that follows on the resurrection the Lord sets out all the manner of life required by the Gospel, laying down for us the law of gentleness, of endurance of wrong, of freedom from the defilement that comes of the love of pleasure, and from covetousness, to the end that we may of set purpose win beforehand and achieve all that the life to come of its inherent nature possesses. If therefore any one in attempting a definition were to describe the gospel as a forecast of the life that follows on the resurrection, he would not seem to me to go beyond what is meet and right. Let us now return to our main topic.

36. Through the Holy Spirit comes our restoration to paradise, our ascension into the kingdom of heaven, our return to the adoption of sons, our liberty to call God our Father, our being made partakers of the grace of Christ, our being called children of light, our sharing in eternal glory, and, in a word, our being brought into a state of all "fulness of blessing,"¹³ both in this world and in the world to come, of all the good gifts that are in store for us, by promise whereof, through faith, beholding the reflection of their grace as though they were already present, we await the full enjoyment. If such is the earnest, what the perfection? If such the first fruits, what the complete fulfilment? Furthermore, from this too may be apprehended the difference between the grace that comes from the Spirit and the baptism by water: in that John indeed baptized with water, but our Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost. "I indeed," he says, "baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."¹⁴ Here He calls the trial at the judgment the baptism of fire, as the apostle says, "The fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is."¹⁵ And again, "The day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire."¹⁶ And ere now there have been some who in their championship of true religion have undergone the death for Christ's sake, not in mere similitude, but in actual fact, and so have needed none of the outward signs of water for their salvation, because they were baptized in their own blood.¹⁷ Thus I write

¹ cf. 1 Pet. iii. 21.
² *de unanimitate doctrinae* cf. the *epistola rite scripta* of Rom. viii. 6. cf. *Articuli* 12.
³ Ps. li. 6.
⁴ cf. 1 Pet. iii. 21.
⁵ cf. Eph. iv. 5.
⁶ cf. John iii. 5.
⁷ *Trine immersio* was the universal rule of the Catholic Church. cf. *Greg. Nyss. The Great Catechism*, p. 502 of this edition. So Tertull. *de Cor. Mil. c. iii. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu consistantur, nos renuntiare diabolo et pompa et angelis eius. Dehinc ter merguntur.* Synonymen (vi. 26) says that Eunomius was alleged to be the first to maintain that baptism ought to be performed in one immersion and to corrupt in this manner the tradition of the apostles, and Theodoret (*Haeret. fab. iv. 3*) describes Eunomius as abandoning the trine immersion, and also the invocation of the Trinity as baptizing into the death of Christ. Jeremy Taylor (*Ductor Dubitantium*, iii. 4. Sect. 13) says, "In England we have a custom of sprinkling, and that but once. . . . As to the number, though the Church of England hath made no law, and therefore the custom of doing it once is the more indifferent and at liberty, yet if the trine immersion be agreeable to the analogy of the mystery, and the other be not, the custom ought not to prevail, and is not to be complied with, if the case be evident or declared."

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 21. ² Matt. iii. 11. ³ *id.*
⁴ Rom. xv. 20. ⁵ 1 Cor. iii. 13.
⁶ On the martyrs' baptism of blood, cf. Eus. vi. 4. on the martyrdom of the Catechumen Heras. So St. Cyril. of Jerusalem (*Cat. Lect. iii. 10*), "If a man receive not baptism, he has not salvation; excepting only the martyrs, even who without the water receive the kingdom. For when the Saviour was ransoming the world through the cross, and was pierced

though part were ours and part God's; but I refer and ascribe the whole to Him.

Ver. 5, 6. "For our sufficiency is from God; who also made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant."

What means, "made us sufficient?" Made us able and fitting. And it is not a little thing to be the bearer to the world of such tables and letters, greater far than the former. Whence also he added,

"Not of the letter, but of the spirit." See again another difference. What then? was not that Law spiritual? How then saith he, "We know that the Law is spiritual?" (Rom. vii. 14.) Spiritual indeed, but it bestowed not a spirit. For Moses bare not a spirit, but letters; but we have been entrusted with the giving of a spirit. Whence also in further completion of this [contrast,] he saith,

"For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

Yet these things he saith not absolutely²; but in allusion to those who prided themselves upon the things of Judaism. And by "letter" here he meaneth the Law which punisheth them that transgress; but by "spirit" the grace which through Baptism giveth life to them who by sins were made dead. For having mentioned the difference arising from the nature of the tables, he doth not dwell upon it, but rapidly passing it by, bestows more labor upon this, which most enabled him to lay hold on his hearer from considerations of what was advantageous and easy; for, saith he, it is not laborious, and the gift it offers is greater. For if when discoursing of Christ, he puts especially forward those things which are of His lovingkindness, more than of our merit, and which are mutually connected, much greater necessity is there for his doing so when treating of the covenant. What then is the meaning of "the letter killeth?" He had said tables of stone and hearts of flesh: so far he seemed to mention no great difference. He added that the former [covenant] was written with letters or ink, but this with the Spirit. Neither did this rouse them thoroughly. He says at last what is indeed enough to give them wings¹; the one "killeth," the other "giveth life." And what doth this mean? In the Law, he that hath sin is punished; here, he that hath sins cometh and is baptized and is made righteous, and being made righteous, he liveth, being delivered from the death of sin. The Law, if it lay hold on a murderer, putteth him to death; the Gospel, if it lay hold on a murderer, enlighteneth, and giveth him life. And why do I instance a murderer? The Law laid hold on one that gathered sticks on a sabbath day,

and stoned him. (Num. xv. 32, 36.) This is the meaning of, "the letter killeth." The Gospel takes hold on thousands of homicides and robbers, and baptizing delivereth them from their former vices. This is the meaning of, "the Spirit giveth life." The former maketh its captive dead from being alive, the latter rendereth the man it hath convicted alive from being dead. For, "come unto me, ye that labor and are heavy laden," (Matt. xi. 28.) and, He said not, 'I will punish you,' but, "I will give you rest." For in Baptism the sins are buried, the former things are blotted out, the man is made alive, the entire grace written upon his heart as it were a table. Consider then how high is the dignity of the Spirit, seeing that His tables are better than those former ones; seeing that even a greater thing is shown forth than the resurrection itself. For indeed, that state of death from which He delivers, is more irremediable than the former one: as much more so, as soul is of more value than the body: and this life is conferred by that, by that which the Spirit giveth. But if It be able to bestow this, much more than that which is less. For, that prophets wrought, but this they could not: for none can remit sins but God only; nor did the prophets bestow that life without the Spirit. But this is not the marvel only, that it giveth life, but that it enabled others also to do this. For He saith, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." (John xx. 22.) Wherefore? Because without the Spirit it might not be? [Yes,] but God, as showing that It is of supreme authority, and of that Kingly Essence, and hath the same power [with Himself,] saith this too. Whence also He adds, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." (ibid. 23.)

[3.] Since then It hath given us life, let us remain living and not return again to the former deadness: for "Christ-dieth no more; for the death that He died, He died unto sin once:" (Rom. vi. 9, 10.) and He will not have us always saved by grace: for so we shall be empty of all things. Wherefore He will have us contribute something also from ourselves. Let us then contribute, and preserve to the soul its life. And what is life in a soul, learn from the body. For the body too we then affirm to live, when it moves with a healthy kind of motion; but when it lies prostrate and powerless, or its motions are disorderly, though it retain the semblance of life or motion, such a life is more grievous than any death: and should it utter nothing sane but words of the crazy, and see one object instead of another, such a man again is more pitiable than those who are dead. So also the soul when

¹ See, Rec. text, AAAA, [which is retained by all critics. C.]

² ut supra.

BAPTISM, AS IMMERSION

A. M. cir. 4066.
A. D. cir. 62.
A. U. C. 814.
An. Imp. Ne-
ronis Cæs.
Aug. 9.

10 'And ye are complete in
him, * which is the head of all
* principality and power ;

11 In whom also ye are * cir-
cumcised with the circumcision made without
hands, in * putting off the body of the sins of
the flesh by the circumcision of Christ ;

12 'Buried with him in baptism, wherein
also * ye are risen with him through * the faith
of the operation of God, * who hath raised him
from the dead.

* John i. 16.—* Eph. i. 20, 21 ; 1 Peter iii. 22.—* Chap. i.
16.—* Deut. x. 16 ; xxx. 6 ; Jer. iv. 4 ; Rom. ii. 29 ; Phil. iii.
3.—* Rom. vi. 6 ; Eph. iv. 22 ; chap. iii. 8, 9.—* Rom. vi. 4.
* Chap. iii. 1.—* Eph. i. 19 ; iii. 7.

not only effectively, as God dwells in good men, but
substantially or personally, by the strictest union, as
the soul dwells in the body ; so that God and man are
one Christ." See Parkhurst.

Verse 10. *And ye are complete in him*] *Και εστε εν
αυτω περιπληρωμενοι*. *And ye are filled with him*. Our
word *complete* quite destroys the connection subsisting
in the apostle's ideas. The philosophy of the world
was *empty*, *κενη*, but there was a *πληρωμα*, or *fulness*.
in Christ ; the Colossians were *empty*—spoiled and
deprived of every good, while following the *empty*
philosophy and groundless traditions of Jewish and
Gentile teachers ; but since they had received Christ
Jesus they were *περιπληρωμενοι*, *filled with him*. This
is the true meaning of the word, and by this the con-
nection and assemblage of ideas in the apostle's mind
are preserved. No fanciful *completeness in Christ*,
of a believer, while incomplete in himself, is either
expressed or intended by St. Paul. It is too bad a
doctrine to exist in the oracles of God.

The head of all principality] See the notes on
chap. i. 16, 17.

Verse 11. *In whom also ye are circumcised*] All
that was designed by circumcision, literally performed,
is accomplished in them that believe through the Spirit
and power of Christ. It is not a cutting off of a *part*
of the *flesh*, but a *putting off* the *body of the sins of*
the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ ; he
having undergone and performed this, and all other
rites necessary to qualify him to be a mediator between
God and man ; for, being made under the *law*, he was
subject to all its ordinances, and every act of his con-
tributed to the salvation of men. But by the circum-
cision of Christ, the operation of his grace and Spirit
may be intended : the law required the circumcision
of the flesh, the Gospel of Christ required the circum-
cision of the heart. The words *των αμαρτιων*, *of the*
sins, are omitted by ABCD*EFG, several others, by
the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Vulgate, and *Italia* ;
and by Clement, Athanasius, Basil, Cyril, and several
others Griesbach has omitted them.

Verse 12. *Buried with him in baptism*] Alluding
to the immersions practised in the case of adults,
wherein the person appeared to be buried under the

13 'And you, being dead in
your sins and the uncircumcision
of your flesh, hath he quickened
together with him, having for-
given you all trespasses ;

14 'Blotting out the hand-writing of ordinan-
ces that was against us, which was contrary to us
and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross :

15 *And* * having spoiled * principalities and
powers, he made a show of them openly, tri-
umphing over them * in it.

A. M. cir. 4066
A. D. cir. 62.
A. U. C. 814.
An. Imp. Ne-
ronis Cæs.
Aug. 9.

* Acts ii. 24.—* Eph. ii. 1, 5, 6, 11.—* Eph. ii. 15, 16.
* Gen. iii. 15 ; Psa. lxxviii. 18 ; Isa. liiii. 12 ; Mat. xii. 29 ; Luke
x. 18 ; xi. 22 ; Joh. xii. 31 ; xvi. 11 ; Eph. iv. 8 ; Heb. ii. 14.
* Eph. vi. 12.—* Or, *in himself*.

His rising again the third day, and their emerging
from the water, was an emblem of the resurrection of
the body ; and, in them, of a total change of life.

The faith of the operation of God] They were
quickened, changed, and saved, by means of faith in
Christ Jesus ; which faith was produced by the opera-
tion or energy of God. *Believing* is the act of the
soul ; but the *grace* or *power to believe* comes from
God himself.

Verse 13. *And you, being dead in your sins*] See
the notes on Eph. ii. 1, &c.

The uncircumcision of your flesh] This must refer
to that part of the Colossian Church which was made
up of converted *heathens*, for the *heathens* alone were
uncircumcised.

Verse 14. *Blotting out the hand-writing of ordi-
nances*] By the hand-writing of ordinances the apos-
tle most evidently means the *ceremonial law* : this was
against them, for they were bound to fulfil it ; and it
was *contrary* to them, as condemning them for their
neglect and transgression of it. This law God him-
self has blotted out.

Blotting out the hand-writing is probably an allu-
sion to Num. v. 23, where the curses written in the
book, in the case of the woman suspected of adultery,
are directed to be blotted out with the bitter waters.
And there can be little doubt of a farther allusion, viz.,
to the custom of discharging the writing from parch-
ment by the application of such a fluid as the *muratic*
acid, which immediately dissolves those ferruginous
calces which constitute the *blackening* principle of
most inks. But the East India inks, being formed
only of simple *black*, such as burnt *ivory*, or *cork*, and
gum water, may be wiped clean off from the surface
of the paper or parchment by the application of a *wet*
sponge, so as to leave not one legible vestige remain-
ing : this I have often proved.

Nailing it to his cross] When Christ was nailed
to the cross, our obligation to fulfil these ordinances
was done away. There may be another reference
here to some ancient mode of *annulling* legal obliga-
tions, by *nailing them to a post* ; but I do not recollect
at present an instance or example. Antiquated *laws*
are said to have been thus abrogated.

John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, vol. 2, IV, 19, trans. by Henry Beveridge
 Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1953, p. 524

adventitious farrago is, still it is lawful for me and all the godly to reject whatever men have presumed to add to the institution of Christ. When Satan saw that by the foolish credulity of the world his impostures were received almost without objection at the commencement of the gospel, he proceeded to grosser mockery: hence spittle and other follies, to the open disgrace of baptism, were introduced with unbridled licence.¹ From our experience of them, let us learn that there is nothing holier, or better, or safer, than to be contented with the authority of Christ alone. How much better, therefore, is it to lay aside all theatrical pomp, which dazzles the eyes of the simple, and dulls their minds, and when any one is to be baptised to bring him forward and present him to God, the whole Church looking on as witnesses, and praying over him; to recite the Confession of Faith, in which the catechumen has been instructed, explain the promises which are given in baptism, then baptise in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and conclude with prayer and thanksgiving. In this way, nothing which is appropriate would be omitted, and the one ceremony, which proceeded from its divine Author, would shine forth most brightly, not being buried or polluted by extraneous observances. Whether the person baptised is to be wholly immersed, and that whether once or thrice, or whether he is only to be sprinkled with water, is not of the least consequence: churches should be at liberty to adopt either, according to the diversity of climates, although it is evident that the term baptise means to immerse, and that this was the form used by the primitive Church.²

20. It is here also pertinent to observe, that it is improper for private individuals to take upon themselves the administration of baptism; for it, as well as the dispensation of the Supper, is part of the ministerial office. For Christ did not give command to any men or women whatever to baptise, but to those whom he had appointed apostles. And when, in the administration of the Supper, he ordered his disciples to do what they had seen him do (he having done the part of a legitimate dispenser), he doubtless meant that in this they should imitate his example. The practice which has been in use for many ages, and even almost from the very commencement of the Church, for laics to baptise, in danger of death, when a minister

¹ Vid. Calv. in Epist. de Fugiendis illicitis sacris. Item, Vera Ecclesia Reformanda Ratio. See also infra, chap. xvii. sec. 48. As to the form of baptism, see Cyprian, Lib. iv. Ep. 7.

² French, "Au reste, c'est une chose de nulle importance, si on baptise en plongeant du tout dans l'eau celui qui est baptisé, ou en repandant seulement de l'eau sur lui: mais selon la diversité des regions cela doit demeurer en la liberté des Eglises. Car le signe est représenté en l'un et en l'autre. Combien que le mot meisme de Baptiser signifie du tout plonger et qu'il soit certain que la coutume d'ainsi totalement plonger, ait été anciennement observée en l'Eglise."—Moreover, it is a matter of no importance whether we baptise by entirely immersing the person baptised in the water, or only by sprinkling water upon him, but, according to the diversity of countries, this should remain free to the churches. For the sign is represented in either. Although the mere term Baptise means to immerse entirely, and it is certain that the custom of thus entirely immersing was anciently observed in the Church.

Martin Luther, *The Holy and Blessed Sacrament of Baptism, Works*, vol. 35, ed. E. Theodore Bachmann
 Muhlenberg Press: Philadelphia, 1960, p. 29

THE HOLY AND BLESSED SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM

D.M.A.¹

1. Baptism [Die Taufe] is *baptismos* in Greek, and *mersio* in Latin, and means to plunge something completely into the water, so that the water covers it. Although in many places it is no longer customary to thrust and dip infants into the font, but only with the hand to pour the baptismal water upon them out of the font,² nevertheless the former is what should be done. It would be proper, according to the meaning of the word *Taufe*, that the infant, or whoever is to be baptized, should be put in and sunk completely into the water and then drawn out again. For even in the German tongue the word *Taufe* comes undoubtedly from the word *tief* [deep] and means that what is baptized is sunk deeply into the water. This usage is also demanded by the significance of baptism itself. For baptism, as we shall hear, signifies that the old man and the sinful birth of flesh and blood are to be wholly drowned by the grace of God. We should therefore do justice to its meaning and make baptism a true and complete sign of the thing it signifies.

2. Baptism is an external sign or token, which so separates us from all men not baptized that we are thereby known as a people of Christ, our Leader, under whose banner of the holy cross we continually fight against sin. In this holy sacrament we must there-

¹ Doctor Martin, Augustinian. See p. 9, n. 1; cf. p. 79.

² While various forms of ablution have apparently been practiced in all periods, immersion was probably the most ancient; in the Latin Church it prevailed until the twelfth century, and in some places until the sixteenth century. (*The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 261-262.) The oldest baptismal order of the Münster bishopric (ca. 1400-1414) prescribes triple immersion. The 1521 order of the Schwerin diocese, however, allows a choice between immersion and washing [*abwaschen*]. While Luther's preference was for immersion—his 1523 order of baptism prescribed dipping the child into the font (PE 6, 201)—Bucer and Zwingli both favored pouring. (CL 1, 185, n. 12).

Barnabas, Epistle of Barnabas, XI, (120-150 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.144

What, then, does he mean? That we ought to join ourselves to those that fear the Lord, those who meditate in their heart on the commandment which they have received, those who both utter the judgments of the Lord and observe them, those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminat¹ upon the word of the Lord. But what means the cloven-footed? That the righteous man also walks in this world, yet looks forward to the holy state² [to come]. Behold how well Moses legislated. But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? We then, rightly understanding his commandments,³ explain them as the Lord intended. For this purpose He circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might understand these things.

CHAP. XI. — BAPTISM AND THE CROSS PREFIGURED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Let us further inquire whether the Lord took any care to foreshadow the water [of baptism] and the cross. Concerning the water, indeed, it is written, in reference to the Israelites, that they should not receive that baptism which leads to the remission of sins, but should procure⁴ another for themselves. The prophet therefore declares, "Be astonished, O heaven, and let the earth tremble⁵ at this, because this people hath committed two great evils: they have forsaken Me, a living fountain, and have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns.⁶ Is my holy hill Zion a desolate rock? For ye shall be as the fledglings of a bird, which fly away when the nest is removed."⁷ And again saith the prophet, "I will go before thee and make level the mountains, and will break the brazen gates, and bruise in pieces the iron bars; and I will give thee the secret,⁸ hidden, invisible treasures, that they may know that I am the Lord God."⁹ And "He shall dwell in a lofty cave of the strong rock."¹⁰ Furthermore, what saith He in reference to the Son? "His water is sure; ye shall see the King in His glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord."¹¹ And again He saith in another prophet, "The man who doeth these things shall be like a tree planted by the courses of waters, which shall yield its fruit in due season; and his leaf shall not fade, and all that he doeth shall prosper. Not so are

the ungodly, not so, but even as chaff, which the wind sweeps away from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the just; for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish."¹² Mark how He has described at once both the water and the cross. For these words imply, Blessed are they who, placing their trust in the cross, have gone down into the water; for, says He, they shall receive their reward in due time: then He declares, I will recompense them. But now He saith,¹³ "Their leaves shall not fade." This meaneth, that every word which proceedeth out of your mouth in faith and love shall tend to bring conversion and hope to many. Again, another prophet saith, "And the land of Jacob shall be extolled above every land."¹⁴ This meaneth the vessel of His Spirit, which He shall glorify. Further, what says He? "And there was a river flowing on the right, and from it arose beautiful trees; and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever."¹⁵ This meaneth,¹⁶ that we indeed descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up, bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear [of God] and trust in Jesus in our spirit. "And whosoever shall eat of these shall live for ever." This meaneth: Whosoever, He declares, shall hear thee speaking, and believe, shall live for ever.

CHAP. XII. — THE CROSS OF CHRIST FREQUENTLY ANNOUNCED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In like manner He points to the cross of Christ in another prophet, who saith,¹⁷ "And when shall these things be accomplished? And the Lord saith, When a tree shall be bent down, and again arise, and when blood shall flow out of wood."¹⁸ Here again you have an intimation concerning the cross, and Him who should be crucified. Yet again He speaks of this¹⁹ in Moses, when Israel was attacked by strangers. And that He might remind them, when assailed, that it was on account of their sins they were delivered to death, the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses, that he should make a figure of the cross,²⁰ and of Him about to suffer thereon; for unless they put their trust in Him, they shall be overcome for ever. Moses therefore placed one weapon above another in the midst of the hill,²¹ and

¹ Cod. Sin. here has the singular, "one who ruminates."
² Literally, "holy age."
³ Cod. Sin. inserts again, "rightly."
⁴ Literally, "should build."
⁵ Cod. Sin. has, "confine still more," corrected to "tremble still more."
⁶ Cod. Sin. has, "have dug a pit of death." See Jer. ii. 13, 13.
⁷ Comp. Isa. xvi. 1, 2.
⁸ Literally, "dark." Cod. Sin. has, "of darkness."
⁹ Isa. xlv. 2, 3.
¹⁰ Isa. xxxiii. 16. Cod. Sin. has, "thou shalt dwell."
¹¹ Cod. Sin. entirely omits the question given above, and joins "the water is sure" to the former sentence.
¹² Isa. xxxiii. 16-18.

¹³ Ps. i. 3-6.
¹⁴ Cod. Sin. has, "what meaneth?"
¹⁵ Zeph. iii. 10.
¹⁶ Ezek. xlvii. 12.
¹⁷ Omitted in Cod. Sin.
¹⁸ Cod. Sin. refers this to God, and not to the prophet.
¹⁹ From some unknown apocryphal book. Hilgenfeld compares Hab. ii. 11.
²⁰ Cod. Sin. reads "He speaks to Moses."
²¹ Cod. Sin. omits "and."
²² Cod. Sin. reads $\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$, which must here be translated "heap" or "mass." According to Hilgenfeld, however, $\omega\omega\omega\omega$ is here equivalent to $\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$, "a fight." The meaning would then be, that "Moses piled weapon upon weapon in the midst of the battle," instead of "hill" ($\omega\omega\omega$), as above.

Shepherd of Hermas, II, 3, (160 A.D.)
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.22

persists in such deeds, and repents not, withdraw from him, and cease to live with him, otherwise you are a sharer in his sin. Therefore has the injunction been laid on you, that you should remain by yourselves, both man and woman, for in such persons repentance can take place. But I do not," said he, "give opportunity for the doing of these deeds, but that he who has sinned may sin no more. But with regard to his previous transgressions, there is One who is able to provide a cure ;¹ for it is He, indeed, who has power over all."

CHAP. II.

I asked him again, and said, "Since the Lord has vouchsafed to dwell always with me, bear with me while I utter a few words ;² for I understand nothing, and my heart has been hardened by my previous mode of life. Give me understanding, for I am exceedingly dull, and I understand absolutely nothing." And he answered and said unto me, "I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all who repent. Do you not think," he said, "that it is great wisdom to repent? for repentance is great wisdom.³ For he who has sinned understands that he acted wickedly in the sight of the Lord, and remembers the actions he has done, and he repents, and no longer acts wickedly, but does good munificently, and humbles and torments his soul because he has sinned. You see, therefore, that repentance is great wisdom." And I said to him, "It is for this reason, sir, that I inquire carefully into all things, especially because I am a sinner; that I may know what works I should do, that I may live: for my sins are many and various." And he said to me, "You shall live if you keep my commandments,⁴ and walk in them; and whosoever shall hear and keep these commandments, shall live to God."

CHAP. III.

And I said to him, "I should like to continue my questions." "Speak on," said he. And I said, "I heard, sir, some teachers maintain that there is no other repentance than that which takes place, when we descended into the water⁵ and received remission of our former sins." He said to me, "That was sound doctrine which you heard; for that is really the case. For he who has received remission of his sins ought not to sin any more, but to live in purity. Since,

¹ *There . . . cure.* God, who has power to heal, will provide a remedy. — *Pat.* [This whole passage seems to refer to the separation of penitents under canonical discipline. — Tertullian, *Paenit.*, capp. 5, 13, and *De Penitent.*, cap. 9. — *Theas.* iii. 14.]

² *Hear . . . words.* Give me a few words of explanation. — *Pat.*

³ *Repentance . . . wisdom.* For he who repents obtains great intelligence. For he feels that he has sinned and acted wickedly. — *Pat.* [Wisdom and understanding: "spiritual gifts here instanced as requisite to true penitence and spiritual life.]

⁴ *Matt.* xii. 17. — Saint-Pierre, *Harm. de la Nature*, iii. p. 150.]

⁵ [Immersion continues to be the usage, then, even in the West, at this epoch.]

however, you inquire diligently into all things, I will point this also out to you, not as giving occasion for error to those who are to believe, or have lately believed, in the Lord. For those who have now believed, and those who are to believe, have not repentance for their sins; but they have remission of their previous sins. For to those who have been called before these days, the Lord has set repentance. For the Lord, knowing the heart, and foreknowing all things, knew the weakness of men and the manifold wiles of the devil, that he would inflict some evil on the servants of God, and would act wickedly towards them.⁶ The Lord, therefore, being merciful, has had mercy on the work of His hand, and has set repentance for them; and He has entrusted to me power over this repentance. And therefore I say to you, that if any one is tempted by the devil, and sins after that great and holy calling in which the Lord has called His people to everlasting life,⁷ he has opportunity to repent but once. But if he should sin frequently after this, and then repent, to such a man his repentance will be of no avail; for with difficulty will he live."⁸ And I said, "Sir, I feel that life has come back to me in listening attentively to these commandments; for I know that I shall be saved, if in future I sin no more." And he said, "You will be saved, you and all who keep these commandments."

CHAP. IV.

And again I asked him, saying, "Sir, since you have been so patient in listening to me, will you show me this also?" "Speak," said he. And I said, "If a wife or husband die, and the widower or widow marry, does he or she commit sin?" "There is no sin in marrying again," said he; "but if they remain unmarried, they gain greater honour and glory with the Lord; but if they marry, they do not sin."⁹ Guard, therefore, your chastity and purity, and you will live to God. What commandments I now give you, and what I am to give, keep from henceforth, yea, from the very day when you were entrusted to me, and I will dwell in your house. And your former sins will be forgiven, if you keep my commandments. And all shall be forgiven who keep these my commandments, and walk in this chastity."

⁶ *For . . . them.* Since God knows the thoughts of all hearts, and the weakness of men, and the manifold wickedness of the devil which he practises in plotting against the servants of God, and in malignant designs against them. — *Pat.*

⁷ *In . . . life.* These words occur only in *Pat.* [Can the following words be genuine? They reflect the very Montanism here so strictly opposed. Wake has followed a very different text. The Scriptures, it is true, use very awful language of the same kind: Heb. x. 26, 27, xii. 16, 17: 1 John iii. 9.]

⁸ *With . . . live.* With difficulty will he live to God. — *Pat.* and *Pat.*

⁹ [1 Cor. vii. 39: Rom. vii. 3. See my note on *Simil.* ix. cap. 26. Here are touching illustrations of the new spirit as to the sanctity of marriage, to which the Gospel was awakening the heathen mind.]

Tertullian, On Baptism, (before 199 A.D.)
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.3,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.672

spiritual healing, according to the rule by which things carnal are always antecedent¹ as figurative of things spiritual. And thus, when the grace of God advanced to higher degrees among men,² an accession of efficacy was granted to the waters and to the angel. They who³ were wont to remedy bodily defects,⁴ now heal the spirit; they who used to work temporal salvation,⁵ now renew eternal; they who did set free but once in the year, now save peoples in a body⁶ daily, death being done away through ablution of sins. The guilt being removed, of course the penalty is removed too. Thus man will be restored for God to His "likeness," who in days by-gone had been *conformed* to "the image" of God; (the "image" is counted (to be) in his *form*: the "likeness" in his *eternity*:) for he receives again that Spirit of God which he had then first received from His *afflatus*, but had afterward lost through sin.

CHAP. VI.—THE ANGEL THE FORERUNNER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. MEANING CONTAINED IN THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA.

Not that *in*' the waters we obtain the Holy Spirit; but in the water, under (the witness of) the angel, we are cleansed, and prepared for the Holy Spirit. In this case also a type has preceded; for thus was John beforehand the Lord's forerunner, "preparing His ways."⁷ Thus, too, does the angel, the witness⁸ of baptism, "make the paths straight"⁹ for the Holy Spirit, who is about to come upon us, by the washing away of sins, which faith, sealed in (the name of) the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, obtains. For if "in the mouth of three witnesses every word shall stand:"¹⁰—while, through the benediction, we have the same (three) as witnesses of our faith whom we have as sureties¹¹ of our salvation too—how much more does the number of the divine names suffice for the assurance of our hope likewise! Moreover, after the pledging both of the attestation of faith and the promise¹² of salvation under "three witnesses," there is added, of necessity, mention of the Church;¹³ inasmuch as, wherever there are three, (that is, the Father,

the Son, and the Holy Spirit,) there is the Church, which is a body of three."¹⁴

CHAP. VII.—OF THE UNCTION.

After this, when we have issued from the font,¹⁵ we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction,—(a practice derived) from the old discipline, wherein on entering the priesthood, *men* were wont to be anointed with oil from a horn, ever since Aaron was anointed by Moses.¹⁶ Whence Aaron is called "Christ,"¹⁷ from the "chrism," which is "the unction;" which, when made spiritual, furnished an appropriate name to the Lord, because He was "anointed" with the Spirit by God the Father; as *written* in the Acts: "For truly they were gathered together in this city" against Thy Holy Son whom Thou hast anointed."¹⁸ Thus, too, in *our* case, the unction runs carnally, (*i.e.* on the body,) but profits spiritually; in the same way as the *act* of baptism itself too is carnal, in that we are plunged in water, but the effect spiritual, in that we are freed from sins.

CHAP. VIII.—OF THE IMPOSITION OF HANDS. TYPES OF THE DELUGE AND THE DOVE.

In the next place the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through benediction.¹⁹ Shall it be granted possible for human ingenuity to summon a spirit into water, and, by the application of hands from above, to animate their union into one body²⁰ with another spirit of so clear sound;²¹ and shall it not be possible for God, in the case of His own organ,²² to produce, by means of "holy hands,"²³ a sublime spiritual modulation? But this, as well as the former, is derived from the old sacramental rite in which Jacob blessed his grandsons, born of Joseph, Ephrem²⁴ and Manasses; with his hands laid on them and interchanged, and indeed so transversely slanted one over the other, that, by delineating Christ, they even portended the future benediction into Christ.²⁵ Then,

¹ Compare the *de Orat.* quoted above, and *de Patien.* xii.; and see *Matt.* xviii. 20.

² *Lavacro.*

³ See *Ex.* xxix. 7; *Lev.* viii. 12; *Ps.* cxxxiii. 2.

⁴ *i.e.* "Anointed." Aaron, or at least the priest, is actually so called in the LXX., in *Lev.* iv. 5, 16. *ὁ ἵερεύς ὁ Χριστός*: as in the Hebrew it is the word whence *Messiah* is derived which is used.

⁵ *Civitate.*

⁶ *Acts* iv. 27. "In this city" (*ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ*) is omitted in the English version; and the name "Inevus," "Jesus," is omitted by Tertullian. Compare *Acts* x. 38 and *Lev.* iv. 18 with *Isa.* lxi. 1 in the LXX.

⁷ (See Bunsen, *Hippel.* Vol. III. Sec. xiii. p. 25.)

⁸ *Concorporationem.*

⁹ The reference is to certain hydraulic organs, which the editors tell us are described by Vitruvius, ix. 9 and x. 13, and Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 37.

¹⁰ *i.e.* Man. There may be an allusion to *Eph.* ii. 10, "We are His workmanship," and to *Ps.* cl. 4.

¹¹ Compare *1 Tim.* ii. 8.

¹² *i.e.* *ἐπιβάπτισμα*.

¹³ In Christum.

¹ Compare *1 Cor.* xv. 46.

² *John* i. 16, 17.

³ *Qui*: *i. e.* probably "angeli qui."

⁴ *Vitia.*

⁵ *Or.* "health"—salutem.

⁶ *Conservant populos.*

⁷ Compare *c. viii.*, where Tertullian appears to regard the Holy Spirit as given *after* the baptized had come up out of the waters and received the "unction."

⁸ *Luke* i. 76.

⁹ *Arbiter.* [*Eccles.* v. 6, and *Acts* xii. 15.]

¹⁰ *Isa.* xl. 3; *Matt.* iii. 3.

¹¹ *Deut.* xix. 15; *Matt.* xviii. 16; *1 Cor.* xiii. 1.

¹² *Sponsors.*

¹³ *Sponsio*

¹⁴ Compare *de Orat.* c. ii. *sub fin.*

LECTURE III.

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made partakers of His presence in the flesh, we might be made partakers also of His Divine grace: thus Jesus was baptized, that thereby we again by our participation might receive both salvation and honour. According to Job, there was in the waters the dragon that *driveth up Jordan into his mouth*⁴. Since, therefore, it was necessary to *break the heads of the dragon in pieces*⁵, He went down and bound the strong one in the waters, that we might receive power to *tread upon serpents and scorpions*⁶. The beast was great and terrible. *No fishing-vessel was able to carry one scale of his tail*⁷: *destruction ran before him*⁸, ravaging all that met him. The Life encountered him, that the mouth of Death might henceforth be stopped, and all we that are saved might say, *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?*⁹ The sting of death is drawn by Baptism.

12. For thou goest down into the water, bearing thy sins, but the invocation of grace¹, having sealed thy soul, suffereth thee not afterwards to be swallowed up by the terrible dragon. Having gone down dead in sins, thou comest up quickened in righteousness. For if thou hast been united with the likeness of the Saviour's death², thou shalt also be deemed worthy of His Resurrection. For as Jesus took upon Him the sins of the world, and died, that by putting sin to death He might rise again in righteousness; so thou by going down into the water, and being in a manner buried in the waters, as He was in the rock, art raised again walking in newness of life³.

13. Moreover, when thou hast been deemed worthy of the grace, He then giveth thee strength to wrestle against the adverse powers. For as after His Baptism He was tempted forty days (not that He was unable to gain the victory before, but because He wished to do all things in due order and succession), so thou likewise, though not daring before thy baptism to wrestle with the adversaries, yet after thou hast received the grace and art henceforth confident in the armour of righteousness⁴, must then do battle, and preach the Gospel, if thou wilt.

14. Jesus Christ was the Son of God, yet He preached not the Gospel before His Baptism. If the Master Himself followed the right time in due order, ought we, His servants, to

venture out of order? *From that time Jesus began to preach*⁵, when the Holy Spirit had descended upon Him in a bodily shape, like a dove⁶; not that Jesus might see Him first, for He knew Him even before He came in a bodily shape, but that John, who was baptizing Him, might behold Him. For I, saith he, *knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding on Him, that is He*⁷. If thou too hast unfeigned piety, the Holy Ghost cometh down on thee also, and a Father's voice sounds over thee from on high—not, "This is My Son," but, "This has now been made My son;" for the "is" belongs to Him alone, because *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*⁸. To Him belongs the "is," since He is always the Son of God: but to thee "has now been made:" since thou hast not the sonship by nature, but receivest it by adoption. He eternally "is," but thou receivest the grace by advancement.

15. Make ready then the vessel of thy soul, that thou mayest become a son of God, and an heir of God, and joint-heir with Christ⁹; if, indeed, thou art preparing thyself that thou mayest receive; if thou art drawing nigh in faith that thou mayest be made faithful; if of set purpose thou art putting off the old man. For all things whatsoever thou hast done shall be forgiven thee, whether it be fornication, or adultery, or any other such form of licentiousness. What can be a greater sin than to crucify Christ? Yet even of this Baptism can purify. For so spake Peter to the three thousand who came to him, to those who had crucified the Lord, when they asked him, saying, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?*¹⁰ For the wound is great. Thou hast made us think of our fall, O Peter, by saying, *Ye killed the Prince of Life*¹¹. What salve is there for so great a wound? What cleansing for such foulness? What is the salvation for such perdition? *Repent, saith he, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*¹². O unspeakable loving-kindness of God! They have no hope of being saved, and yet they are thought worthy of the Holy Ghost. Thou seest the power of Baptism! If any of you has crucified the Christ by blasphemous words; if any of you in ignorance has denied Him before men; if any by wicked works has caused the doctrine to be blasphemed; let him repent and be of good hope, for the same grace is present even now.

⁴ Job xl. 23. ⁵ Ps. lxxiv. 24. ⁶ Luke x. 23.
⁷ Jon xl. 20. in the Sept. in place of xli. 7: *Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons, or his head with fish spears?* (A.V. and R.V.)
⁸ Joh xli. 23. Sept. but in R.V. xli. 22: *And terror dasheth before him.* ⁹ 1 Cor. xv. 55.
¹⁰ Compare III. 3. and see Index, "Baptism." ¹¹ Rom. vi. 5.
¹² Rom. vi. 2. Instead of "might rise again" (Roe Casaub. Men.), the older Editions have "might raise thee up," which is less appropriate in this part of the sentence.
¹³ 1 Cor. vi. 7.

¹ Matt. iv. 17. ² Luke iii. 21. ³ John i. 33. ⁴ 1b. i. 2.
⁵ Rom. viii. 17. ⁶ Acts ix. 37. ⁷ 1b. iii. 15. ⁸ 1b. ii. 50.

Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures, XVII, 14,
(348 A.D.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7,
Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1955, p. 127

LECTURE XVII.

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*Spirit of God cast out devils*³; and immediately afterwards, *Therefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak a word against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come*⁴. And again He says, *And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may be with you for ever, the Spirit of Truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him; but ye know Him, for He abideth with you, and shall be in you*⁵. And again He says, *These things have I spoken unto you being yet present with you. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all things that I said unto you*⁶. And again He says, *But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me*⁷. And again the Saviour says, *For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you*⁸. . . . *And when He is come, He will convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment*⁹; and afterwards again, *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when He the Spirit of Truth is come, He will declare unto you all the truth; for He shall not speak from Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear that shall He speak, and He shall announce unto you the things to come. He shall glorify Me, for He shall take of Mine, and shall announce it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, That He shall take of Mine, and shall announce it unto you*¹. I have read to thee now the utterances of the Only-begotten Himself, that thou mayest not give heed to men's words.

12. The fellowship of this Holy Spirit He bestowed on the Apostles; for it is written, *And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained*². This was the second time He breathed on man (His first breath³ having been stifled through wilful sins); that the Scripture might be fulfilled, *He went up breathing upon thy face, and delivering thee from*

*affliction*⁴. But whence went He up? From Hades; for thus the Gospel relates, that then after His resurrection He breathed on them. But though He bestowed His grace then, He was to lavish it yet more bountifully; and He says to them, "I am ready to give it even now, but the vessel cannot yet hold it; for a while therefore receive ye as much grace as ye can bear; and look forward for yet more; but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be clothed with power from on high⁵. Receive it in part now; then, ye shall wear it in its fulness. For he who receives, often possesses the gift but in part; but he who is clothed, is completely enfolded by his robe. "Fear not," He says, "the weapons and darts of the devil; for ye shall bear with you the power of the Holy Ghost." But remember what was lately said, that the Holy Ghost is not divided, but only the grace which is given by Him.

13. Jesus therefore went up into heaven, and fulfilled the promise. For He said to them, *I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter*⁶. So they were sitting, looking for the coming of the Holy Ghost; and when the day of Pentecost was fully come, here, in this city of Jerusalem,—(for this honour also belongs to us⁷; and we speak not of the good things which have happened among others, but of those which have been vouchsafed among ourselves,)—on the day of Pentecost, I say, they were sitting, and the Comforter came down from heaven, the Guardian and Sanctifier of the Church, the Ruler of souls, the Pilot of the tempest-tossed, who leads the wanderers to the light, and presides over the combatants, and crowns the victors.

14. But He came down to clothe the Apostles with power, and to baptize them; for the Lord says, *ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence*⁸. This grace was not in part, but His power was in full perfection; for as he who plunges into the waters and is baptized is encompassed on all sides by the waters, so were they also baptized completely by the Holy Ghost. The water however flows round the outside only, but the Spirit baptizes also the soul within, and that completely. And wherefore wonderest thou? Take an example from matter; poor indeed and common, yet useful for the simpler sort. If the fire passing in through the mass of the iron makes the whole of it

¹ Nahum ii. 1. The Septuagint, followed by Cyril, differs widely from the Hebrew: (R.V.) *He that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face.*

² Luke xxiv. 39.

³ John xiv. 26.

⁴ Cat. iii. 7: xvi. 5. Bp. Pearson (*Lectures in Acta Apost. I.* 1: 18): "Mightily said Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, 'All prerogatives are with us.' And the Emperor Justin called her 'Mother of the Christian name.' Jerome also (*Ep. 17, 3*), said: 'The whole mystery of our Faith is native of that province and city.'"

⁵ Act. i. 5.

¹ Matt. xii. 28.

² 1b. v. 32.

³ John xiv. 26.

⁴ 1b. v. 25.

⁵ 1b. xv. 26.

⁶ 1b. xvii. 7.

⁷ 1b. v. 8.

⁸ 1b. p. 12—15.

⁹ John xx. 22.

¹⁰ Gen. ii. 7: and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Compare Cat. xiv. 10.

Basil, On the Spirit, XV, 35, (374 A.D.)
 Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.8
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1955, p.21

ON THE SPIRIT.

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the words are, "They were baptized unto Moses."¹ Why then do these calumniators of the truth, by means of the shadow and the types, endeavour to bring contempt and ridicule on the "rejoicing" of our "hope,"² and the rich gift of our God and Saviour, who through regeneration renews our youth like the eagle's?³ Surely it is altogether childish, and like a babe who must needs be fed on milk,⁴ to be ignorant of the great mystery of our salvation; inasmuch as, in accordance with the gradual progress of our education, while being brought to perfection in our training for godliness,⁵ we were first taught elementary and easier lessons, suited to our intelligence, while the Dispenser of our lots was ever leading us up, by gradually accustoming us, like eyes brought up in the dark, to the great light of truth. For He spares our weakness, and in the depth of the riches⁶ of His wisdom, and the inscrutable judgments of His intelligence, used this gentle treatment, fitted for our needs, gradually accustoming us to see first the shadows of objects, and to look at the sun in water, to save us from dashing against the spectacle of pure unadulterated light, and being blinded. Just so the Law, having a shadow of things to come, and the typical teaching of the prophets, which is a dark utterance of the truth, have been devised as means to train the eyes of the heart, in that hence the transition to the wisdom hidden in mystery⁷ will be made easy. Enough so far concerning types; nor indeed would it be possible to linger longer on this topic, or the incidental discussion would become many times bulkier than the main argument.

CHAPTER XV.

Reply to the suggested objection that we are baptized "into water." Also concerning baptism.

34. WHAT more? Verily, our opponents are well equipped with arguments. We are baptized, they urge, into water, and of course we shall not honour the water above all creation, or give it a share of the honour of the Father and of the Son. The arguments of these men are such as might be expected from angry disputants, leaving no means untried in their attack on him who has offended them, because their reason is clouded over by their feelings. We will not, however, shrink from the discussion even

of these points. If we do not teach the ignorant, at least we shall not turn away before evil doers. But let us for a moment retrace our steps.

35. The dispensation of our God and Saviour concerning man is a recall from the fall, and a return from the alienation caused by disobedience to close communion with God. This is the reason for the sojourn of Christ in the flesh, the pattern life described in the Gospels, the sufferings, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection; so that the man who is being saved through imitation of Christ receives that old adoption. For perfection of life the imitation of Christ is necessary, not only in the example of gentleness,¹ lowliness, and long suffering set us in His life, but also of His actual death. So Paul, the imitator of Christ,² says, "being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead."³ How then are we made in the likeness of His death?⁴ In that we were buried⁵ with Him by baptism. What then is the manner of the burial? And what is the advantage resulting from the imitation? First of all, it is necessary that the continuity of the old life be cut. And this is impossible unless a man be born again, according to the Lord's word;⁶ for the regeneration, as indeed the name shews, is a beginning of a second life. So before beginning the second, it is necessary to put an end to the first. For just as in the case of runners who turn and take the second course,⁷ a kind of halt and pause intervenes between the movements in the opposite direction, so also in making a change in lives it seemed necessary for death to come as mediator between the two, ending all that goes before, and beginning all that comes after. How then do we achieve the descent into hell? By imitating, through baptism, the burial of Christ. For the bodies of the baptized are, as it were, buried in the water. Baptism then symbolically signifies the putting off of the works of the flesh; as the apostle says, ye were "circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism."

¹ ἀσπύνη in Arist. *Eth.* iv. 5, 5, is the defect where meanness (ἀσπύνη) is the mean. In Plutarch, who wrote a short treatise on it, it is a virtue. In Mark iii. 5, Jesus looked round on them "with anger," ἀσπύνη, but in Matt. xi. 29, He calls Himself *aspynē*.

² cf. 1 Cor. xi. 1. ³ Phil. iii. 10, 11. ⁴ Rom. vi. 4, 5. ⁵ A. V., "are buried." Grk. and R. V., "were buried."

⁶ John iii. 3. ⁷ In the double course (διπλῆς) the runner turned (ἐπέστρεψε) the post at the end of the stadium. So "ἐπέστρεψε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὁδοῦ εἰς ἄλλου" in *Reck. Ag.* 115, for retracing one's steps another way.

⁸ Col. ii. 11, 12.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 2.
² Heb. iii. 6.
³ cf. Ps. ciii. 5.
⁴ cf. Heb. v. 12.

⁵ cf. 1 Tim. iv. 7.
⁶ Rom. xi. 13.
⁷ 1 Cor. ii. 7.

Basil, On the Spirit, XV, 35, (374 A.D.)
 Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 8,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans Grand Rapids, 1955, p.22

And there is, as it were, a cleansing of the soul from the filth¹ that has grown on it from the carnal mind,² as it is written, "Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow."³ On this account we do not, as is the fashion of the Jews, wash ourselves at each defilement, but own the baptism of salvation⁴ to be one.⁵ For there the death on behalf of the world is one, and one the resurrection of the dead, whereof baptism is a type. For this cause the Lord, who is the Dispenser of our life, gave us the covenant of baptism, containing a type of life and death, for the water fulfils the image of death, and the Spirit gives us the earnest of life. Hence it follows that the answer to our question why the water was associated with the Spirit⁶ is clear: the reason is because in baptism two ends were proposed; on the one hand, the destroying of the body of sin,⁷ that it may never bear fruit unto death;⁸ on the other hand, our living unto the Spirit,⁹ and having our fruit in holiness;¹⁰ the water receiving the body as in a tomb figures death, while the Spirit pours in the quickening power, renewing our souls from the deadness of sin unto their original life. This then is what it is to be born again of water and of the Spirit, the being made dead being effected in the water, while our life is wrought in us through the Spirit. In three immersions,¹¹ then, and with three invocations, the great mystery of baptism is performed, to the end that the type of death may be fully figured, and that by the tradition of the divine knowledge the baptized may have their souls enlightened. It follows that if there is any grace in the water, it is not of the nature of the water, but of the presence of the Spirit. For baptism is "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good

conscience towards God."¹² So in training us for the life that follows on the resurrection the Lord sets out all the manner of life required by the Gospel, laying down for us the law of gentleness, of endurance of wrong, of freedom from the defilement that comes of the love of pleasure, and from covetousness, to the end that we may of set purpose win beforehand and achieve all that the life to come of its inherent nature possesses. If therefore any one in attempting a definition were to describe the gospel as a forecast of the life that follows on the resurrection, he would not seem to me to go beyond what is meet and right. Let us now return to our main topic.

36. Through the Holy Spirit comes our restoration to paradise, our ascension into the kingdom of heaven, our return to the adoption of sons, our liberty to call God our Father, our being made partakers of the grace of Christ, our being called children of light, our sharing in eternal glory, and, in a word, our being brought into a state of all "fulness of blessing,"¹³ both in this world and in the world to come, of all the good gifts that are in store for us, by promise whereof, through faith, beholding the reflection of their grace as though they were already present, we await the full enjoyment. If such is the earnest, what the perfection? If such the first fruits, what the complete fulfilment? Furthermore, from this too may be apprehended the difference between the grace that comes from the Spirit and the baptism by water: in that John indeed baptized with water, but our Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost. "I indeed," he says, "baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."¹⁴ Here He calls the trial at the judgment the baptism of fire, as the apostle says, "The fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is."¹⁵ And again, "The day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire."¹⁶ And ere now there have been some who in their championship of true religion have undergone the death for Christ's sake, not in mere similitude, but in actual fact, and so have needed none of the outward signs of water for their salvation, because they were baptized in their own blood.¹⁷ Thus I write

¹ cf. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

² το σαλευθὲν φερόμενα. cf. the ἄπειρα τῆς σαυαίης of Rom. vii. 5. cf. Article IX.

³ Ps. li. 9.

⁴ cf. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

⁵ cf. Eph. iv. 5.

⁶ cf. John iii. 5.

⁷ cf. Rom. vi. 6.

⁸ cf. Rom. vii. 5.

⁹ cf. Gal. v. 22.

¹⁰ cf. Rom. vi. 22.

¹¹ Trine immersion was the universal rule of the Catholic Church. cf. Greg. Nyss. *The Great Catechism*, p. 502 of this edition. So Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* c. liii. *Aquam edituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu contestamur, nos renuntiare diabolo et pompa et angelis eius. Dabinc ter mergitomer.* Sozomen (vi. 26) says that Eunomius was alleged to be the first to maintain that baptism ought to be performed in one immersion and to corrupt in this manner the tradition of the apostles, and Thendoret (*litteret. lib. iv. 3*) describes Eunomius as abandoning the trine immersion, and also the invocation of the Trinity as baptizing into the death of Christ. Jeremy Taylor (*Docteur des Indes*, iii. 4, Sect. 13) says, "In England we have a custom of sprinkling, and that but once. . . . As to the number, though the Church of England hath made no law, and therefore the custom of doing it once is the more indifferent and at liberty, yet if the trine immersion be agreeable to the analogy of the mystery, and the other be not, the custom ought not to prevail, and is not to be complied with, if the case be evident or declared."

¹² 1 Pet. iii. 21.

¹³ Rom. xv. 20.

¹⁴ Matt. iii. 11.

¹⁵ 1 Cor. iii. 13.

¹⁶ *id.*

¹⁷ On the martyrs' baptism of blood, cf. Eus. vi. 4, on the martyrdom of the Catechumen Herakl. So St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Lect.* iii. 10), "If a man receive not baptism, he has not salvation; excepting only the martyrs, even who without the water receive the kingdom. For when the Saviour was ransoming the world through the cross, and was pierced

John Crysostom, Homilies on John, XXV, 2, (381-398 A.D.)
Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.14,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1956, p.89

That the need of water is absolute and indispensable,¹ you may learn in this way. On one occasion, when the Spirit had flown down before the water was applied, the Apostle did not stay at this point, but, as though the water were necessary and not superfluous, observe what he says; "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" (Acts x. 47.)

What then is the use of the water? This too I will tell you hereafter, when I reveal to you the hidden mystery.² There are also other points of mystical teaching connected with the matter, but for the present I will mention to you one out of many. What is this one? In Baptism are fulfilled the pledges of our covenant with God; burial and death, resurrection and life; and these take place all at once. For when we immerse our heads in the water, the old man is buried as in a tomb below, and wholly sunk forever; then as we raise them again, the new man rises in its stead.³ As it is easy for us to dip and to lift our heads again, so it is easy for God to bury the old man, and to show forth the new. And this is done thrice, that you may learn that the power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost fulfilleth all this. To show that what we say is no conjecture, hear Paul saying, "We are buried with Him by Baptism into death": and again, "Our old man is crucified with Him": and again, "We have been planted together in the likeness of His death." (Rom. vi. 4, 5, 6.) And not only is Baptism called a "cross," but the "cross" is called "Baptism." "With the Baptism," saith Christ, "that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized" (Mark x. 39): and, "I have a Baptism to be baptized with" (Luke xii. 50) (which ye know not); for as we easily dip and lift our heads again, so He also easily died and rose again when He willed, or rather much more easily, though He tarried the three days for the dispensation of a certain mystery.

[3.] Let us then who have been deemed worthy of such mysteries show forth a life worthy of the Gift, that is, a most excellent conversation;⁴ and do ye who have not yet been deemed worthy, do all things that you may be so, that we may be one body, that we may be brethren. For as long as we are divided in this respect, though a man be father, or son, or brother, or aught else, he is no true kinsman, as being cut off from that relationship which is from above. What advantageth it to be bound by the ties of

earthly family, if we are not joined by those of the spiritual? what profits nearness of kin on earth, if we are to be strangers in heaven? For the Catechumen is a stranger to the Faithful. He hath not the same Head, he hath not the same Father, he hath not the same City, nor Food, nor Raiment, nor Table, nor House, but all are different; all are on earth to the former, to the latter all are in heaven. One has Christ for his King; the other, sin and the devil; the food⁷ of one is Christ, of the other, that meat which decays and perishes; one has worms' work for his raiment, the other the Lord of angels; heaven is the city of one, earth of the other. Since then we have nothing in common, in what, tell me, shall we hold communion? Did we remove the same pangs,⁸ did we come forth from the same womb? This has nothing to do with that most perfect relationship. Let us then give diligence that we may become citizens of the city which is above. How long do we tarry over the border,⁹ when we ought to reclaim our ancient country? We risk no common danger; for if it should come to pass, (which God forbid!) that through the sudden arrival of death we depart hence uninitiated,¹⁰ though we have ten thousand virtues, our portion will be no other than hell, and the venomous worm, and fire unquenchable, and bonds indissoluble. But God grant that none of those who hear these words experience that punishment! And this will be, if having been deemed worthy of the sacred mysteries, we build upon that foundation gold, and silver, and precious stones; for so after our departure hence we shall be able to appear in that place rich, when we leave not our riches here, but transport them to inviolable treasuries by the hands of the poor, when we lend to Christ. Many are our debts there, not of money, but of sins; let us then lend Him our riches, that we may receive pardon for our sins; for He it is that judgeth. Let us not neglect Him here when He hungereth, that He may ever feed us there. Here let us clothe Him, that He leave us not bare of the safety which is from Him. If here we give Him drink, we shall not with the rich man say, "Send Lazarus, that with the tip of his finger he may drop water on my broiling¹¹ tongue." If here we receive Him into our house, there He will prepare many mansions for us; if we go to Him in prison, He too will free us from our bonds; if we take Him in when He is a stranger, He will not suffer us to be strangers to the Kingdom of heaven, but will give us a portion in the City which is above; if we visit Him when He is sick, He also will quickly deliver us from our infirmities.

Let us then, as receiving great things though

¹ ἀνεύχαστο καὶ ἀναπόσπαστο.
² [as it is allowed me from above] Morel.
³ καὶ ἡ βαπτισμὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. So in Euseb. Hist. Ecc. x. 3. Baptism is said to be ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. See also Rufinus, de Constant. 9. 9.
⁴ Morel. "having been immersed below, is hidden wholly once for all." [The whole passage is important for the patristic view of the words of baptism. — P. 5.]

⁷ al. "the delight." ⁸ i.e. "were we twins." ⁹ ὑπερβολῶς.
¹⁰ i.e. unbaptized. ¹¹ ἀσπυγγοῦσθαι.

John Crysostom, Homilies on First Corinthians, XL, 2,
(381-398 A.D.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.14,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1956, p.245

this faith we are baptized. For after we have confessed this together with the rest, then at last are we let down into the fountain of those sacred streams. This therefore Paul recalling to their minds said, "if there be no resurrection, why art thou then baptized for the dead?" i. e., the dead bodies. For in fact with a view to this art thou baptized, the resurrection of thy dead² body, believing that it no longer remains dead. And thou indeed in the words makest mention of a resurrection of the dead; but the priest, as in a kind of image, signifies to thee by very deed the things which thou hast believed and confessed in words. When without a sign thou believest, then he gives thee the sign also; when thou hast done thine own part, then also doth God fully assure thee. How and in what manner? By the water. For the being baptized and immersed and then emerging, is a symbol of the descent into Hades and return thence. Wherefore also Paul calls baptism a burial, saying, "Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death." (Rom. vi. 4.) By this he makes that also which is to come credible, I mean, the resurrection of our bodies. For the blotting out sins is a much greater thing than the raising up of a body. And this Christ declaring, said, "For whether is easier to say, Thy sins are forgiven, or to say, Take up thy bed, and walk?" (Matt. ix. 5.) "The former is the more difficult," saith He, "but since ye disbelieve it as being hidden, and make the easier instead of the more difficult the demonstration of my power, neither will I refuse to afford you this proof." Then saith He to the paralytic, "Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thy house."

"And how is this difficult," saith one, "when it is possible to kings also and rulers? For they too forgive adulterers and homicides." Thou art jesting, O man, who sayest these things. For to forgive sins with God only is possible. But rulers and kings, whether it is adulterers whom they forgive or homicides, release them indeed from the present punishment; but their sin they do not purge out. Though they should advance to offices them that have been forgiven, though they should invest them with the purple itself, though they should set the diadem upon their heads, yet so they would only make them kings, but could not free them from their sin. It being God alone who doeth this; which accordingly in the Laver of Regeneration He will bring to pass. For His grace touches the very soul, and thence plucks up the sin by the root. Here is the reason why he that hath been forgiven by the king may be seen with his soul yet impure, but the soul of the baptized no longer so, but

purer than the very sun-beams, and such as it was originally formed, nay rather much better than that. For it is blessed with a Spirit, on every side enkindling it and making its holiness intense. And as when thou art recasting iron or gold thou makest it pure and new once more, just so the Holy Ghost also, recasting the soul in baptism as in a furnace and consuming its sins, causes it to glisten with more purity than all purest gold.

Further, the credibility of the resurrection of our bodies he signifies to thee again from what follows: viz., that since sin brought in death, now that the root is dried up, one must not after that doubt of the destruction of the fruit. Therefore having first mentioned "the forgiveness of sins," thou dost next confess also "the resurrection of the dead;" the one guides thee as by hand on to the other.

Yet again, because the term Resurrection is not sufficient to indicate the whole: for many after rising have again departed, as those in the Old Testament, as Lazarus, as they at the time of the crucifixion: one is bid to say, "and the life everlasting," that none may any longer have a notion of death after that resurrection.

These words therefore Paul recalling to their minds, saith, "What shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" "For if there be no resurrection," saith he, "these words are but scenery. If there be no resurrection, how persuade we them to believe things which we do not bestow?" Just as if a person bidding another to deliver a document to the effect that he had received so much, should never give the sum named therein, yet after the subscription should demand of him the specified monies. What then will remain for the subscriber to do, now that he hath made himself responsible, without having received what he admitted he had received? This then he here saith of those who are baptized also. "What shall they do which are baptized," saith he, "having subscribed to the resurrection of dead bodies, and not receiving it, but suffering fraud? And what need was there at all of this confession, if the fact did not follow?" *

[3.] Ver. 30. "Why do we also stand in jeopardy every hour?"

Ver. 31. "I protest by that glorying in you which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily."

See again whence he endeavors to establish the doctrine, from his own suffrage: or rather not from his only, but from that also of the other apostles. And this too is no small thing; that the teachers whom you produce were full

¹ See before, Hom. xi. §. 3.

² The very act of immersion and emergence affirms the spiritual death and resurrection of thine own body, cf. Rom. vi. 1-3, as quoted below, and the parallel places.

* [Crysostom's explanation of this famous *crux*, though followed by Erasmus, Cor. a Lap. and Wordsworth, has not met general acceptance. But I have never seen any that is better. C.]

CESSATION OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS

was plausible indeed, and because plausible attractive, but which was not founded on an accurate ascertainment of the teaching of the New Testament on the subject, and therefore so missed the truth that, in its application to the history of the early church, it exactly reversed it. This theory is in brief, I may remind you, that the miraculous powers present in the early church had for their end supernatural assistance in founding the church; that they were therefore needed throughout the period of the church's weak infancy, being in brief, as Fuller calls them, "the swaddling-clothes of the infant churches"; and that naturally they were withdrawn when their end had been accomplished and Christianity had ascended the throne of the empire. When the protection of the strongest power on earth was secured, the idea seems to be, the power of God was no longer needed.⁴⁶

But whence can we learn this to have been the end the miracles of the Apostolic age were intended to serve? Certainly not from the New Testament. In it not one word is ever dropped to this effect. (Certain of the gifts (as, for example, the gift of tongues) are no doubt spoken of as "signs to those that are without.") It is required of all of them that they be exercised for the edification of the church; and a distinction is drawn between them in value, in proportion as they were for edification. But the immediate end for which they were given is not left doubtful, and that proves to be not directly the extension of the church, but the authentication of the Apostles as messengers from God. This does not mean, of course, that only the Apostles appear in the New Testament as working miracles, or that they alone are represented as recipients of the charismata. But it does mean that the charismata belonged, in a true sense, to the Apostles, and constituted one of the signs of an Apostle. Only in the two great initial instances of the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost and the reception of Cornelius are charismata recorded as conferred without

of the heathen. The name of Jesus serves as the all-powerful spell, the cross as the irresistible charm, by which bolts can be sprung, doors opened, idols overturned, poison rendered harmless, the sick healed, the dead raised. The demonic flight of the magician is confounded by the prayer of the Apostles; they are none the less themselves carried home on the clouds, through the air." Something new entered Christianity in these wonder-tales; something unknown to the Christianity of the Apostles, unknown to the Apostolic churches, and unknown to their sober successors; and it entered Christianity from without, not through the door, but climbing up some other way. It brought an abundance of miracle-working with it; and, unfortunately, it brought it to stay. But from a contemplation of the swelling flood of marvels thus introduced into Christianity, obviously, the theory of the gradual cessation of miracle-working in the church through three centuries, which we are now examining, can derive no support.⁴⁸

It may be justly asked, how it can be accounted for that so large a body of students of history can have committed themselves to a view which so clearly runs in the face of the plainest facts of the very history they are setting themselves to explain. The answer is doubtless to be found in the curious power which preconceived theory has to blind men to facts. The theory which these scholars had been led to adopt as to the cessation of miraculous powers in the church required the course of events which they assume to have happened. They recognized the abundant development of miraculous gifts in the Apostolic Church, and they argued that this wide-spread endowment could scarcely fail suddenly, but must have died out gradually. In estimating the length of time through which the miracle-working might justly be supposed to subsist, and at the end of which it might naturally be expected to have died out, they were unfortunately determined by a theory of the function of these miracles in the Apostolic Church which

the laying on of the hands of Apostles.⁴⁷ There is no instance on record of their conference by the laying on of the hands of any one else than an Apostle.⁴⁸ The case of the Samaritans, recorded in the eighth chapter of Acts, is not only a very instructive one in itself, but may even be looked upon as the cardinal instance. The church had been propagated hitherto by the immediately evangelistic work of the Apostles themselves, and it had been accordingly the Apostles themselves who had received the converts into the church. Apparently they had all received the power of working signs by the laying on of the Apostles' hands at their baptism. The Samaritans were the first converts to be gathered into the church by men who were not Apostles; and the signs of the Apostles were accordingly lacking to them until Peter and John were sent down to them that they might "receive the Holy Ghost" (Acts 8 : 14-17). The effect on Simon Magus of the sight of these gifts springing up on the laying on of the Apostles' hands, we will all remember. The salient statements are very explicit. "Then laid they their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost." "Now when Simon saw that through the laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given." "Give me also this power, that, on whomsoever I lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." It could not be more emphatically stated that the Holy Ghost was conferred by the laying on of the hands, specifically of the Apostles, and of the Apostles alone; what Simon is said to have seen is precisely that it was through the laying on of the hands of just the Apostles that the Holy Ghost was given. And there can be no question that it was specifically the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit that were in discussion; no doubt is thrown upon the genuineness of the version of the Samaritans; on the contrary, this is taken as a matter of course, and its assumption underlies the whole narrative; it constitutes in fact the very point of the narrative.

This case of the Samaritans was of great importance in the primitive church, to enable men to distinguish between the gifts of grace and the gifts of power. Without it there would have been danger that only those would be accredited as Christians who possessed extraordinary gifts. It is of equal importance to us, to teach us the source of the gifts of power, in the Apostles, apart from whom they were not conferred: as also their function, to authenticate the Apostles as the authoritative founders of the church. It is in accordance with this reading of the significance of this incident, that Paul, who had all the signs of an Apostle, had also the power of conferring the charismata, and that in the entire New Testament we meet with no instance of the gifts showing themselves—after the initial instances of Pentecost and Cornelius—where an Apostle had not conveyed them. Hermann Cremer is accordingly quite right when he says⁴⁹ that "the Apostolic charismata bear the same relation to those of the ministry that the Apostolic office does to the pastoral office"; the extraordinary gifts belonged to the extraordinary office and showed themselves only in connection with its activities.⁵⁰

The connection of the supernatural gifts with the Apostles is so obvious that one wonders that so many students have missed it, and have sought an account of them in some other quarter. The true account has always been recognized, however, by some of the more careful students of the subject. It has been clearly set forth, for example, by Bishop Kaye. "I may be allowed to state the conclusion," he writes,⁵¹ "to which I have myself been led by a comparison of the statements in the Book of Acts with the writings of the Fathers of the second century. My conclusion then is, that the power of working miracles was not extended beyond the disciples upon whom the Apostles conferred it by the imposition of their hands. As the number of these disciples gradually diminished, the instances of the exercise of miraculous powers became continually less

THE DEEPER PRINCIPLE

25

century. The great missionary Apostles, Paul and Peter, had passed away by A. D. 68, and apparently only John was left in extreme old age until the last decade of the first century. The number of those upon whom the hands of Apostles had been laid, living still in the second century, cannot have been very large. We know of course of John's pupil Polycarp; we may add perhaps an Ignatius, a Papias, a Clement, possibly a Hermas, or even a Leucius; but at the most there are few of whom we know with any definiteness. That Justin and Irenæus and their contemporaries allude to miracle-working as a thing which had to their knowledge existed in their day, and yet with which they seem to have little exact personal acquaintance, is also explained. Irenæus's youth was spent in the company of pupils of the Apostles; Justin may easily have known of, if not even witnessed, miracles wrought by Apostolically trained men. The fault of these writers need have been no more than a failure to observe, or to acknowledge, the cessation of these miracles during their own time; so that it is not so much the trustworthiness of their testimony as their understanding of the changing times which falls under criticism. If we once lay firm hold upon the biblical principle which governed the distribution of the miraculous gifts, in a word, we find that we have in our hands a key which unlocks all the historical puzzles connected with them.

There is, of course, a deeper principle recognizable here, of which the actual attachment of the charismata of the Apostolic Church to the mission of the Apostles is but an illustration. This deeper principle may be reached by us through the perception, more broadly, of the inseparable connection of miracles with revelation, as its mark and credential; or, more narrowly, of the summing up of all revelation, finally, in Jesus Christ. Miracles do not appear on the page of Scripture vagrantly, here, there, and elsewhere indifferently, without assignable reason. They

24 COUNTERFEIT MIRACLES

frequent, and ceased entirely at the death of the last individual on whom the hands of the Apostles had been laid. That event would, in the natural course of things, take place before the middle of the second century—at a time when Christianity, having obtained a footing in all the provinces of the Roman Empire, the miraculous gifts conferred upon the first teachers had performed their appropriate office—that of proving to the world that a new revelation had been given from heaven. What, then, would be the effect produced upon the minds of the great body of Christians by their gradual cessation? Many would not observe, none would be willing to observe, it. . . . They who remarked the cessation of miracles would probably succeed in persuading themselves that it was only temporary and designed by an all-wise Providence to be the prelude to a more abundant effusion of the supernatural powers upon the church. Or if doubts and misgivings crossed their minds, they would still be unwilling to state a fact which might shake the steadfastness of their friends, and would certainly be urged by the enemies of the gospel as an argument against its divine origin. They would pursue the plan which has been pursued by Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Irenæus, etc.; they would have recourse to general assertions of the existence of supernatural powers, without attempting to produce a specific instance of their exercise. . . .” The bishop then proceeds to recapitulate the main points and grounds of this theory.⁵²

Whatever we may think of the specific explanation which Bishop Kaye presents of the language of the second-century Fathers, we can scarcely fail to perceive that the confinement of the supernatural gifts by the Scriptures to those who had them conferred upon them by the Apostles, affords a ready explanation of all the historical facts. It explains the unobserved dying out of these gifts. It even explains —what might at first sight seem inconsistent with it—the failure of allusion to them in the first half of the second

Benjamin B. Warfield, Counterfeit Miracles,
The Banner of Truth Trust: Carlisle, 1983, p.26-7

belong to revelation periods, and appear only when God is speaking to His people through accredited messengers, declaring His gracious purposes. Their abundant display in the Apostolic Church is the mark of the richness of the Apostolic age in revelation; and when this revelation period closed, the period of miracle-working had passed by also, as a mere matter of course. It might, indeed, be a *priori* conceivable that God should deal with men atomistically, and reveal Himself and His will to each individual, throughout the whole course of history, in the penetralium of his own consciousness. This is the mystic's dream. It has not, however, been God's way. He has chosen rather to deal with the race in its entirety, and to give to this race His complete revelation of Himself in an organic whole. And when this historic process of organic revelation had reached its completeness, and when the whole knowledge of God designed for the saving health of the world had been incorporated into the living body of the world's thought—there remained, of course, no further revelation to be made, and there has been accordingly no further revelation made. God the Holy Spirit has made it His subsequent work, not to introduce new and unneeded revelations into the world, but to diffuse this one complete revelation through the world and to bring mankind into the saving knowledge of it.

As Abraham Kuyper figuratively expresses it,⁵³ it has not been God's way to communicate to each and every man a separate store of divine knowledge of his own, to meet his separate needs; but He rather has spread a common board for all, and invites all to come and partake of the richness of the great feast. He has given to the world one organically complete revelation, adapted to all, sufficient for all, provided for all, and from this one completed revelation He requires each to draw his whole spiritual sustenance. Therefore it is that the miraculous working which is but the sign of God's revealing power, cannot be expected to

continue, and in point of fact does not continue, after the revelation of which it is the accompaniment has been completed. It is unreasonable to ask miracles, says John Calvin—or to find them—where there is no new gospel.⁵⁴ By as much as the one gospel suffices for all lands and all peoples and all times, by so much does the miraculous attestation of that one single gospel suffice for all lands and all times, and no further miracles are to be expected in connection with it. "According to the Scriptures," Herman Bavinck explains,⁵⁵ "special revelation has been delivered in the form of a historical process, which reaches its end-point in the person and work of Christ. When Christ had appeared and returned again to heaven, special revelation did not, indeed, come at once to an end. There was yet to follow the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and the extraordinary working of the powers and gifts through and under the guidance of the Apostolate. The Scriptures undoubtedly reckon all this to the sphere of special revelation, and the continuance of this revelation was necessary to give abiding existence in the world to the special revelation which reached its climax in Christ—abiding existence both in the word of Scripture and in the life of the church. Truth and life, prophecy and miracle, word and deed, inspiration and regeneration go hand in hand in the completion of special revelation. But when the revelation of God in Christ had taken place, and had become in Scripture and church a constituent part of the cosmos, then another era began. As before everything was a preparation for Christ, so afterward everything is to be a consequence of Christ. Then Christ was being framed into the Head of His people, now His people are being framed into the Body of Christ. Then the Scriptures were being produced, now they are being applied. New constituent elements of special revelation can no longer be added; for Christ has come, His work has been done, and His word is complete." Had any miracles perchance occurred beyond the Apostolic

work, however, Middleton had a subject where scepticism found a proper mark, and he performs his congenial task with distinct ability. His controversial spirit and a certain harshness of tone, while they may detract from the pleasure with which the book is read, do not destroy its value as a solid piece of investigation.

Conscious of the boldness of the views he was about to advocate and foreseeing their unpopularity, Middleton sent forth in 1747 as a sort of preparation for what was to come an *Introductory discourse to a larger work designed hereafter to be published, concerning the miraculous powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian church from the earliest ages through several successive centuries; tending to show that we have no sufficient reason to believe upon the authority of the primitive fathers, that any such powers were continued to the church after the days of the Apostles. With a postscript . . .* (London, 1747). In this *Discourse* he points out the helplessness of the Anglican position in the face of Romish claims. There is no reason for allowing miracles for the first three centuries which is not as good or better for allowing them for the succeeding centuries: and yet the greater portion of the miracles of these later centuries were wrought in support of distinctively Romish teaching, which, it would seem, must be accepted, if their attesting miracles are allowed. Next year (1748) he published *Remarks on two Pamphlets . . .*, which had appeared in reply to his *Introductory Discourse*; and at length in December, 1748, he permitted the *Free Inquiry* itself to see the light, fitted with a preface in which an account is given of the origin of the book, and the position taken up in the *Introductory Discourse* is pressed more sharply still—that the genuineness of the ecclesiastical miracles being once allowed, no stopping-place can be found until the whole series of alleged miracles down to our own day be admitted. At the end of this preface Middleton's own view as to the cause of the cessation of the spiritual gifts

age they would be without significance; mere occurrences with no universal meaning. What is important is that "the Holy Scriptures teach clearly that the complete revelation of God is given in Christ, and that the Holy Spirit who is poured out on the people of God has come solely in order to glorify Christ and to take of the things of Christ." Because Christ is all in all, and all revelation and redemption alike are summed up in Him, it would be inconceivable that either revelation or its accompanying signs should continue after the completion of that great revelation with its accrediting works, by which Christ has been established in His rightful place as the culmination and climax and all-inclusive summary of the saving revelation of God, the sole and sufficient redeemer of His people.

At this point we might fairly rest. But I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving you some account in this connection of a famous book on the subject we have been discussing—to which indeed incidental allusion has been made. I refer to Conyers Middleton's *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian church from the earliest ages through several successive centuries. By which it is shown that we have no sufficient reason to believe, upon the authority of the primitive fathers, that any such powers were continued to the church, after the days of the Apostles.* Middleton was a doughty controversialist, no less admired for his English style, which was reckoned by his contemporaries as second in purity to that of no writer of his day except Addison (though John Wesley more justly found it stiff and pedantic), than feared for the sharpness and persistency of his polemics. He was of a somewhat sceptical temper and perhaps cannot be acquitted of a certain amount of insincerity. We could wish at least that it were clearer that John Wesley's description of him were undeserved, as "aiming every blow, though he seems to look another way, at the fanatics who wrote the Bible."⁶⁶ In this, his chief theological

lives by the precepts of the gospel; and (ib. iii. 24), speaking of heathen ascriptions of healings to Æsculapius, that by the invocation of Jesus' name some Christians of his time had marvellous power of healing; he would seem to speak chiefly of mental diseases.

These passages show that healings, especially in nervous cases, continued in the 2nd cent. and later; but there are indications that even they were not very frequent, and there is no good evidence of the other miraculous works of which we read in the NT being continued. In the Church Orders we read of the benediction of oil for healing and for the exorcism of candidates for baptism, and these features may probably be due to the lost original of several of the Orders, which may be dated about the beginning of the 3rd century. But here we have passed from the stage of miracle to that of ordinary liturgical usage. At the end of the 4th cent. Chrysostom implies that miracles had ceased—and this in the face of the fact that that century saw the rise of miracle-loving hagiography. He says (*de Sacerd.* iv. 6 [416]) that his contemporaries, though they all came together with myriads of prayers and tears, could not do as much as the 'aprons' (*σμηκιδία*) of St. Paul once did (Ac 19¹²).

The evidence, then, seems to show that miracles gradually died out, and that after the Apostolic Age they scarcely went beyond 'healing by suggestion.' The case is very different after the 4th cent., when lives of the saints and martyrs are full of miracle, and eventually the power of working miracles became a test of saintship, in direct contrast with the restraint of Holy Scripture, in which it is said that 'John did no sign' (Jn 10⁴), and no miracle is ascribed to the great majority of the heroes of the OT. Moreover, most of the 'ecclesiastical' miracles are mere prodigies, and can in no sense be called 'signs.' In many cases they are demonstrably the invention of later biographers, and contemporary writers show no knowledge of them. But we cannot *a priori* deny the possibility of miracles happening in any age of the Christian Church, and it is quite probable that some mighty deeds of later times, notably healings, may have a modicum of truth in them, and may be such as would have been termed *σημεία* in the NT. (For miracles in the Columban Church see J. Dowden, *Celtic Church in Scotland*, London, 1894, ch. viii.)

5. Evidential value of NT miracles.—The object of the miracles was to arrest attention (Jn 2²³ 3²); they were not, however, *faith-compelling* (Mt 11²⁰, Jn 12²⁷). Since the apostles believed (see above, 3) that even evil men and evil spirits could work miracles, they would not have said that a miracle-worker must be a true teacher. Now a miracle, because of its anomalousness, requires more proof than an ordinary event. The latter, if properly vouched, at once becomes probable; not so the former, unless it has a certain degree of *a priori* likelihood. Such we find in the belief in the spiritual world. If we believe in a God who is not aloof from the world, but loves His creatures, it is not improbable that He should, for good cause, intervene. The method of intervention may be unusual, and not in accord with the ordinary course of nature as we know it (cf. Augustine, above, 3); but if an unusual event such as the Incarnation happens, it is not improbable that such interventions should accompany it. It follows, however, that we cannot rest our argument for the existence of God, or for the truth of Christianity, merely on the fact that miracles happened, and it was a mistake in the reasoning of the 18th cent. apologetes that they to a large extent did so. If for other reasons we believe in the Godhead of our Lord, we can also believe that He worked miracles, and

empowered His disciples to do so—whether for one generation or for longer we need not stop to discuss.

It was never professed that miracles were worked to make those who were without any faith believe. The Risen Christ appeared only to believers, though this does not mean that the disciples believed merely because they wished to believe; here their 'hardness of heart' is of great evidential value. And miracles were only worked when there was a certain amount of faith (Mk 6⁵, Mt 13⁵⁶; cf. Lk 16²¹). Indeed, it is seen that miracles did not make the great impression on the First Age that they would make now. Did they happen now, the impression would be so great that they would be almost faith-compelling, and this is a very good reason for their having ceased. Even the disciples were not so much impressed by the Resurrection that they believed it without any doubt. Some of those who had seen the Risen Lord at first believed, then disbelieved (Mt 28¹⁷: 'some doubted'), and only after a time were fully confirmed in the faith. So, again, though the story of the raising of Lazarus made a stir at the time in Jerusalem, it is quite intelligible that the impression did not extend very far or last very long. To say, therefore, that St. Mark could not have known of the raising of Lazarus because he does not mention it in the account of Jesus' ministry in another part of the country is to import 20th cent. ideas into the narrative of the Apostolic Age.

The conclusion would seem to be that miracles have never been intended to be a direct proof of the truth of the gospel, or of the holiness of those who worked them; and their absence does not imply want of authority or of saintliness. But when at great crises of the world's history they were worked, they at once arrested attention, and so led men on to believe in doctrines which for other reasons commended themselves to the sense of humanity.

LITERATURE.—Out of a voluminous literature may be mentioned: W. Sanday, *Life of Christ in Recent Research*, Oxford, 1907, ch. viii., and art. 'Jesus Christ' in *HDB* ii. (section on the 'Miracles of Jesus'); J. H. Bernard, *HDB* iii., art. 'Miracle'; T. H. Wright, *DCG* iii., art. 'Miracles'; J. R. Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, London, 1898; R. C. Trausch, *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, do., 1870, which is never out of date; G. Salmon, *Non-Miraculous Christianity*, London, 1881. For other works see *HDB* and *DCG* as above.

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MIRROR (*ἐσόπτρον*, 1 Co 13¹², Ja 1²³; the classical word was *κατόπτρον*, whence *κατόπτρισεῖσθα*, in 2 Co 3¹⁸; Lat. *speculum*, late Lat. *miratorium*, from *mirari*, whence Fr. *mirroir*).—The mirrors of the ancients consisted of a thin disk of metal—usually bronze, more rarely silver—slightly convex and polished on one side. Glass mirrors coated with tin, of which there was a manufactory at Sidon (Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 66, 103), were little used, and the art of silvering glass was not discovered till the 13th century. Corinthian mirrors were considered the best, and it is interesting that St. Paul's two figurative uses of the word occur in his letters to Corinth.

1. To bring home to the imagination the limitations of human knowledge, he says that in the present life we see only by means of a mirror darkly (*ὡς ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι*, 1 Co 13¹²). In a modern mirror the reflexion is perfect, but the finest burnished metal gave but an indistinct image. To see a friend in a mirror, and to look at his own face, was therefore to receive two different impressions. So this world of time and sense, as apprehended by the human mind, imperfectly mirrors the true and eternal world, leaving many things 'enigmatic.' Mediate knowledge can never be so sure and satisfying as immediate. Plato (*Rep.* vii. 514) in his well-known simile of the cave compares

far too brief for its subject, but something ought to be said of miracles recorded elsewhere than in the OT and NT, if our discussion of miracles in general is to be in any way complete. We have seen that the infant Church is described in Ac as having been favoured with miracles as well as with other gifts of the Spirit. When did these miracles cease in Christian history? Many different opinions have been held, one branch at least of the Church believing that there has been no cessation and that miraculous powers are still in her possession, it being often urged, on the other hand, that they died with the apostolic company. The chief reason alleged for this latter opinion is apparently based on the assumption that miracles are given only for evidential purposes, that their sole function is to certify the Divine character of revelation, and that when this has been sufficiently established their work is done, and that they may not be expected to continue. And, curiously enough but most unreasonably, it has been assumed that the apostles could not have worked any miracle save those recorded in Scripture, or at least that no record of such could be trustworthy. Between these extreme views are to be ranked the great body of old English divines, e.g. Dodwell and Tillotson, who held that miracles were occasional in the Christian Church until the time of Constantine, when, Christianity being established by the civil power, it no longer needed such supernatural assistance. Thus Fuller explains that 'miracles are the swaddling clothes of the infant Churches'; and yet another view has commended itself to many, viz. that the power of working miracles extended to but not beyond the disciples upon whom the apostles conferred it by imposition of their hands.*

2. According to Acts, the Divine powers promised by Christ to His Church were at least occasionally exercised, not only by the apostolic company but by other persons as well. It would not be surprising, therefore, if we found in the literature of the early 2nd cent. many references to miracles like those in Acts. And yet such references are few and scanty. Our records of the period are fragmentary, to be sure, but it is remarkable that they tell so little on the subject. With a few notable exceptions, of which something is said further on, there is no trace up to the end of the 2nd cent. of any miraculous gift still existing in the primitive Church save those of prophecy and healing, including exorcism, both of which are frequently mentioned.

(a) In *Hermas* (*Mand.* xi.) and in the *Didache* the abuse of the grace of prophecy is spoken of, and a little later Justin (*Dial.* § 82) has the statement *παρά γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ μέγα οὖν προφητικὰ χάρισμα ἐστίν.* We observe here that the earliest notices of the power of prophecy imply also the presence of its counterfeit, and indeed prophecy is, of all the Divine 'gifts,' that which would most easily lend itself to imposture. And Justin's statement seems to imply his surprise that prophecy should have continued so long, for he says 'even up to the present,' from which we might gather that instances of genuine prophecy in his day and in his neighbourhood were not very numerous.

(b) The gift of *healing* is also noted by Justin (*Dial.* § 80), though he does not give any instances within his own observation. Origen goes further (*contra Celsum*, iii. 24), and says that he has seen many persons rescued from delirium. But the commonest exemplification of this gift was displayed in the expulsion of demons; exorcism is regarded quite as a thing of course by the 2nd cent. Fathers. Justin (*Apol.* ii. § 6, *Dial.* §§ 30, 76) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 23, 37, 45, *de Idolol.* 11, etc.) speak in extravagant terms as to the certainty with

the faithful. They allege these powers to be the common property of all Christian people, and to be susceptible of exercise at any moment and on any occasion. This is going far beyond the language of the Gospels and Acts, but it is here sufficient to observe that phenomena of this sort are often explicable without any recourse to supernatural agency (see above, iv. § 5).

3. Next, it is important to note that the early Fathers, although seeing the miraculous in the incidents of their daily life, place the miracles of the apostolic age on a pinnacle quite above the miracles of their own time. When we go to the 4th cent., we find Chrysostom saying that 'all the men of his time together' could not do as much as St. Paul's handkerchief (*de Sacerdot.* iv. 6), and he implies that in his day there were no raisings from the dead (cf. *Hom. in I Cor.* vi. 2). But, much earlier than this, Tertullian, after saying that the apostles had spiritual powers peculiar to themselves, adds 'nam et inortuos suscitaverunt quod Deus solus; et debiles redintegraverunt, quod nemo nisi Christus' (*de Pud.* c. 21) — language which would be strange if such occurrences were even occasional in his day. And of the miracles of the apostolic age, Origen only says that *traces* (ἴχνη) remain in his time (*contra Celsum*, i. 2). We find then (i.) that by the end of the 2nd cent. there is a growing suspicion that miracles are dying out, (ii.) that such miracles as are recorded are generally regarded as different in kind from those of the apostolic age, and (iii.) that in the earliest age of post-apostolic Christianity the 'miracles' are almost, without exception, of prophecy, healing, and exorcism.

4. The exceptional cases remain to be mentioned. (a) Eusebius records (*HE* iii. 30) that Papias related that in his time a man rose from the dead, as he had heard from the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, and that Justus Barrabbas was once delivered from the effects of drinking poison. The former of these occurrences may relate to some such occurrence as the raising of Dorcas (Ac 9³⁷), which the daughters of Philip may have witnessed, and the latter is not related in sufficient detail to enable us to draw any conclusion from it (cf. Mk 16¹⁸). But it is significant that Papias' account seems to have been silent as to miracles which came within his own observation. The occurrences he mentioned were in the apostolic age, and he does not profess to speak as an eye-witness.

(b) The often quoted statement of Irenæus is more difficult to explain or to explain away. He speaks of prophecy, healing, and exorcism as impossible in heretical circles, but as common in the Church, and he adds, 'Yes, even the dead were raised and abode with us many years' (*ἡγήσθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν οὖν ἡμῶν ἰκανοὶ ἔτη*, *adv. Hæc.* II. xxxii.). All that can be said about this is that no specific instance is produced; the language is rhetorical, and the statement occurs in the middle of a polemic against heretics. Nor are we furnished with details. Further, when Irenæus passes from the mention of the more common *miracula* to speak of raising the dead, the *tense* is suddenly and unexpectedly changed. Healing, exorcism, and prophecy, these are matters of present experience for him; but he speaks of resurrections from the dead in the *past tense*. Even the words quoted hardly mean more than that such events happened within living memory. Now Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, who was himself a disciple of St. John, so that if we view his statement thus it will not appear so extraordinary. The inference, in short, from the whole passage is that the *major* miracles no longer happened — an inference which is com-

Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, XXXIX, (114-165 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1950, p.214

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is the sceptre of Thy kingdom... Thou hast loved righteousness, and hast hated iniquity; therefore thy God' hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows. [He hath anointed Thee] with myrrh,¹ and oil, and cassia, from Thy garments; from the ivory palaces, whereby they made Thee glad. Kings' daughters are in Thy honour. The queen stood at Thy right hand, clad in garments' embroidered with gold. Hearken, O daughter, and behold, and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and the house of thy father: and the King shall desire thy beauty; because He is thy Lord, they shall worship Him also. And the daughter of Tyre [shall be there] with gifts. The rich of the people shall entreat Thy face. All the glory of the King's daughter [is] within, clad in embroidered garments of needlework. The virgins that follow her shall be brought to the King; her neighbours shall be brought unto Thee: they shall be brought with joy and gladness: they shall be led into the King's shrine. Instead of thy fathers, thy sons have been born: Thou shalt appoint them rulers over all the earth. I shall remember Thy name in every generation: therefore the people shall confess Thee for ever, and for ever and ever.'

CHAP. XXXIX. — THE JEWS HATE THE CHRISTIANS WHO BELIEVE THIS. HOW GREAT THE DISTINCTION IS BETWEEN BOTH!

"Now it is not surprising," I continued, "that you hate us who hold these opinions, and convict you of a continual hardness of heart.² For indeed Elijah, conversing with God concerning you, speaks thus: 'Lord, they have slain Thy prophets, and digged down Thine altars: and I am left alone, and they seek my life.' And He answers him: 'I have still seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal.'³ Therefore, just as God did not inflict His anger on account of those seven thousand men, even so He has now neither yet inflicted judgment, nor does inflict it, knowing that daily some [of you] are becoming disciples in the name of Christ, and quitting the path of error; who are also receiving gifts, each as he is worthy, illumined through the name of this Christ. For one receives the spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, and another of the fear of God."

To this Trypho said to me, "I wish you knew that you are beside yourself, talking these sentiments."

And I said to him, "Listen, O friend,⁴ for I am not mad or beside myself; but it was prophesied that, after the ascent of Christ to heaven, He would deliver us from error and give us gifts. The words are these: 'He ascended up on high; He led captivity captive; He gave gifts to men.'⁵ Accordingly, we who have received gifts from Christ, who has ascended up on high, prove from the words of prophecy that you, 'the wise in yourselves, and the men of understanding in your own eyes,'⁶ are foolish, and honour God and His Christ by lip only. But we, who are instructed in the whole truth,⁷ honour Them both in acts, and in knowledge, and in heart, even unto death. But you hesitate to confess that He is Christ, as the Scriptures and the events witnessed and done in His name prove, perhaps for this reason, lest you be persecuted by the rulers, who, under the influence of the wicked and deceitful spirit, the serpent, will not cease putting to death and persecuting those who confess the name of Christ until He come again, and destroy them all, and render to each his deserts."

And Trypho replied, "Now, then, render us the proof that this man who you say was crucified and ascended into heaven is the Christ of God. For you have sufficiently proved by means of the Scriptures previously quoted by you, that it is declared in the Scriptures that Christ must suffer, and come again with glory, and receive the eternal kingdom over all the nations, every kingdom being made subject to Him: now show us that this man is He."

And I replied, "It has been already proved, sirs, to those who have ears, even from the facts which have been conceded by you; but that you may not think me at a loss, and unable to give proof of what you ask, as I promised, I shall do so at a fitting place. At present, I resume the consideration of the subject which I was discussing."

CHAP. XL. — HE RETURNS TO THE MOSAIC LAWS, AND PROVES THAT THEY WERE FIGURES OF THE THINGS WHICH PERTAIN TO CHRIST.

"The mystery, then, of the lamb which God enjoined to be sacrificed as the passover, was a type of Christ; with whose blood, in proportion to their faith in Him, they anoint their houses, i.e., themselves, who believe on Him. For that the creation which God created — to wit, Adam — was a house for the spirit which proceeded from God, you all can understand. And that

1 Or, "God, thy God."
2 οσαυτα.
3 Literally, "garments of gold, variegated."
4 Literally, "of a hard-headed opinion."
5 1 Kings xix. 24, 28.

6 εσσομεν. [Ow, look you, listen!]
7 Literally, "carry us captive."
8 Ps. lxxvii. 29.
9 Isa. vi. 21.
10 Constituting either Catholics with heretics, or Christians with Jews. [Note the word Catholic, as here used in its legitimate primitive sense.]

performance of works tending to the benefit and establishment of mankind, they are found doing nothing of the same or a like kind [with His actions], nor what can in any respect be brought into comparison with them. And if they have in truth accomplished anything [remarkable] by means of magic, they strive [in this way] deceitfully to lead foolish people astray, since they confer no real benefit or blessing on those over whom they declare that they exert [supernatural] power; but, bringing forward mere boys¹ [as the subjects on whom they practise], and deceiving their sight, while they exhibit phantasms that instantly cease, and do not endure even a moment of time,² they are proved to be like, not Jesus our Lord, but Simon the magician. It is certain,³ too, from the fact that the Lord rose from the dead on the third day, and manifested Himself to His disciples, and was in their sight received up into heaven, that, inasmuch as these men die, and do not rise again, nor manifest themselves to any, they are proved as possessing souls in no respect similar to that of Jesus.

4. If, however, they maintain that the Lord, too, performed such works simply in appearance, we shall refer them to the prophetic writings, and prove from these both that all things were thus⁴ predicted regarding Him, and did take place undoubtedly, and that He is the only Son of God. Wherefore, also, those who are in truth His disciples, receiving grace from Him, do in His name perform [miracles], so as to promote the welfare of other men, according to the gift which each one has received from Him. For some do certainly and truly drive out devils, so that those who have thus been cleansed from evil spirits frequently both believe [in Christ], and join themselves to the Church. Others have foreknowledge of things to come: they see visions, and utter prophetic expressions. Others still, heal the sick by laying their hands upon them, and they are made whole. Yea, moreover, as I have said, the dead even have been raised up, and remained⁵ among us for many years. And what shall I more say? It is not possible to name the number of the gifts which the Church, [scattered] throughout the whole world, has received from God, in the name of

Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and which she exerts day by day for the benefit of the Gentiles, neither practising deception upon any, nor taking any reward⁶ from them [on account of such miraculous interpositions]. For as she has received freely⁷ from God, freely also does she minister [to others].

5. Nor does she perform anything by means of angelic invocations,⁸ or by incantations, or by any other wicked curious art; but, directing her prayers to the Lord, who made all things, in a pure, sincere, and straightforward spirit, and calling upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, she has been accustomed to work⁹ miracles for the advantage of mankind, and not to lead them into error. If, therefore, the name of our Lord Jesus Christ even now confers benefits [upon men], and cures thoroughly and effectively all who anywhere believe on Him, but not that of Simon, or Menander, or Carpocrates, or of any other man whatever, it is manifest that, when He was made man, He held fellowship with His own creation, and¹⁰ did all things truly through the power of God, according to the will of the Father of all, as the prophets had foretold. But what these things were, shall be described in dealing with the proofs to be found in the prophetic writings.

CHAP. XXXIII. — ABSURDITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS.

1. We may subvert their doctrine as to transmigration from body to body by this fact, that souls remember nothing whatever of the events which took place in their previous states of existence. For if they were sent forth with this object, that they should have experience of every kind of action, they must of necessity retain a remembrance of those things which have been previously accomplished, that they might fill up those in which they were still deficient, and not by always hovering, without intermission, round the same pursuits, spend their labour wretchedly in vain (for the mere union of a body [with a soul] could not altogether extinguish the memory and contemplation of those things which had formerly been experienced¹¹), and especially as they came [into the world] for this very purpose. For as, when the body is asleep and at rest, whatever things the soul sees by herself, and does in a vision, recollecting

¹ "Pueros investes," boys that have not yet reached the age of puberty.

² The text has "stillicidio temporis," literally "a drop of time (στυγμῆν χρόνου)"; but the original text was perhaps στυγμῆν χρόνου, "a moment of time." With either reading the meaning is the same.

³ Some have deemed the words "firmum esse" an interpolation.

⁴ That is, as being done in reality, and not in appearance.

⁵ Harvey here notes: "The reader will not fail to remark this highly interesting testimony, that the divine revelations bestowed upon the infant Church were not wholly extinct in the days of Irenaeus. Possibly the venerable Father is speaking from his own personal recollection of some who had been raised from the dead, and had continued for a time living witnesses of the efficacy of Christian faith." [See Cap. xxxi., *infra*.]

⁶ Comp. Acta viii. 9, 18.

⁷ Matt. x. 8.

⁸ Grabe contends that these words imply that no invocations of angels, good or bad, were practised in the primitive Church. Masuet, on the other hand, maintains that the words of Irenaeus are plainly to be restricted to evil spirits, and have no bearing on the general question of angelic invocation.

⁹ We follow the common reading, "perfecti;" but one ms. has "perfecti," which suits the context better.

¹⁰ We insert "et," in accordance with Grabe's suggestion.

¹¹ Harvey thinks that this parenthesis has fallen out of its proper place, and would insert it immediately after the opening period of the chapter.

Irenaeus, Against Heresies, V, 6, (182-188 A.D.)
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.1,
 Wm. B. Eerdmans Grand Rapids, 1950, p.531

IRENÆUS AGAINST HERESIES.

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assumption of those who are spiritual, and that nothing stood in the way of their body being translated and caught up. For by means of the very same hands through which they were moulded at the beginning, did they receive this translation and assumption. For in Adam the hands of God had become accustomed to set in order, to rule, and to sustain His own workmanship, and to bring it and place it where they pleased. Where, then, was the first man placed? In paradise certainly, as the Scripture declares: "And God planted a garden [*paradisum*] eastward in Eden, and there He placed the man whom He had formed."¹ And then afterwards, when [man] proved disobedient, he was cast out thence into this world. Wherefore also the elders who were disciples of the apostles tell us that those who were translated were transferred to that place (for paradise has been prepared for righteous men, such as have the Spirit; in which place also Paul the apostle, when he was caught up, heard words which are unspeakable as regards us in our present condition²), and that there shall they who have been translated remain until the consummation [of all things], as a prelude to immortality.

2. If, however, any one imagine it impossible that men should survive for such a length of time, and that Elias was not caught up in the flesh, but that his flesh was consumed in the fiery chariot, let him consider that Jonah, when he had been cast into the deep, and swallowed down into the whale's belly, was by the command of God again thrown out safe upon the land.³ And then, again, when Ananias, Azarias, and Misaël were cast into the furnace of fire sevenfold heated, they sustained no harm whatever, neither was the smell of fire perceived upon them. As, therefore, the hand of God was present with them, working out marvellous things in their case — [things] impossible [to be accomplished] by man's nature — what wonder was it, if also in the case of those who were translated it performed something wonderful, working in obedience to the will of God, even the Father? Now this is the Son of God, as the Scripture represents Nebuchadnezzar the king as having said, "Did not we cast three men bound into the furnace? and, lo, I do see four walking in the midst of the fire, and the fourth is like the Son of God."⁴ Neither the nature of any created thing, therefore, nor the weakness of the flesh, can prevail against the will of God. For God is not subject to created things, but created things to God; and all things yield obedience to His will. Wherefore also the Lord declares,

"The things which are impossible with men, are possible with God."⁵ As, therefore, it might seem to the men of the present day, who are ignorant of God's appointment, to be a thing incredible and impossible that any man could live for such a number of years, yet those who were before us did live [to such an age], and those who were translated do live as an earnest of the future length of days; and [as it might also appear impossible] that from the whale's belly and from the fiery furnace men issued forth unhurt, yet they nevertheless did so, led forth as it were by the hand of God, for the purpose of declaring His power: so also now, although some, not knowing the power and promise of God, may oppose their own salvation, deeming it impossible for God, who raises up the dead; to have power to confer upon them eternal duration, yet the scepticism of men of this stamp shall not render the faithfulness of God of none effect.

CHAP. VI. — GOD WILL BESTOW SALVATION UPON THE WHOLE NATURE OF MAN, CONSISTING OF BODY AND SOUL IN CLOSE UNION, SINCE THE WORD TOOK IT UPON HIM, AND ADORNED IT WITH THE GIFTS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, OF WHOM OUR BODIES ARE, AND ARE TERMED, THE TEMPLES.

1. Now God shall be glorified in His handiwork, fitting it so as to be conformable to, and modelled after, His own Son. For by the hands of the Father, that is, by the Son and the Holy Spirit, man, and not [merely] a part of man, was made in the likeness of God. Now the soul and the spirit are certainly a *part* of the man, but certainly not *the* man; for the perfect man consists in the commingling and the union of the soul receiving the spirit of the Father, and the admixture of that fleshly nature which was moulded after the image of God. For this reason does the apostle declare, "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect,"⁶ terming those persons "perfect" who have received the Spirit of God, and who through the Spirit of God do speak in all languages, as he used Himself also to speak. In like manner we do also hear⁷ many brethren in the Church, who possess prophetic gifts, and who through the Spirit speak all kinds of languages, and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men, and declare the mysteries of God, whom also the apostle terms "spiritual," they being spiritual because they partake of the Spirit, and not because their flesh has been stripped off and taken away, and because they have become purely spiritual. For if any one take away the sub-

¹ Gen. ii. 8.
² 1 Cor. xii. 4.
³ Jon. ii. 11.
⁴ Dan. iii. 19-25.

⁵ Luke xviii. 27.
⁶ 1 Cor. ii. 6.
⁷ The old Latin has "audivimus," *Acce heard*.

shall have been seen in such an one quick colour, he is defiled." (The Law) would have the man who is wholly turned from the pristine habit of the flesh to the whiteness of faith—which (faith) is esteemed a defect and blemish in (the eyes of) the world²—and is wholly made new, to be understood to be "clean;" as being no longer "speckled," no longer dappled with the pristine and the new (intermixt). If, however, after the reversal (of the sentence of uncleanness), ought of the old nature shall have revived with its tendencies, that which was beginning to be thought utterly dead to sin in his flesh must again be judged unclean, and must no more be expiated by the priest. Thus adultery, sprouting again from the pristine stock, and wholly blemishing the unity of the new colour from which it had been excluded, is a defect that admits of no cleansing. Again, in the case of a house: if any spots and cavities in the party-walls had been reported to the priest, before he entered to inspect that house he bids all (its contents) be taken away from it: thus the belongings of the house would not be unclean. Then the priest, if, upon entering, he had found greenish or reddish cavities, and their appearance to the sight deeper down within the body of the party-wall, was to go out to the gate, and separate the house for a period within seven days. Then, upon returning on the seventh day, if he should have perceived the taint to have become diffused in the party-walls, he was to order those stones in which the taint of the leprosy had been to be extracted and cast away outside the city into an unclean place; and other stones, polished and sound, to be taken and replaced in the stead of the first, and the house to be plastered with other mortar.³ For, in coming to the High Priest of the Father—Christ—all impediments must first be taken away, in the space of a week, that the house which remains, the flesh and the soul, may be clean; and when the Word of God has entered it, and has found "stains of red and green," forthwith must the deadly and sanguinary passions "be extracted" and "cast away" out of doors—for the Apocalypse withal has set "death" upon a "green horse," but a "warrior" upon a "red"⁴—and in their stead must be under-strewn stones polished and apt for conjunction, and firm,—such as are made (by God) into (sons) of Abraham,⁵—that thus the man may be fit for God. But if, after the recovery and reformation, the priest again perceived in the same house ought of the pristine disorders and blemishes, he pronounced it unclean, and bade the timbers, and the stones, and all the

structure of it, to be pulled down, and cast away into an unclean place.⁶ This will be the man—flesh and soul—who, subsequently to reformation, after baptism and the entrance of the priests, again resumes the scabs and stains of the flesh, and "is cast away outside the city into an unclean place,"—"surrendered," to wit, "to Satan for the destruction of the flesh,"—and is no more rebuilt in the Church after his ruin. So, too, with regard to lying with a female slave, who had been betrothed to an husband, but not yet redeemed, not yet set free: "provision," says (the Law), shall be made for her, and she shall not die, because she was not yet manumitted for him for whom she was being kept.⁷ For flesh not yet manumitted to Christ, for whom it was being kept,⁸ used to be contaminated with impunity: so now, after manumission, it no more receives pardon.

CHAP. XXI.—OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DISCIPLINE AND POWER, AND OF THE POWER OF THE KEYS.

If the apostles understood these (figurative meanings of the Law) better, of course they were more careful (with regard to them than even apostolic men). But I will descend even to this point of contest now, making a separation between the *doctrine* of apostles and their *power*. Discipline governs a man, power sets a seal upon him; apart from the fact that power is the Spirit, but the Spirit is God. What, moreover, used (the Spirit) to teach? That there must be no communicating with the works of darkness.⁹ Observe what He bids. Who, moreover, was able to forgive sins? This is His alone prerogative: for "who remitteth sins but God alone?"¹⁰ and, of course, (who but He can remit) *mortal* sins, such as have been committed against Himself,¹¹ and against His temple? For, as far as you are concerned, such as are chargeable with offence against you personally, you are commanded, in the person of Peter, to forgive even seventy times sevenfold.¹² And so, if it were agreed that even the blessed apostles had granted any such indulgence (to any crime) the pardon of which (comes) from God, not from man, it would be competent (for them) to have done so, not in the exercise of discipline, but of power. For they both raised the dead,¹³ which God alone (can do), and restored the debilitated to their integrity,¹⁴ which none but Christ (can do); nay, they inflicted plagues too, which Christ would not do.

¹ See Lev. xiii. 12-14 (in LXX.).

² Sæculo.

³ See Lev. xiv. 33-42.

⁴ See Rev. vi. 4, 8.

⁵ Comp. Matt. iii. 9; Luke iii. 8.

⁶ Lev. xiv. 43-45.

⁷ See Lev. xix. 20.

⁸ Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 8.

⁹ Eph. v. 11. See ch. xviii. above.

¹⁰ Mark ii. 7; Luke v. 21.

¹¹ Comp. Ps. li. 4 (in LXX, Ps. l. 6).

¹² Matt. xviii. 22.

¹³ Comp. Acts ix. 36-43, xx. 9-12.

¹⁴ Comp. Acts iii. 1-11, v. 13-16.

were unholy,⁴ and having no opportunity of escape, were compelled to live among them, such an one would with good reason, for the sake of the law of truth, which the Scythians would regard as wickedness,⁵ enter into associations contrary to their laws, with those like-minded with himself; so, if truth is to decide, the laws of the heathens which relate to images, and an atheistical polytheism, are "Scythian" laws, or more impious even than these, if there be any such. It is not irrational, then, to form associations in opposition to existing laws, if done for the sake of the truth. For as those persons would do well who should enter into a secret association in order to put to death a tyrant who had seized upon the liberties of a state, so Christians also, when tyrannized over by him who is called the devil, and by falsehood, form leagues contrary to the laws of the devil, against his power, and for the safety of those others whom they may succeed in persuading to revolt from a government which is, as it were, "Scythian," and despotic.

CHAP. II.

Celsus next proceeds to say, that the system of doctrine, viz., Judaism, upon which Christianity depends, was barbarous in its origin. And with an appearance of fairness, he does not reproach Christianity⁶ because of its origin among barbarians, but gives the latter credit for their ability in discovering (such) doctrines. To this, however, he adds the statement, that the Greeks are more skilful than any others in judging, establishing, and reducing to practice the discoveries of barbarous nations. Now this is our answer to his allegations, and our defence of the truths contained in Christianity, that if any one were to come from the study of Grecian opinions and usages to the Gospel, he would not only decide that its doctrines were true, but would by practice establish their truth, and supply whatever seemed wanting, from a Grecian point of view, to their demonstration, and thus confirm the truth of Christianity. We have to say, moreover, that the Gospel has a demonstration of its own, more divine than any established by Grecian dialectics. And this diviner method is called by the apostle the "manifestation of the Spirit and of power:" of "the Spirit," on account of the prophecies, which are sufficient to produce faith in any one who reads them, especially in those things which relate to Christ; and of "power," because of the signs and wonders which we must believe to have been performed, both on many other grounds, and on this, that traces of them are still preserved among those

⁴ ἀθροισμῶν.
⁵ ἠθεοῦσι.
⁶ τοῦ λόγου.

who regulate their lives by the precepts of the Gospel.

CHAP. III.

After this, Celsus proceeding to speak of the Christians teaching and practising their favourite doctrines in secret, and saying that they do this to some purpose, seeing they escape the penalty of death which is imminent, he compares their dangers with those which were encountered by such men as Socrates for the sake of philosophy; and here he might have mentioned Pythagoras as well, and other philosophers. But our answer to this is, that in the case of Socrates the Athenians immediately afterwards repented; and no feeling of bitterness remained in their minds regarding him, as also happened in the history of Pythagoras. The followers of the latter, indeed, for a considerable time established their schools in that part of Italy called Magna Græcia; but in the case of the Christians, the Roman Senate, and the princes of the time, and the soldiery, and the people, and the relatives of those who had become converts to the faith, made war upon their doctrine, and would have prevented (its progress), overcoming it by a confederacy of so powerful a nature, had it not, by the help of God, escaped the danger, and risen above it, so as (finally) to defeat the whole world in its conspiracy against it.

CHAP. IV.

Let us notice also how he thinks to cast discredit upon our system of morals,⁷ alleging that it is only common to us with other philosophers, and no venerable or new branch of instruction. In reply to which we have to say, that unless all men had naturally impressed upon their minds sound ideas of morality, the doctrine of the punishment of sinners would have been excluded by those who bring upon themselves the righteous judgments of God. It is not therefore matter of surprise that the same God should have sown in the hearts of all men those truths which He taught by the prophets and the Saviour, in order that at the divine judgment every man may be without excuse, having the "requirements" of the law written upon his heart," — a truth obscurely alluded to by the Bible⁸ in what the Greeks regard as a myth, where it represents God as having with His own finger written down the commandments, and given them to Moses, and which the wickedness of the worshippers of the calf made him break in pieces, as if the flood of wickedness, so to speak, had swept them away. But Moses having again hewn tables of stone, God wrote the commandments a second time,

⁷ τὸν ἠθεοῦσι νόμον.
⁸ τὸ βουλομένη τὸν νόμον.
⁹ τὸ ἄδύτου.

John Crysostom, On the Priesthood, IV, 6, (370 A.D.)
Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.9
 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1956, p.67

demons. But the men of the present day, if they were all collected in one place, would not be able, with infinite prayers and tears, to do the wonders that once were done by the handkerchief of St. Paul. He too by his prayers raised the dead,¹ and wrought such other miracles, that he was held to be a god by heathen;² and before he was removed from this life, he was thought worthy to be caught up as far as the third heaven, and to share in such converse as it is not lawful for mortal ears to hear.³ But the men of to-day—not that I would say anything harsh or severe, for indeed I do not speak by way of insult to them, but only in wonder—how is it that they do not shudder when they measure themselves with so great a man as this? For if we leave the miracles and turn to the life of this blessed saint, and look into his angelic conversation, it is in this rather than in his miracles that thou wilt find this Christian athlete a conqueror. For how can one describe his zeal and forbearance, his constant perils, his continual cares, and incessant anxiety for the Churches; his sympathy with the weak, his many afflictions, his unwonted persecutions, his deaths daily? Where is the spot in the world, where is the continent or sea, that is a stranger to the labours of this righteous man? Even the desert has known his presence, for it often sheltered him in time of danger. For he underwent every species of attack, and achieved every kind of victory, and there was never any end to his contests and his triumphs.

Yet, all unawares, I have been led to do this man an injury. For his exploits are beyond all powers of description, and beyond mine in particular, just as the masters of eloquence surpass me. Nevertheless, since that holy apostle will judge us, not by the issue, but by the motive, I shall not forbear till I have stated one more circumstance which surpasses anything yet mentioned, as much as he himself surpasses all his fellow men. And what is this? After so many exploits, after such a multitude of victories, he prayed that he might go into hell, and be handed over to eternal punishment, if so be that those Jews, who had often stoned him, and done what they could to make away with him, might be saved, and come over to Christ.⁴ Now who so longed for Christ? If, indeed, his feelings towards him ought not to be described as something nobler than longing; shall we then any more compare ourselves with this saint, after so great grace was imparted to him from above, after so great virtue was manifested in himself? What could be more presumptuous?

Now, that he was not so unskilled, as some count him to be, I shall try to show in what follows. The unskilled person in men's estimation is not only one who is unpracticed in the tricks of profane oratory,⁵ but the man who is incapable of contending for the defence of the right faith, and they are right. But St. Paul did not say that he was unskilled in both these respects, but in one only; and in support of this he makes a careful distinction, saying that he was "rude in speech, but not in knowledge."⁶ Now were I to insist upon the polish of Isocrates, the weight of Demosthenes, the dignity of Thucydides, and the sublimity of Plato, in any one bishop, St. Paul would be a strong evidence against me. But I pass by all such matters and the elaborate ornaments of profane oratory; and I take no account of style or of delivery; yea let a man's diction be poor and his composition simple and unadorned, but let him not be unskilled in the knowledge and accurate statement of doctrine; nor in order to screen his own sloth, deprive that holy apostle of the greatest of his gifts, and the sum of his praises.

7. For how was it, tell me, that he confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus,⁷ though he had not yet begun to work miracles? How was it that he wrestled with the Grecians and threw them?⁸ and why was he sent to Tarsus? Was it not because he was so mighty and victorious in the word, and brought his adversaries to such a pass that they, unable to brook their defeat, were provoked to seek his life? At that time, as I said, he had not begun to work miracles, nor could any one say that the masses looked upon him with astonishment on account of any glory belonging to his mighty works, or that they who contended with him were overpowered by the force of public opinion concerning him. For at this time he conquered by dint of argument only. How was it, moreover, that he contended and disputed successfully with those who tried to Judaize in Antioch? and how was it that that Areopagite,⁹ an inhabitant of Athens, that most devoted of all cities to the gods, followed the apostle, he and his wife? was it not owing to the discourse which they heard? And when Eurychus¹⁰ fell from the lattice, was it not owing to his long attendance even until midnight to St. Paul's preaching? How do we find him employed at Thessalonica and Corinth, in Ephesus and in Rome itself? Did he not spend whole nights and days in interpreting the Scriptures in their order? and

⁵ *ὑπερβαίνων*, from *ὑπερβαίνω*, literally, a sail-ropes. The man who condescends to catching the ear by mere rhetorical artifice being like the mountebank on the trapeze, fascinating the spectators in a circus by his performances. ⁶ 2 Cor. xi. 6.
⁷ Acts ix. 22. ⁸ See Acts ix. 29. ⁹ Acts xvii. 34. ¹⁰ Acts xx. 9.

¹ Acts xx. 10.
² 1 Cor. xiii. 2-4.

³ Acts xiv. 11.
⁴ Rom. ix. 3.

John Chrysostom, Homilies on First Corinthians, XXIX, (381-398 A.D.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.12 Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1956, p.168

thou not here an instance of wounding in moderation, and inflicting a blow just sufficient to cure the disease?

Then, after the infliction, he brings in advice sufficient on the other hand to console her, and very rational, thus speaking: "if we have received our good things at the hand of the Lord, shall we not endure our evils?" "For remember," saith he, "those former things and make account of the Author of them, and thou wilt bear even these nobly." Seest thou the modesty of the man? that he doth not at all impute his patience to his own courage, but saith it was part of the natural result of what happened. "For in return for what did God give us these former things? What recompense did he repay? None, but from mere goodness. For they were a gift, not a recompense; a grace, not a reward. Well then, let us bear these also nobly."

This discourse let us, both men and women, have recorded, and let us engrave the words in our minds, both these and those before them: and by sketching upon our minds as in picture the history of their sufferings,¹ I mean the loss of wealth, the bereavement of children, the disease of body, the reproaches, the mockings, the devices of his wife, the snare of the devil, in a word, all the calamities of that righteous man, and that with exactness, let us provide ourselves with a most ample port of refuge: that, enduring all things nobly and thankfully, we may both in the present life cast off all despondency, and receive the rewards that belong to this good way of taking things;² by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, with Whom to the Father, with the Holy Ghost, be glory, power, and honor, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

HOMILY XXIX.

I COR, XII. 1, 2.

Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant. Ye know that when ye were Gentiles, ye were led away unto those dumb idols, howsoever ye might be led.

This whole place is very obscure: but the obscurity is produced by our ignorance of the facts referred to and by their cessation, being such as then used to occur but now no longer take place. And why do they not happen now? Why look now, the cause too of the obscurity hath produced us again another question: namely, why did they then happen, and now do so no more?

This however let us defer to another time, but for the present let us state what things were occurring then. Well: what did happen then? Whoever was baptized he straightway spake with tongues and not with tongues only, but many also prophesied, and some also performed many other wonderful works. For since on their coming over from idols, without any clear knowledge or training in the ancient Scriptures, they at once on their baptism received the Spirit, yet the Spirit they saw not, for It is invisible; therefore God's grace bestowed some sensible proof of that energy. And one straightway spake in the Persian, another in the Roman, another in the Indian, another in some other such tongue: and this made manifest to them that were without that it is the Spirit in the

very person speaking. Wherefore also he so calls it, saying, "But to each one the manifestation of the Spirit is given to profit withal;" (v. 7.) calling the gifts "a manifestation of the Spirit." For as the Apostles themselves had received this sign first, so also the faithful went on receiving it, I mean, the gift of tongues; yet not this only but also many others: inasmuch as many used even to raise the dead and to cast out devils and to perform many other such wonders: and they had gifts too, some less, and some more. But more abundant than all was the gift of tongues among them: and this became to them a cause of division; not from its own nature but from the perverseness of them that had received it: in that on the one hand the possessors of the greater gifts were lifted up against them that had the lesser: and these again were grieved, and envied the owners of the greater. And Paul himself as he proceeds intimates this. Since then herefrom they were receiving a fatal blow in the dissolution of their charity, he takes great care to correct it. For this happened indeed in Rome also, but not in the same way. And this is why in the Epistle to the Romans he moots it indeed, but obscurely and briefly, saying thus: "For even as we have many members in one body, and all the members have not

¹ ἡ ἀποστολικὴ Σαβίλη: ἀποστολῶν Bened.
² τῆς ἐπισημίας τῶν λόγων. "this way of using well-omened words."

John Chrysostom, Homilies on First Corinthians, XXXVI, 7.
(381-398 A.D.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.12
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1956, p.219

himself and to God;" i. e., mentally, or quietly and without noise: at least, if he will speak. For this is surely not the tone of one making a law, but it may be of one who shames them more even by his permission; as when he saith, "but if any hunger, let him eat at home:" and seeming to give permission, he touches them hereby the more sharply. "For ye come not together for this purpose," saith he, "that ye may show that ye have a gift, but that ye may edify the hearers;" which also he before said, "Let all things be done unto edifying."

[6.] Ver. 29. "Let the prophets speak by two or three, and let the others discern."

No where hath he added, "at the most," as in the case of the tongues. And how is this, one saith? For he makes out that neither is prophesy sufficient in itself, if at least he permit the judgment to others. Nay, surely it is quite sufficient; and this is why he did not stop the mouth of the prophet, as of the other, when there is no interpreter; nor, as in his case he said, "if there be no interpreter let him keep silence," so also in the case of the prophet, "if there be none to discern, let him not prophesy;" but he only secured the hearer; since for the satisfaction of the hearers he said this, that no diviner might throw himself in among them. For of this also at the beginning he bade them beware, when he introduced a distinction between divination and prophecy, and now he bids them discriminate and spy out the matter, so that no Satanic teacher might privily enter.

Ver. 30. "But if a revelation be made to another sitting by, let the first keep silence."

Ver. 31. "For ye all can prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted."

What may this be which is spoken? "If when thou prophesiest," saith he, "and art speaking, the spirit of another stir him up, be silent thenceforth." For that which he said in the case of the tongues, this also here he requires, that it should be done "in turn," only in a diviner way here. For he made not use of the very expression, "in turn?" but "if a revelation be made to another." Since what need was there further, that when the second was moved to prophesy the first should speak? Ought they then both? Nay, this were profane and would produce confusion. Ought the first? This too were out of place. For to this end when the one was speaking, the Spirit moved the other, in order that he too might say somewhat.

So then, comforting him that had been silenced, he saith, "For ye all can prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." Seest thou how again he states the

reason wherefore he doeth all things? For if him that speaks with tongues he altogether forbid to speak, when he hath not an interpreter, because of the unprofitableness; reasonably also he bids restrain prophecy, if it have not this quality, but createth confusion and disturbance and unseasonable tumult.

Ver. 32. "And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets."

Seest thou how he put him to shame earnestly and fearfully? For that the man might not strive nor be factious, he signifies that the gift itself was under subjection. For by "spirit" here, he means its actual working. But if the spirit be subject, much more thou its possessor canst not justly be contentious.

[7.] Then he signifies that this is pleasing also to God, subjoining and saying,

Ver. 33. "For God is not a God of confusion, but of peace, as [I teach] in all the Churches of the saints."

Seest thou by how many reasons he leads him to silence and soothes him, in the act of giving way to the other? By one thing and that the chief, that he was not shut up by such a proceeding; "for ye all can prophesy," saith he, "one by one." By a second, that this seems good to the Spirit Himself; "for the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets." Besides these, that this is according to the mind of God; "for God," saith he, "is not a God of confusion, but of peace:" and by a fourth, that in every part of the world this custom prevails, and no strange thing is enjoined upon them. For thus, saith he, "I teach in all the Churches of the saints."

What now can be more awful than these things? For in truth the Church was a heaven then, the Spirit governing all things, and moving each one of the rulers and making him inspired. But now we retain only the symbols of those gifts. For now also we speak two or three, and in turn, and when one is silent, another begins. But these are only signs and memorials of those things. Wherefore when we begin to speak, the people respond, "with thy Spirit," indicating that of old they thus used to speak, not of their own wisdom, but moved by the Spirit. But not so now: (I speak of mine own case so far.) But the present Church is like a woman who hath fallen from her former prosperous days, and in many respects retains the symbols only of that ancient prosperity; displaying indeed the repositories and caskets of

* [Chrysostom connects this clause with what precedes as do Alford, Tregelles, Edwards and the Rev. Ver. He is doubtless right here, but not in his addition of *ἀκούω*, for which there is no adequate support. C.]

† The "Anaphora," or more solemn part of the Liturgy begins with the Versicle and Response here alluded to, in the Clementine Liturgy, and in those of St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and the Roman Missal.

Augustine, Epistle of John, Homily VI, 10, (416 A.D.)
Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.7
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1956, p.497-8

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ever we ask," saith he, "we shall receive of Him." I have already said, If thou understand it to mean, "for salvation," there is no question: if not for salvation, there is a question, and a great one, a question that makes thee an accuser of the apostle Paul. "Whatever we ask, we receive of Him, because we keep His commandments, and do these things that are pleasing in His sight:" within, where He seeth.

9. And what are those commandments? "This," saith he, "is His commandment, That we should believe on the name of His Son Jesus Christ, and love one another." Ye see that this is the commandment: ye see that whoso doeth aught against this commandment, doeth the sin from which "every one that is born of God" is free. "As He gave us commandment:" that we love one another. "And he that keepeth His commandment"—ye see that none other thing is bidden us than that we love one another—"And he that keepeth His commandment shall abide in Him, and He in him. "And in this we know that He abideth in us, by the Spirit which He hath given us. Is it not manifest that this is what the Holy Ghost works in man, that there should be in him love and charity? Is it not manifest, as the Apostle Paul saith, that "the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given us"? For [our apostle] was speaking of charity, and was saying that we ought in the sight of God to interrogate our own heart. "But if our heart think not ill of us:" i.e. if it confess that from the love of our brother is done in us whatever is done in any good work. And then besides, in speaking of the commandment, he says this: "This is His commandment, That we should believe on the name of His Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as He gave us commandment." "And he that doeth His commandment abideth in Him, and He in him. In this we know that He abideth in us, by the Spirit which He hath given us." If in truth thou find that thou hast charity, thou hast the Spirit of God in order to understand: for a very necessary thing it is.

10. In the earliest times, "the Holy Ghost fell upon them that believed: and they spake with tongues," which they had not learned, "as the Spirit gave them utterance." These were signs adapted to the time. For there behooved to be that betokening of the Holy Spirit in all tongues, to shew that the Gospel of God was to run through all tongues over

5 : John iii. 23.
7 : *Wandil.*
8 : [Abideth. R. V.—J. H. M.]
9 : [He gave us. R. V.—J. H. M.]

6 : John iii. 24.
8 : Rom. v. 5.
11 : Acta ii. 4.

the whole earth. That thing was done for a betokening, and it passed away. In the laying on of hands now, that persons may receive the Holy Ghost, do we look that they should speak with tongues? Or when we laid the hand on these infants, did each one of you look to see whether they would speak with tongues, and, when he saw that they did not speak with tongues, was any of you so wrong-minded as to say, These have not received the Holy Ghost; for, had they received, they would speak with tongues as was the case in those times? If then the witness of the presence of the Holy Ghost be not now given through these miracles, by what is it given, by what does one get to know that he has received the Holy Ghost? Let him question his own heart. If he love his brother, the Spirit of God dwelleth in him. Let him see, let him prove himself before the eyes of God, let him see whether there be in him the love of peace and unity, the love of the Church that is spread over the whole earth. Let him not rest only in his loving the brother whom he has before his eyes, for we have many brethren whom we do not see, and in the unity of the Spirit we are joined to them. What marvel that they are not with us? We are in one body, we have one Head, in heaven. Brethren, our two eyes do not see each other; as one may say, they do not know each other. But in the charity of the bodily frame do they not know each other? For, to shew you that in the charity which knits them together they do know each other; when both eyes are open, the right may not rest on some object, on which the left shall not rest likewise. Direct the glance of the right eye without the other, if thou canst. Together they meet in one object, together they are directed to one object: their aim is one, their places diverse. If then all who with thee love God have one aim with thee, heed not that in the body thou are separated in place; the eyesight of the heart ye have alike fixed on the light of truth. Then if thou wouldest know that thou hast received the Spirit, question thine heart: lest haply thou have the sacrament, and have not the virtue of the sacrament. Question thine heart. If love of thy brethren be there, set thy mind at rest. There cannot be love without the Spirit of God: since Paul cries, "The love of God is shed abroad in your hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us."

11. "Beloved, believe not every spirit." Because he had said, "In this we know that He abideth in us, by the Spirit which He

1 : The neophytes.
2 : Rom. v. 5.
3 : John iv. 1.

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, XI, (80-120 A.D.)
Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.7,
Wm. B. Eerdmans:Grand Rapids, 1951, p.380-1

THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

and let this world pass away.¹¹ Hosanna to the God (Son)¹² of David! If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent.¹³ Maran atha.¹⁴ Amen. But permit the prophets to make Thanksgiving as much as they desire.¹⁵

CHAP. XI.¹⁶ — CONCERNING TEACHERS, APOSTLES, AND PROPHETS.

Whosoever, therefore, cometh and teacheth you all these things that have been said before, receive him.¹⁷ But if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine to the destruction of this, hear him not; but if he teach so as to increase righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But concerning the apostles and prophets, according to the decree of the Gospel, thus do. Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord.¹⁸ But he shall not remain except one day; but if there be need, also the next; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. And when the apostle goeth away, let him take nothing but bread until he lodgeth;¹⁹ but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet that speaketh in the Spirit²⁰ ye shall neither try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven.²¹ But not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet; but only if he hold the ways of the Lord. Therefore from their ways shall the false prophet and the prophet be known. And every prophet who ordereth a meal²² in the Spirit eateth not from it, except indeed he be a false prophet; and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not what he teacheth, is a false prophet. And every prophet, proved true,²⁴ working unto the mystery of the Church in the world,²⁵ yet not teaching others to

¹¹ This is peculiar: but comp. 1 Cor. vii. 31 for the last clause.
¹² The Codex reads $\omega\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, which Bryennios alters to $\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$. The former is the more difficult reading, and is defended by Harnack.
¹³ This exhortation indicates a mixed assembly: comp. *Apostolic Constitutions*. [If so, it belongs to the *Agape*.]
¹⁴ 1 Cor. xvi. 22. Revised Version, margin: "That is, our Lord cometh." Comp. Rev. xiii. 20.
¹⁵ A limitation as compared with 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 31, and yet indicating a combination of extemporaneous devotion with the liturgical form. * The verse prepares the way for the next chapter.
¹⁶ The *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 27) present scarcely any parallel to this chapter, which points to an earlier period, when ecclesiastical polity was less developed, and the travelling "Apostles" and "Prophets" here spoken of were numerous. [Elucidation II.]
¹⁷ This refers to all teachers, more fully described afterwards.
¹⁸ Lit. "being turned," i.e., turned from the truth, perverted.
¹⁹ Matt. x. 40. The mention of apostles here has caused much discussion, but there are many indications that travelling evangelists were thus termed for some time after the apostolic age. Bishop Lightfoot has shown, that, even in the New Testament, a looser use of the term applied it to others than the Twelve. Comp. Rom. xvi. 7: 1 Cor. xv. 5, 7 (?); Gal. i. 19; 1 Thess. ii. 6: also, as applied to Barnabas, Acts xiv. 4, 14.
²⁰ Reach a place where he can lodge.
²¹ Under the influence of the charismatic gift spoken of in 1 Cor. xii. 3, xiv. 5. Another indication of an early date.
²² Probably a reference to the sin against the Holy Spirit. Matt. xii. 31, 32: Mark iii. 29, 30.
²³ Probably a love-feast, commanded by the prophet in his peculiar utterance.
²⁴ $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$, "genuine."
²⁵ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\kappa$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omega\tau\omega\varsigma$, "working unto a worldly mystery of (the) Church," or "making assemblies for a worldly mystery." Either rendering is grammatical: neither is very intelligible. The paraphrase in the above version presents one lead-

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do what he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you, for with God he hath his judgment; for so did also the ancient prophets. But whoever saith in the Spirit, Give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he saith to you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII.¹ — RECEPTION OF CHRISTIANS.

But let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received,² and afterward ye shall prove and know him; for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you, except for two or three days, if need be. But if he willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath no trade, according to your understanding see to it that, as a Christian,⁴ he shall not live with you idle. But if he willeth not so to do, he is a Christ-monger.⁵ Watch that ye keep aloof from such.

CHAP. XIII.⁶ — SUPPORT OF PROPHETS.

But every true prophet that willeth to abide among you⁷ is worthy of his support.⁸ So also a true teacher is himself worthy, as the workman, of his support.⁹ Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests.¹⁰ But if ye have not a prophet, give it to the poor. If thou makest a batch of dough, take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment.

ing view of this difficult passage: the mystery is the Church, and a worldly one, because the Church is in the world. The other leading view joins $\epsilon\kappa$ $\alpha\lambda\theta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (as accusative) with $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, "making assemblies for a worldly mystery." So Bryennios, who regards the worldly mystery as a symbolical act of the prophet. Others suggest, as the mystery for which the assemblies are called, revelation of future events, celibacy, the Eucharist, the ceremonial law. It seems, at all events, to point to incipient fanaticism on the part of the prophets of those days. [Elucidation III.] This was likely to take the form either of asceticism or of extravagant predictions and mystical fancies about the Church in the world. Did we know the place and the time more accurately, we might decide which was meant. This caution was evidently needed: Let God judge such extravagances.
¹ Verse 1 is almost identical with the beginning of *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28; the remaining verses have no parallel.
² All professed Christians are meant.
³ Comp. 2 Thess. iii. 10.
⁴ The term occurs only here in the *Teaching*.
⁵ "Christ-trafficter." The abuse of Christian fellowship and hospitality naturally followed the remarkable extension of Christianity. This expressive term was coined to designate the class of idlers who would make gain out of their professed Christianity. It occurs in the longer form of the Ignatian Epistles (*Tractatus*, vi.) and in literature of the fourth century.
⁶ A large part of this chapter is found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 28, 29, but with modifications and additions indicating a later date.
⁷ "Who will settle among you" (Hitchcock and Brown). The itinerant prophets might become stationary, we infer. Chaps. xi.-xv. point to a movement from an itinerant and extraordinary ministry to a more settled one.
⁸ Lit., "nourishment," "food."
⁹ Matt. x. 10: comp. Luke x. 7.
¹⁰ This phrase, indicating a sacerdotal view of the ministry, seems to point to a later date than that claimed for the *Teaching*. Some regard it as an interpolation; others take it in a figurative sense. In *Apostolic Constitutions* the sacerdotal view is more marked. (1 Pet. ii. 9. If the $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$ = "priests," prophets = "high priests.") Here the term is restricted to the prophets; compare Schaff in *Intro.*